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AND

BIBLICAL RECORD.

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TO

VOLUME VII. (NEW SERIES).

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DERCETO, THE GODDESS OF ASCALON.

It has been remarked by Dean Stanley, that Ascalon, Askelon, or Ashkelon, was "the one maritime town of the Philistines."[a] Its situation was upon the shore of the Mediterranean, south of Azotus or Ashdod, and north of Gaza. The ancient name, in the form Askulan, still lingers upon the spot, although the appearance of the place is widely different from what it was when Joshua reckoned it among the prizes to be distributed among the children of Israel. The word Ashkelon is apparently derived from the root *shakal*, "to weigh" (whence "shekel," etc.), and furnishes us with a reminiscence of its commercial origin.[b] This word, however, although Shemitic, is not Hebrew, and probably dates from an early settlement of Canaanites. These Canaanites[c] were doubtless near kinsmen of those who were celebrated in later times as the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, Aradus and Biblus, and other cities on the same coast.

Our present object is not to attempt any description of Ashkelon, nor do we propose to give even a brief summary of its known history.[d] We shall, in the first place, quote a passage

[a] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 252.

[b] Compare the name of Market *Weighton* in Yorkshire.

[c] The name Canaanite is sometimes translated "merchant" in the English Version.

[d] Reland gives an interesting account of Ascalon and its worship, in which

from a recent work by M. Rey, French Government Commissioner, appointed to explore the ground once occupied by the tribe of Judah. This gentleman has published the results of his labours in a historical and topographical essay entitled, *Etude historique et topographique de la Tribu de Juda* (Paris, 4to). We shall add a few notes to the extract. M. Rey says (Journal, p. 112):—

"We have nothing positive to offer about the foundation of Ascalon, the origin of which is lost in the night of time. The Hebrew form of the name is אשקלון. In the inscription relating to the conquest of the Assyrian kings in Palestine, and in the monuments of Sargon, the name of this city is Ir-Is-ka-al-lu-na.[e] The first time we find Ascalon mentioned in the sacred Scriptures is in Joshua xiii. 3. The city fell to the lot of the children of Judah (Judges i. 18); but, like most of the cities of the Philistines, it remained for a long time in their hands, for it was the theatre of one of the exploits of Samson, who slew there thirty men (Judges x. 19). Along with Aphek, Ascalon was, during the whole Phœnician period, one of the cities in which they celebrated most solemnly the worship of Astarte,[f] who under divers names was worshipped there as an ichthyomorphous divinity.

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he quotes many of the ancient authorities (*Pal.*, 586, etc.). There is one little story connected with Ascalon which merits repetition. In the year 1134, three brave cavaliers were captured at Ascalon; they were brothers, and were sent together to the Sultan of Egypt. While in prison they received from heaven the miraculous image which is venerated near Laon, in Picardy, under the name of Notre Dame de Lorette. The daughter of the Sultan, who laboured to pervert them, having witnessed this miracle, resolved to embrace Christianity, whereto, it is said, the Virgin encouraged her, appearing to her by night, and bidding her flee with the three prisoners, which she did. Both she and they were, while asleep, transported in a few hours from the heart of Egypt into Picardy (La Martinière, s. v. Ascalon). The idolatrous proclivities of Ascalon continued down to a late date, although a church was formed there, and bishops appointed. Theodoret (*Eccl. Hist.*, iii., 6) describes the atrocities which the pagans of Gaza and Ascalon perpetrated upon the clergy and others in the time of Julian.

[e] *Ir* is of course "city;" hence the whole means "city of Ascalon."

[f] Astarte, or Ashtoreth, usually comes before us in the Old Testament as a plural feminine, Ashtaroth. Milton says of her:—

> "—— With these in troop
> Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians called
> Astarte, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns;
> To whose bright image, nightly by the moon
> Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;
> In Sion not unsung, where stood
> Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
> By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul."
>
> *Par. Lost*, book i.

Astarte is sometimes called the goddess of the Sidonians, but it is well known that she was worshipped by others. In the same way Milcom, or Molech, is called the god of the Ammonites, when it is certain that the same deity was

"We only possess very vague data concerning the origin of this worship. Ovid relates in his *Metamorphoses* (v., 351), that at the time of the wars of the giants, Venus saved herself under the disguise of a fish. Several mythographers relate that Venus found herself with her son on the banks of the Euphrates, but the two divinities were terrified by the approach of Typhon, and cast themselves into the river, where they assumed the form of fishes.

"During my stay at Saida, I obtained a Phœnician amulet of a cylindrical form, and recently discovered in that city. It represents three rows of three fishes each, placed one above another. Although I do not wish to endeavour to interpret here the symbol figured upon this object, it seems to me that we may without presumption attribute it to the worship of fishes. As to the number three, which is found in all its forms, it appears to represent that idea of triplicity which pertains to all the religions of Asia and of Egypt; where we find in one place the triad of Baal, Astarte, and Iao, and in another that of Amon, Mouth, and Chons,[g] the Cabirian triad of the mysteries of Samothrace, or that of Athens. All these groups of three demonstrate in an evident manner that among the ancients the idea of triplicity was an essential form of divinity.

"Diodorus Siculus speaks of a lake near Ascalon, where, according to the tradition of the country, Derceto, the mother of Semiramis, had been transformed into a fish, whence came the worship of the goddess under that form. Observe the terms in which this author expresses himself (book ii., chap. iv.): 'There is in Syria a city named Ascalon, not far from which there is found a large and deep lake in which fishes abound, and near it a temple of the famous goddess whom the Syrians call Derceto, and who has the head of a woman, and all the rest of the body like a fish.'[h]

"The Phœnicians received the worship of Venus Mylitta or Astarte from the Assyrians. This goddess is found designated under a crowd of names, Mylitta, Alitta, or Gaad; she represents fortune;[i] among the

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worshipped elsewhere. What such passages mean is that the forms of idolatry named had special prominence in the places mentioned. See 1 Kings xi. 5, 7, 33; and the remarkable passages in Judges ii. 13; iii. 7 (where "groves," *Asheroth*, occur for the *Ashtaroth* of ii. 13); x. 6. Cicero mentions four forms of Venus: "Quarta, Syria, Tyroque concepta: quæ Astarte vocatur: quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum est" (*De Nat. Deor.*, iii., 23).

It is curious that often as the name Astarte occurs in one form or another in the Old Testament, we find there no trace of the word Atargatis or Taratha, except possibly in the Gentile noun, Tir'athites, a branch of the Kenites, named in 1 Chron. ii. 55.

[g] Or Amun-Ra, Maut, and Chonso. For these and others, see Mr. Sharpe's *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*, pp. 13—15.

[h] Adrichomius says that Josephus mentions the lake near Ascalon, but we can find no such passage (Adrich., p. 135). M. Rey's translation from Diodorus is inexact, and his reference (i., 4) is incorrect: we have tried to rectify both.

[i] M. Rey gives no proof of several of his statements, but we have been able to verify most of them, including the identification of the goddess under consideration with fortune, but we are unable to find the reference we had made to that effect.

Assyrians she bore more particularly the name of Meleket Ashamaim, the queen of heaven. The Syrians called her Astarte, Derceto, Atargatis, Anais, etc., etc.[j] Under the names of Atargatis and Derceto she was worshipped in an ichthyomorphous form. On the day of the festivals consecrated to Venus Astarte, she was shewn at Aphek in the form of a globe of fire. Derceto was worshipped there as half-woman and half-fish. This worship was paid to her under this form at Joppa, Ascalon, and Ashdod (Azotus) among the Philistines.

"We find in ancient authors many allusions to the worship of sacred fish, which was practised in a multitude of places; in Asia and in Greece, at Aphek, at Hierapolis, in the isle of Cyprus, etc., etc., where they kept the fishes in basins near the temples. At Pharæ in Achaia, the fishes of a fountain named Hama were consecrated to Hermes. In Lycia there were sacred fishes which were consulted for the knowledge of the future. Lucian teaches us, that in his time practices ascending to a high antiquity, and relating to this worship, prevailed at the temple of Hierapolis, such as that of carrying water to a sacred gulf, and keeping fish in the vicinity of the temple. The worship of fish was attached to that of ichthyomorphous divinities in the East,—Dagon, Oannes, Derceto, Atargatis, etc. The Syrians abstained from eating their flesh. This abstinence was likewise prescribed to the priests of Egypt (Herod., ii., 37), to certain priests of Poseidon, and to the initiated, at least when they celebrated the mysteries of Eleusis.

"There were fishes more particularly consecrated to certain deities: the tunny and the *pompile* consecrated to Neptune; the anchovy (*ἀφύη*) and the Κωλίας to Venus; the Βάκχος to Bacchus, the Κίθαρος to Apollo, etc., etc.[k] We read in Athenæus (book vii., 13) that the first tunny taken by the fishermen was offered to Neptune; this sacrifice was called *θυννάϊον*. Athenæus also tells us that it was customary to offer to Atargatis images of fishes in gold and silver; and he adds further that the priests presented every day to the goddess real fish cooked and prepared, which they ate themselves. I quote verbatim this passage, which seems to be of extreme importance:—*Τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν τῇ θεῷ ἀληθινοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ὀψοποιησαμένους παρατιθέναι, ἐφθούς τε ὁμοίως καὶ ὀπτούς, ὧνς δὲ αὐτοὶ καταναλίσκουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοῦ ἱερεῖς.*—('And that the priests offer upon the table every day to the goddess real fishes, which they have cooked, both boiled and roasted, and which the priests of the goddess themselves consume.')[l]

"We know from Varro that the Lydians offered fishes in sacrifice to the gods: we might believe that such victims would not be agreeable to

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[j] See at end of this extract.

[k] The exact English equivalents of these names are some of them not apparent. Some of them occur in Athenæus.

[l] This passage occurs in Athenæus, viii., 8. The author in books vii. and viii. gives a vast number of curious details about fish and matters pertaining to them. Isaac Casaubon, in his notes upon the passage cited by M. Rey, observes that Atargatis is the same as Derceto, as stated by Strabo. Athenæus, in the passage quoted, is copying from one Mnaseas in his second book about Asia, and probably alludes to the Hierapolitan worship.

Atargatis, an ichthyomorphous divinity.[m] But if they respected the sacred fishes, this would not prevent them from offering them in sacrifice to the gods, for the victim is identified with the divinity.[n]

"From Lucian we learn that the dove, a bird sacred to Venus, was also the object of special worship at Ascalon.[o] We have proof of this in a great number of medals of Ascalon, where we see on the reverse the effigy of Atargatis standing on a prow, holding in one hand a dove, and in the other a lance. The archæological researches I made while in Cyprus threw in my way a certain number of figures of the Cyprian Venus holding in her hand a dove; other figures of the same goddess, also Phœnician, and found in Syria, represent her likewise with a bird in her hand,—an attribute upon the meaning of which there is, I believe, no room for mistake."[p]

M. Rey observes that Ascalon is mentioned at Khorsabad, among the cities which Sargon conquered, and also upon the prism of Sennacherib. The passage on Sennacherib's prism is thus given:—"But Sidka, king of Ascalon, did not submit to me: I took away the gods of the paternal house, himself and his wife, his sons and his daughters, his brothers, the offspring of his race, and I led them into Assyria. I appointed to reign over the city of Ascalon, Sartibkakri, son of Rakibti, who had been king before, and I imposed upon him the levying of tributes in recognition of my supremacy, and he established order."[q]

In what follows we shall throw together, in the best form we can, such information bearing upon the goddess of Ascalon and her worship, as we have been able to obtain by miscellaneous reading.

Among the deities with whom M. Rey identifies the goddess of Ascalon, is Anais, and Atargatis or Derceto is mentioned as another; we have reason to think these were substantially identical. It would not be difficult to prove that many divinities had national or local names, and probably it might be shewn,

[m] In this passage M. Rey seems to refer to the place in Athenæus where we are told that a queen, named Gatis, ordered that fishes should not be eaten ατερ Γατιδος except by Gatis: an idle fiction based upon an equally idle etymology. If M. Rey has this in his mind, we do not see how it suggests his inference.

[n] Fish were regarded as sacred in some parts of Egypt.

[o] "My predecessor and friend, M. Victor Guerin, thinks there is reason for asking whether the name of the modern village of Hammameh, near Ascalon, did not derive its origin from a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of this bird. Although I have studied this locality with the greatest care, I have only found there ancient vestiges of so little importance that no conclusion can be certainly drawn from them."

[p] Was the dove ever held sacred in Egypt?

[q] Sidka is here apparently the same as Zedekia or Zadok. Sartibkakri and Rakibti offer no analogies to known names, and may be wrongly read or written. It may be noticed in passing, that Jeremiah denounced Askalon (xlvii. 5—7). It has, however, survived all its calamities and changes and still exists, although an utterly insignificant place.

as the result of extensive research, that almost any particular god or goddess appears in almost any number of names and characters.

The writer of this article formerly made some enquiries respecting the goddess Anais or Nanea, who is mentioned in 2 Macc. i. 13—15.[r] Since that time a few additional facts have come under his notice, some of which may be named in connection with the present enquiry. It was supposed that some light would be thrown upon the subject by the cuneiform inscriptions, and that anticipation has to some extent been realized. The name of this famous goddess has been read on an inscription relating to the tower of Borsippa, and in other cases, as shewn by M. Oppert in his volume upon Mesopotamia.[s] Mr. Hogg has noticed the curious coincidence between 2 Macc. i. 14, where Nanea is mentioned, and a passage in Granius Licinianus, where she is called *Diana* in an account of the same transaction.[t] We had previously remarked this coincidence, but Mr. Hogg may claim to be the first to announce it in this country, so far as we are aware. The identification of Nanea with Diana is very remarkable, suggesting that Diana itself may be nothing but a modification of Nanea, Anais, Anaitis, Tanais, Tanith, etc., etc.[u] We are at once reminded by it of the Diana Multimamma of Ephesus, which bore a not very distant resemblance to an ichthyomorphous divinity, and came originally from the East. In some of its forms the name of Anais has been found upon Phœnician Carthaginian inscriptions, etc.[v] It has also been thought to bear an affinity to the Egyptian Neith. These facts fully sustain the opinion that the almost unknown Nanea was honoured under many names in the old world, where her worship prevailed to an immense extent.

There is a strong probability that Mylitta is the same deity, and it is well worthy of notice that even of this name there are traces in Palestine. There was a town in the south of Judah called *Moladah*, which is etymologically and almost literally the same as Mylitta. It is mentioned in Joshua xv. 26; Neh. xi. 26; 1 Chron. iv. 28. Fürst notices this fact in his *Heb. Lex. (sub voce)*, and says, "Moladah, or Moledeth, is the name of a goddess of the Babylonians (Herod., i., 199), of the Phœnicians, etc., symbolizing the generative principle, for which also we have תֹּלֶדֶת Tylitta; the names of places, Mylitta, Megar-

[r] See *J. S. L.*, October, 1861, p. 235; January, 1862, p. 463.
[s] See *J. S. L.*, January, 1863, p. 497.
[t] See *J. S. L.*, April, 1863, p. 182.
[u] Compare *Tanaitis* on inscription at Susa. Loftus, *Chaldea*, p. 372.
[v] *J. S. L.*, April, 1864, p. 235. Davis's *Carthage and Remains*, p. 256.

melita in Libya (Harduin, *Acta Concil*, i., 1103), shew that towns were dedicated to this goddess." Other traces of a similar kind are found in the name Tolad (1 Chron. iv. 29), and in El-Tolad (Joshua xix. 4), which is perhaps the same place. Berosus calls this divinity not only Mylitta, but Myleta. Many of the places occupied by the Israelites were allowed to retain their old pagan appellations, and to this fact we are indebted for some curious hints as to the worship which prevailed among the Canaanites and Phœnicians and other tribes.

Although it is true that Mylitta, Alitta, Anais, etc., are in certain cases at least closely allied to Venus, it may be set down as a fact that as a rule they are rather analogous to Diana. It is probable that the words Mylitta, Anais, Taanath, in their various modifications, all convey the idea of *maternity*.[v] At any rate the goddess, whatever her name, may be safely compared with the Lucina of the Latins,—the presiding divinity of increase and childbirth. We can readily believe, too, that sometimes Astarte,—"the wedded one," as Fürst explains it,—is an offshoot from the same stock. The very name of Ashteroth-Karnaim—the Horned Astarte—distinctly points us to Diana, the lunar goddess.

As Taanath, our goddess was one of the most popular of the Carthaginian deities,[w] and her name is possibly still embodied in that of Tunis. We know that she was a Persian divinity, and perhaps originally so; but in one form or another her worship was very widespread in the East. It is not hard to understand how such a goddess was from time to time confounded with Venus.

An objection to the identifying the Anais or Tanath of Carthage with Ashtoreth or Astarte, is suggested by the occurrence of the two names in the same inscriptions thus:—

> "To the goddess, to *Tanath*, the countenance of Baal (fem.)
> To the lord, to Baal Hamon, a man vowed,
> Even Arshamban, a votary of Ashtarte, and a filial
> Devotee of Ashmon: as thou hearest the supplication, do thou bless."

This translation given by Davis (loc. cit.), although open to criticism, is allowable so far as the names of Tanath and Astarte are concerned. The inscription, however, may be understood as exhibiting the same divinity under two aspects, or as making two divinities out of one, as often happened. In any case, even

[v] In the *Journal of the Germ. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xviii., p. 661, we find *nanne* in the sense of mother among the Albanians, and Nane, or Nannis, as a proper name.

[w] Davis, *Carthage, etc.*, as before.

if Tanath and Astarte were different deities at Carthage, they may have been, and seem to have been, one in some other places. It is no exaggeration to say that some of the more popular deities had as many appellations as have been bestowed upon the Virgin Mary herself. The consequences were various, but then, as now, the same object of reverence was sometimes made a rival to itself.[y]

The name *Atargatis* is in Syriac written ܐܬܪܥܬܐ, as observed by Michaelis,[z] who says, "Nomen proprium Deæ, cujus templum celeberrimum Hierapolis seu Bambyce habuit quæque Græcis, Atara, Atargatis, Derceto, varia appellatione nominis barbari, dicta fuit. Vide Assem., *Bib. Orient.*, ii., sub *Mabug*. Nomen ipsum Syriace legitur in Jacobi Sarugensis scriptis, sed in numinibus in urbe Haran cultis (Assem., i., 327, 328)." Michaelis goes on to quote a passage of Lucian in which allusion is made to the celebrated *chasm* at Hierapolis, and conjectures that Atargatis means much the same as ܐܬܪܘܥܬܐ, "a fissure." This may or may not be correct. The Syrian translator of 2 Macc. i. 14 was unacquainted with the true form of the name, which he writes ܒܪܝܥܬ from the Greek. The Greek goddess *Rhea* is doubtless another form of the name. This conclusion is strongly supported by some allusions in Lucian.[a] Both Rhea and Cybele are names of one goddess,—a goddess often called simply the *mother*, or the *mother of the gods*. There is a noticeable passage in the so-called dialogue of Bardesanes *(Book of Laws, prope finem)*, where we read, "In Syria and in *Edessa* men used to mutilate themselves to Atargatis."[b] Several ancient writers verify this statement. If there be any reason whatever for identifying the loathsome worship paid to one deity with the like loathsome worship paid to another, in the case before us there is no room for doubt. In fact, the Rhea of one author is the Atargatis of another.[c] The inference is therefore inevitable

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[y] In one of the Belgian towns (Verviers?), *Notre dame Noire* and *Notre dame de la Salette*—our Black Lady, and our Lady of Salette—have their respective partizans, who plead their respective claims to the greater honour with no little zeal and ingenuity. And so no doubt it was of old!

[z] *Lex. Syr.*, Castelli, p. 975. [a] *De Dea Syra*, xv.

[b] "Viri virilitatem suam excidebant in honorem *Tar'atha;* quum autem Abgar rex credidit, instituit ut quisque virilitatem suam amputaret, manum ejus amputarent, et ex eo die et usque hodie, nullus est qui amputat virilitatem suam in terra Edessæ."

[c] The following references may be consulted:—Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i., 36; Lucian, *De Dea Syra*, 15; Augustine, *de Civit Dei*, vii., 26; Lactantius, i., 21; Epiphanius, *Panar.*, 1092; Sallust the Philosopher (p. 14, see the notes at p. 84 in J. C. Orelli's edition, 1821); Tatian the Assyrian, *Contra Gentes;* Prudentius, *Hymn to Romanus;* Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v., 5, etc., who gives

that the worship of Atargatis, as exemplified in that of Derceto at Ascalon, was connected with some of the worst abominations of old paganism. It is clear, too, that this worship was more or less closely akin to some of the forms which prevailed in Egypt, etc.[d]

As it regards Atargatis and Derceto, the two names are of common origin, and the one is nothing more than a corruption of the other, Atargatis and Derceto being merely different ways of writing in Greek the Shemitic תרעתא. We have said that Rhea is another form of the word from the same root רע or רעע. That Tanith, again, is Artemis, is shewn by an inscription found at Athens, and now in the United Service Museum. In this inscription the name Artemidorus in Greek is represented by Abd-Tanith (or servant of Tanith or of Anais) in Phœnician.[e] Plutarch also informs us[f] that Artemis was called Aneitis at Ecbatana; and Pausanias mentions an Artemis-Anaiitis worshipped in Lydia, whither it had no doubt travelled during the early relations of that province with the kingdoms of Central Asia.[g] Clement of Alexandria, too, says on the authority of Berosus, that Artaxerxes set up the image of Aphrodite-Tanais in Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Bactria, Damascus, and Sardis.[h]

We may here introduce what Lucian says more particularly about Derceto:—

"But others think it was Semiramis the Babylonian, of whom there are many works in Asia, who founded this temple, but that she did not found it to Here (Juno), but to her own mother, whose name was Derceto. Now I saw the image of Derceto in Phœnicia, a strange object, half a woman, but from the hips to the end of the feet the tail of a fish was drawn over,[i] and she is every woman (?) in the sacred city (Hierapolis), and they very evidently believe in the story. They think fish a sacred thing, and do not touch fish, and as for birds they eat all the rest, but the dove

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at length the fable which accounts for the self-mutilations, and connects it not only with the Mater Deorum, but with a certain Nana. Lucretius, Stephanus, etc., etc., might be added.

[d] See Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, cap. xii., etc. Cf. *Rites of Adonis or Tammuz*.

[e] Mr. Franks, in *Archæologia*, quoted by Davis, as above.

[f] Artaxerxes, ii., cap. xxvii.

[g] Pausan., vii., 6, 4, quoted by Davis after Franks.

[h] Clem., *Protreptic ad Græc.*, p. 43; ed. 1629.

[i] The sketch of Lucian, which exhibits Atargatis as a pretty woman with a fish's tail,—a genuine mermaid in fact,—suggests that Horace may have heard about it:—

"—— Ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne."
Ars Poet., iii., 4.

alone they do not eat, but it is sacred to them. And these things seem to be done by them on account of Dercetus and Semiramis, because Derceto has the form of a fish, and because Semiramis at last went off as a dove. But I shall not soon believe the temple to be the work of Semiramis, and I am no way persuaded that it is a temple of Derceto, since even among some of the Egyptians they do not eat fish, and they do not do this out of regard to Derceto."[j]

He proceeds to say that some connect the worship of Hierapolis with Rhea, and he describes some of the abominations of the worship. At the commencement of his book he says that Hierapolis is sacred to the Assyrian Here (Juno).

It is well known that Selden proposed to derive the name of Atargatis from the two Hebrew words, אדיר דג, *addir dag*, an illustrious fish,—piscis magnificus. This was mere conjecture, and as the conjecture of a great man, was worthy of respect; but when the study of Talmudical and Syriac writings gave us the true name of the goddess, it was known that Selden had made a mistake. Nor would his proposed etymology have been referred to here, if we had not found it not merely endorsed by Creuzer in his *Symbolik*, but quoted with approval by Dr. Fairbairn in the article "Dagon," in the *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, just issued (p. 392). This is all the more inexcusable that the true etymology is given in Dr. Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (p. 133). The author of the article "Atergatis" in Kitto's *Dictionary* (new edition, i., 259), mentions the true etymology, but seems inclined to follow another, like Gesenius, who inexplicably says that Derceto is a very similar form to Dagon. So great is the power of tradition, even in etymologies!

Macrobius *(Saturnal.*, book i.), speaking of the Assyrians, who, he says, worship the sun under the name of Adad, observes,

"Subjungunt eidem deam nomine Adargatin, omnemque potestatem cunctarum rerum his duobus attribuunt. Solem terramque intelligentes. . . . Adargatis simulacrum sursum versum reclinatis radiis insigne est; monstrando radiorum vi superne missorum enasci quæcumque terra progenerat. Sub eodem simulacro species leonum sunt, eadem ratione terram esse monstrantes qua Phryges finxere Matrem Deum, id est, terram leonibus vehi."

Nothing about the fish's tail!

Bochart *(Hierozoicon*, pt. ii., lib. ii., c. i.) gives the true form of the name Atargatis from a Talmudic work *(De Idolatria)*, in which it is said that Taratha was worshipped at Hierapolis or Mabug.[k]

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[j] *De Dea Syra*, 14.

[k] See "Atargatis" and "Dagon" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; "Atergatis" and "Dagon" in Kitto's *Bibl. Cyclop.*; Jahn's *Bibl. Antiq.*, sec. 414,

There is a passage in Herodotus (i., 105) which must not be simply referred to. He says that when the Scythians had conquered Asia, they entered Syrian Palestine, but Psammitichus, king of Egypt, met and persuaded them by bribes and prayers to go no further. When the Scythians got back as far as ASCALON, most of them passed on and did no harm, but a few stayed behind and plundered the temple of the celestial Venus—the Uranian Aphrodite.

"Now this temple is, as I find by enquiry, THE MOST ANCIENT of all the temples whatever of this goddess; for even the temple in Cyprus originated from hence, as the Cyprians themselves say. And that in Cythera was founded by Phœnicians who went out of this part of Syria. Now upon the Scythians who plundered the temple at Ascalon, and upon their descendants continually, the deity inflicted the *morbus fœmineus*,[1] so that the Scythians themselves confess that they suffer from this disease on this account; and they who go into Scythia see how matters stand with those whom the Scythians call Enareæ."

The importance of this passage will be seen at a glance, and it may be noticed that the sanctity attached to doves or pigeons at Ascalon gives countenance to the view of Herodotus, that it was a form of Venus which was worshipped at the very ancient temple at Ascalon. In i., 131, Herodotus says the Uranian Aphrodite is called Mylitta by the Assyrians, Alitta by the Arabians, and Mitra by the Persians (compare i., 199).

A passage in Pausanias (*Attica*, 14) should be added to the classical references to Ascalon and its religion. In his account of Athens, Pausanias says:—

"Hard by is the temple of the Uranian Aphrodite (Celestial Venus). By the first of men, the Assyrians, it was instituted that Urania should be worshipped; and after the Assyrians, by the Paphians among the Cyprians, and among the Phœnicians by those who occupy ASCALON in Palestine. The Cytherians having learned it from the Phœnicians, worship her; but among the Athenians it was set up by Ægeus, who thought that he had no sons (for then he had none at all), and that misfortune befell his sisters, through the anger of Urania. Now her image still exists, of Parian marble, and the work of Phidias."

He adds a story that the worship was introduced at Athens, or the temple founded, by Porphyrion, who reigned before the times of Actæon.[m]

415; Winer's *Realwört*, s. v., "Atargation;" Herzog's *Realencyk*, s. v., "Atargatis."

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, vi., 1.

[m] The passages in Herodotus and Pausanias which seem to speak of Atargatis as Urania are on that account suggestive. We might perhaps place in juxta-position with them what Celsus says about Urania and Bacchus as the only divinities worshipped by the Arabians (Origen, *contra Cels.*, book v.).

At the town of the Thuriatæ, Pausanias *(Messen.*, 31) says, there was a temple to the Syrian goddess. The same author says that at Ægira *(Achaic,* 26) they only went into the temple of the Syrian goddess on certain days, after sundry purifications and temperance in living. He distinguishes the Syrian goddess, however, from Urania, who, he says, was especially worshipped at Ægira, and he adds, that men were not permitted to enter her temple at all *(ibid.)*.

Strabo says that four schœnæ from the Euphrates was Bambyce, which they also call Edessa and Hierapolis, in which they honour the Syrian goddess Atargatis (cap. 748, lib. xvi.). He mentions Atargatis again at ch. 785, where he says that the Greeks call Atargatis, Athara, but Ctesias calls her Derceto. Atargatis, then, is the same as Derceto.

Pliny mentions Atargatis, whom he calls "prodigiosa," or monstrous (v., 23), and observes that she was worshipped at Bambyce or Hierapolis, called Magog by the Syrians. He means Mabug. "There," says he, "Atargatis, whom the Greeks call Derceto, is worshipped."[n] The fable of Derceto is given by Theon upon the phenomena of Aratus.[o]

Phuruntus, *De Diis,* says that Rhea seems to be the same as Atarga, whom they honour by abstaining from the dove and fish. Hyginus (fab. 195) says the Syrians do not eat fishes and doves, which they reckon among the gods. Artemidorus says the Syrians who worship Astarte do not eat fish. Ovid alludes to abstinence from fish by the Syrians in his *Fasti* (lib. ii.), from which at present we only quote these two lines:—

> "Inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis
> Ne violent timidi piscibus ora Syri," etc.

Menander refers to something of the same kind. So also Cæsar Domitianus, Diognetus Erythræus, etc. In one of its forms the fish worship is no doubt connected with Venus, who, with Cupid, cast herself into the Euphrates, and took the shape

[n] The words of Pliny *(Nat. Hist.*, book v., chap. xix. or xxiii.) are: "Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog. Ibi prodigiosa Atargatis, Græcis autem Derceto (al. Decreto) dicta, colitur." (A note on this passage in Dalecamp's edition refers for further details to Rhodiginus and Lil. Giraldus. To authorities relating to the sacred doves and fishes of Syria he adds Victorius.) Pliny, in book v., 13, also has this: "Oppidum Ascalo liberum; Azotus; Jamnes duæ, altera intus; Joppe Phœnicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione ut ferunt. Insidet collem, præjacente saxo, in quo vinculorum Andromedæ vestigia ostendunt. Colitur illic fabulosa Derceto." Does *illic* refer only to Joppa?

[o] Perhaps it should be noticed that in the Apocryphal books (cf. 1 Macc. v. 43 with 2 Macc. xii. 26) we find mention of a temple of Atargatis at Ashteroth Carnaim. This is valuable as furnishing evidence of the identification of Ashteroth with Atargatis.

of fish. Another version is that the fish found an egg of wondrous size in the water; they cast it or rolled it to the land, and a dove came and sat upon it. After some days the Syrian goddess, who is Venus, was hatched. After this, at the request of Venus, Jupiter placed the fishes among the stars. They are therefore connected with the fishes of the zodiac.

Cicero *(De Nat. Deor.*, book iii., 15) says the Syrians venerate a fish. The sacred fishes of Hierapolis are mentioned by Ælian. Similar customs obtained elsewhere, as indicated by Athenæus (lib. viii.), Pausanias[p] *(Achaica*, 22), etc.

The evidence which M. Rey himself has adduced in his remarks upon the worship of Atargatis at Ascalon is not conclusive. After all that he has said it might be asked, How do we know that she was worshipped there? The truth is, he only brings before us a single proof, which is the quotation from Diodorus Siculus, but it is indirect; it merely mentions a lake near Ascalon, where Derceto was changed into a fish, and that she had a temple near it, and was represented with the head of a woman and the body of a fish. We nevertheless believe M. Rey to be right. Figures precisely like that of Derceto or Atargatis appear in the sketch of the golden candlestick from the arch of Titus (figured in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, s. v. candlestick). We may, however, doubt whether Herod really allowed these forms to be introduced, and whether they are not unauthorized additions by Roman artists who may have heard about the Syrian goddess. The persistent paganism of Ascalon is shewn by Reland's extracts from Jewish and Gentile authorities. Diodorus says generally (lib. cit.) that the Syrians in his time abstained from fish, and worshipped fish as gods. That they counted fish as sacred objects, and would not eat them, is also affirmed by Lucian *(De Dea Syra)*. Xenophon, too, speaks of a lake full of fish, which the Syrians THOUGHT TO BE GODS, and would not suffer to be injured; so too of doves *(Anab.*, i.). Clemens Alexandrinus names the worship of doves and fish by the Syrians of Phœnicia *(ad Gentes)*. Sextus Empiricus also alludes to the same superstitions; and so does Ovid (see Reland, s. v. *Ascalon)*.

It would not be uninteresting to ascertain, if possible, whether the old religion of Ascalon ever found adoption at Rome, which has in its time stood sponsor to almost every religion that man has invented. The most likely period to detect anything of this kind is the reign of Heliogabalus, who—whatever his name may mean—was by birth a Syrian, and high priest of the

[p] Who speaks of fish sacred to Hermes at Pharæ.

sun, or Baal in some form. In Herodian we do find what looks very much like that we are in search of. Heliogabalus, in one of his mad fits married the goddess Pallas, or rather her image, as Antiochus wanted, or pretended to marry, Nanæa (2 Macc. i. 13, and *Gran. Licinianus*, book 36). But Heliogabalus, pretending that his armed and warlike goddess was not agreeable to him,

"Sent for the image of Urania, which the Carthaginians and inhabitants of Libya greatly venerate; and they say that Dido the Phœnician erected it, when she founded ancient Carthage, and cut up into strips the bull's hide. The Libyans call her *Urania, but the Phœnicians name her Astroarche*, and will have it that she is the moon. Antoninus, saying that the marriage of the sun and moon was a fit match, sent for her image and all the gold of her temple, and ordered that money should be given in abundance to the goddess for a dowry. So the image was brought and dwelt with his god, and he commanded all the men of Rome and Italy to celebrate a festival with all sorts of joy and mirth, publicly and privately, as if the gods married," etc.[q]

Astroarche here may possibly mean Astarte, or it may signify Atargatis; but in any case, the name Urania is the same as that by which the goddess of Ascalon is called by Herodotus and Pausanias.[r]

We have more than once spoken of Ovid. The following is the passage of the *Metamorphoses* where he mentions Derceto:—

"Illa, quid e multis referat (nam plurima nôrat)
Cogitat; et dubia est, de te Babylonia narret
Derceti, quam versa squamis velantibus artus,
Stagna Palæstini credunt coluisse figura;—
An magis ut sumptis illius filia pennis,
Extremos altis in turribus egerit annos:—
Naisan ut cantu nimiumque potentibus herbis
Verterit in tacitos juvenilia corpora pisces
Donec idem passa est."[s]

But the passage of the *Fasti*, in which he speaks of the zodiacal sign of the fishes *(pisces)*, is yet more suggestive from a mythological point of view:—

"Jamque levis obliqua subsidit Aquarius urna
Proximus ætherios excipe, Piscis, equos.
Te memorant fratremque tuum (nam juncta micatis
Signa) duos tergo sustinuisse deos.

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[q] Book v., chap. vi.

[r] It may be desirable to remember, that while Herodotus regarded Venus, or Aphrodite-Urania, as Mithra in one place (i., 110—112), he elsewhere identifies Mithra with Anaitis. The goddess of Ascalon was, therefore, in his opinion the same as Anais and Mithra, *i. e.*, Anais, Mithra, and Atargatis were one (i., 13).

[s] *Metam.*, iv., 42—50.

Terribilemque quondam fugiens Typhona Dione.[t]
Tunc cum pro cœlo Jupiter arma tulit
Venit ad Euphratem comitata Cupidine parvo;
Inque Palæstinæ margine sedit aquæ,
Populus et cannæ riparum summa tenebant;
Spemque dabant salicea hos quoque posse tegi.
Dum latet, intonuit vento nemus, illa timore
Pallet, et hostiles credit adesse manus.
Utque sinu natum tenuit, 'Succurrite Nymphæ:
Et dis auxilium ferte duobus,' ait.
Nec mora. Prosiluit. Pisces subière gemelli.
Pro quo nunc dignum sidera munus habent.
Inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis
Nec violant timidi piscibus ora Syri."[u]

For the sake of relieving the monotony of this investigation, we shall here take the liberty to introduce a metrical version of the foregoing story from the *Fasti*:—

"DIONE AND CUPID.

"And now must fleet Aquarius
With empty urn subside;
And thou, O fish, whose turn comes next,
The heavenly steeds shalt guide.

"They say you and your brother once
(He now shines at your side)
Did once permit a pair of gods
Upon your backs to ride.

"When Dione from Typhon huge
In terror took to flight;
And Jupiter himself bore arms
In heaven's cause to fight;

"She came to the Euphrates' brink,
Small Cupid by her side,
And at the stream of Palestine
She sat her down and cried.

"The cane-like reeds and poplars dense
Along the bank did grow,
And willow-trees afforded hope
Of shelter from the foe.

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[t] Dione was also a Diana according to Cicero's enumeration, and daughter of Jupiter and Proserpine; also the mother of the winged Cupid. *De Nat. Deor.*, iii., 23.

[u] *Fasti.* ii., 457—474.

"While there she crouched, the forest howled
With wind, and she with fear
Turned pale, and felt assured that now
The hostile bands were near.

"She to her bosom clasped her son—
'Ye nymphs come to our aid;
Give help to two divinities!'
'Twas thus the goddess prayed.

"No time to lose: out leaped the foe:
The fish to bear them come.
And hence they win in heaven, as stars,
An honourable home.

"And hence the timid Syrians
Account it sin to place
This kind of food upon their board,
And loathe the finny race."

We also add the following from the pen of George Sandys:—

"Cephæans, whose strong walls withstood
The ruins of the general flood,
To solemnize this day, forsake
Adored Dercetis and her lake."[v]
* * * *
Among the Syrians, those who dare
Feed on forbidden fish; nor more,
The deity of a dove adore."[w]

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[v] Upon this passage Sandys has a note:—"Cepheus, the son of Phœnix, reigned in Joppa, a city built by Japhet before the flood, and rather covered than demolished by that deluge. The inhabitants, with their territories, took the name of their king; who (they?) worshipped Dercetis, the goddess of the Ascalonites, their neighbours. She, as they fable, inflamed with the love of a beautiful youth who sacrificed unto her, having by him a daughter, (who after, in that nourished by doves, was called Semiramis,) ashamed of her incontinency, put away the youth, exposed the child to the mercy of the deserts, and, distracted with sorrow, threw herself into a lake near Ascalon, and there was changed into a fish. Of which Ovid,—

'—— To insist upon
The sad Dercetis of great Babylon;
Who, as the Palestines believe, did take
A scaly form, inhabiting a lake.'

To whom a magnificent temple was erected, with her image in the likeness of a fish, from the navel downward. This was that Dagon, the idol of the Ascolonites, according to S. Hierome (by interpretation, 'the fish of sorrow'), which fell before the ark of God when it was brought into her temple" (pp. 81, 82).

[w] *Christ's Passion:* a Tragedy; act i. 1646. "The Syrians would eat no fish; not only in regard of the fabulous transformation of their goddess Dercetis, but they held it injustice to kill those creatures which did them no harm, and were fed on rather for luxury than necessity; withal, conceiving the sea to be

It is a curious fact that sacred fishes are still to be found in the East, as the following facts and quotations sufficiently prove.

Sir J. Chardin, in *Harmer's Observations* (iii., 58), is said twice to mention fishes reputed to be sacred. Mr. Ainsworth speaks of them at Orfa, and at the tomb of Daniel at Susa. They also occur in Kurdistan.

Part of the observations of Dr. Thomson, in the *Land and the Book*, upon Ascalon, are very curious:—

"Ashkelon," he says, "was famous for the worship of Venus under the name of Derceto, as Herodotus informs us;[a] but if there ever was a deep lake near it abounding in fish, into which she, ashamed of some of her misdeeds, plunged, and was transformed into a fish, it has totally disappeared. It is a curious fact, however,—this is what we particularly wish to notice,—that there are *still sacred fish kept* in consecrated fountains in several parts of this country. Is this a remnant of the old fish-worship of Syria springing originally from, or connected with, these fables about Venus? I think so; for it is difficult to account for these sacred fish on any other supposition. I have visited several of these fountains, but the largest and most remarkable is situated a short distance north of Tripoli" (chap. xxxvi.).

The author of *Rambles in Syrian Deserts* (London, 1864), says:—

"On leaving Aintab we ascended the eastern slopes of a broad belt of mountains, over which lay our road to Marash. The first halt was at a pretty village called Saam, where we lunched under the shade of gigantic walnut-trees spreading their ponderous boughs over a copious spring. The clear cool water flowed into an ancient reservoir full of large fish, rendered sacred by some forgotten tradition, possibly that which is attributed by Lucian to the reverence of the Syrians for Derceto, who, according to Diodorus Siculus, threw herself into a lake and was transformed into a fish, after giving birth to Semiramis. Certain it is, that in many parts of Syria, at Urfa, Tripoli, and elsewhere, there are to this day, near the Mosques, large tanks full of fish, which no one is allowed to molest, and which are very tame from being frequently fed by visitors with crumbs of bread" (p. 80).

From what follows this statement, it appears that the water is as holy as the fish, in the estimation of the Mussulmans:—

"About two miles north of Tripoli, near the tomb of a Sheik (Sheik

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the original and father of all that had life, and that man was ingendered of a liquid substance, they adored fishes as being of their own generation and subsistence. So did they a dove; not only because their glorious empress Semiramis carried that name, and was after, as they fable, transformed into that creature, but expressing the air by the dove, as by a fish the water; reverencing both as comprising the nature of all things" (Sandys, p. 84).

[a] It is Diodorus Siculus who calls the goddess of Ascalon Derceto, and not Herodotus.

el-Bedawy), there is a copious spring enclosed with a wall; it is a fine square basin, containing a great quantity of fish, which are esteemed sacred by the Turks of Tripoli, and are fed daily by the guardians of the tomb. No one dares kill any of them; they are, as the Turks express it, a *wakf* to the tomb. Pococke says that, on bread being thrown in, the fish come in shoals, and even leap up and take it out of the hand. The same kind of fish is found in the Kadesha."[r]

It would be curious to follow the sacred fish into Christianity, as a symbol of Christ, as allowed to be eaten on fast days, as preached to by St. Francis, or as venerated and preserved at Baluklé, near Constantinople;[s] but we must omit all this, because it can be explained on other principles than the fish-worship of paganism.

Captain Knight, who travelled in Cashmere in 1860, speaks more than once of sacred fishes there. At Islamabad, speaking of the baraduree, a sort of house of entertainment, he says:—

"This we found a charming little place in a garden full of ponds of sacred fish, with old carved stones scattered about belonging to the Hindoo mythology. Through one corner of an upper tank a stream of crystal water flowed in from the mountain, which rose perpendicularly behind it, —the water welling up from below in a constant and abundant stream. Round this corner were some most grotesque stones, and here the sacred fish were assembled in such shoals as to jostle each other almost out of the water; but whether they were attracted by the fresh supply of water, or the sacred images, covered as they were with votive offerings of milk and rice, flowers, etc., the fish or the Brahmins alone can tell. Tradition states that an infidel Christian officer once killed three of these fish, and having eaten one of them, died shortly after. Putting their sanctity out of the question, however, the little creatures are so tame and so numerous that few people would be inclined either to kill or to eat them. While feeding them with bread, I could have caught any number with my hand; and holding a piece of tough crust under water, it was amusing to feel them tugging and hauling at it, making occasional snaps at one's fingers in their efforts. They were generally about half a pound in weight" (pp. 104, 105).

Of a place called Bowūn, or Mūtton, Capt. Knight says:—

"Beyond a tank teeming with sacred fishes, there appeared nothing whatever to be seen here. Taking warning from this, we thought it not worth while proceeding to Bamazoo, where, we were told, there were caves; but treating the fishes to a small coin's worth of Indian maize, we retraced our steps," etc. (p. 107).

Soon after he comes to Vernagh, and here he says:—

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[r] *Modern Traveller, Syria*, i., 240, note. A similar account of the sacred fish near Tripoli may be seen in *Travels in Palestine and Syria*, by George Robinson, Esq. 1837. Vol. ii., p. 68.

[s] See Walsh's *Journey, etc.*, chap. vi.

"The baradurree was curiously built, close to an octagon tank, the water from which ran at a great pace through an arch in the middle of the house. The tank was supplied with water in great volume, but from no apparent source, and was filled with fine fish, all sacred, and as fat as butter, from the plentiful support they receive from the devout among the Hindoos, not to mention the unbelieving travellers, who also supply them for amusement. As for the fish, they swarmed in such numbers that they jostled each other fairly out of the water in a dense living mass, while striving for grains of rice or bread" (pp. 113—115).[a]

M. Rey speaks of the worship of doves, but the dove-worship at Ascalon is hardly proved by the occurrence of doves upon the medals of the city. The passage in Diodorus already alluded to (p. 65, lib. i.), where Ascalon is fabled to have been the birth-place of Semiramis, associates doves with the story. It seems that the envy of Venus was the cause of the death of Derceto, and the birth and abandonment of Semiramis, who after her abandonment was surrounded by a multitude of doves, which nourished her, covered her with their wings, stole milk and cheese for her from the neighbouring cottages, and so forth. Hence she was called Semiramis, which they said meant a dove; and from that time doves were honoured by them as goddesses. This tale connects the worship of doves as well as of fish with Ascalon. Reland, however, again helps us, by a quotation from Eusebius *(De Præp. Ev.*, viii.), who cites one Philo, saying, "There is a city of Syria upon the sea, Ascalon by name: happening to be there when I was sent to the paternal temple to pray and offer sacrifices, I saw an immeasurable multitude of doves in the roads and at every house; and when I asked the reason, they said it was not lawful to catch them, for the use of them had been very long forbidden to the inhabitants." Sextus Empiricus says some of the Syrians abstained from doves, others not. We have already mentioned the allusion of Clemens Romanus to this honour paid to the dove. The connection of doves with Venus is of course notorious (Virgil, *Æneid.*, vi., 190—203). They are still among the commonest emblems of true love. Lucian says the Assyrians sacrificed to the dove *(Jupiter Trag.*, xlii.). Of the sacredness of the dove in Syria, mention is made by Tibullus:—

"Alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro."

We have said nothing of the similarity between *Dagon* and Derceto, although it is not unlikely that the resemblance between

[a] *Diary of a Pedestrian in Cashmere and Thibet.* 1863. In his *Journal of a Diplomate's Three Years' Residence in Persia*, Eastwick mentions a circumstance which seems to indicate reverence paid to fishes at a place called Chashmah i Ali, between Tehran and Meshed, vol. ii., p. 159.

the fish-god of Gaza, etc., and the fish-goddess of Ascalon went further than the outward form.[b] The Babylonian Dagon,—Oannes, does not seem to have had any feminine counterpart in that region. Milton appears to identify Dagon and Derceto:—

> "Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man,
> And downward fish: yet had his temple high
> Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
> Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
> And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds."[c]

[b] See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii., 466, 467, and the authorities he quotes, particularly Selden, *De Diis Syris*, c. iii., de Dagone, and the splendid work of M. Lajard on the worship of Venus. Lajard has given many figures which closely correspond with the known representations of Nanea on the coins of Kaderkes. See also Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 343, 350, and Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 158, 168, 169, 329—331.

[c] *Paradise Lost*, book i.

Ethnological Society, Dec. 27.—Paper by Mr. Wood, "The Hairy Men of Yesso."—It often happens that in the isolated residue of any race its repulsive peculiarities become more strongly marked, and some effort of humane feeling is required in such cases in order to recognize those traits, in virtue of which the perishing fraction may claim its kinship with the great family of mankind. Such an outcast race still lingers in the island of Yesso, the most northern portion of the empire of Japan. Those are the "Ainos" or "Mosinos"—the "all-hairy people;" this last word being a Japanese term, marking their chief peculiarity. Yesso is only separated from Niphon by the narrow straits of Tsougar; but the climate of the island is unpropitious and its soil is barren, so that the Japanese have only occupied the southern portion. They number about 100,000, and dwell principally in the cities of Mato-mai and Hakodadi. Timid and shrinking in attitude, these people seem utterly crushed in spirit by their long subjection and isolation. They are short in stature, of thickset figure, and clumsy in their movements. Their physical strength is considerable, but beside that peculiarity there is nothing by what an observer can recognize the possibility of the Ainos ever having possessed any martial prowess. The uncouthness and wildness of their aspect is calculated at first to strike a stranger with dismay or repugnance. Esau himself could not have been more hairy. The hair on their heads forms an enormous bunch, and is thick and matted. Their beards are very thick and long, and the greater part of their face is covered with hair which is generally dark in colour; but they have prominent foreheads and mild dark eyes, which somewhat relieve the savage aspect of their visage. Their hands and arms, and indeed the greater part of their bodies, are covered with an abnormal profusion of hair. The natural colour of their skin is somewhat paler than that of the Japanese, but it is bronzed by constant exposure. The women, as if in default of the extraordinary endowments of their spouses, have a custom of staining their faces with dark blue for a considerable space around their mouths. The children are lively and intelligent when little, but soon acquire the downcast aspect of their elders. Yet these strange people have a history; and though its details are lost, they cherish the remembrance that their forefathers were once the equals, if not the masters, of the Japanese. This is supposed to have been in the sixth century before Christ at least.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

A SUPPLEMENTARY ANSWER TO CHAPTER IX. OF CARDINAL WISEMAN'S "REPLY" TO BISHOP TURTON.

Of all the disputed doctrines between the Churches of England and Rome, none appears to us much more fraught with awfulness than Transubstantiation—on the supposition of either its falsity or its truth. We cannot contemplate many acts of human corruption more horrible than to venerate a mouthful of baked flour with the adoration due to the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to masticate it as if it were the Deity himself; or, on the other hand, to profane Christ's own personal temple of the indwelling Holy Ghost, by regarding it as nothing but such a common morsel in reality, considered independently of its spiritual utility, to the faithful receiver, as a vehicle of grace. It is no matter of astonishment to us that fire (God forbid its re-enactment!) was made the excruciating instrument of inculcating an article of faith apparently so vital to its professors, or of testing or punishing the enduring fidelity of its renunciation in the last interval of Roman Catholic ascendency in these realms. We know of very few questions we have been more desirous of seeing decided, above all reasonable objection, than that which concerns its credibility. We have watched all disputations on the subject for many years with intense interest and anxiety. We have imagined, and we hope not vainly, that if it could be demonstrated, that the belief in the doctrine is fallacious, it would be one powerful auxiliary (out of several which may be requisite, including most especially the refutation of its infallibility) for awakening the Church of Rome from what we have always esteemed its fearful delusions. We have welcomed with eagerness every such controversy undertaken by men of acknowledged ability. We never had our expectations raised so high by a contemporary discussion of the kind as when a learned prelate of our own church, lately deceased, entered the arena with probably the most erudite, and certainly the most eminent of all the living champions of the doctrine. We were highly gratified with the whole course of the contest except a few too incautious rencounters. We were anticipating, with great confidence, its triumphant issue; but in the very height of expectation we were suddenly depressed beyond all precedent in a matter of like nature, to witness its abandonment at last, on our part, with victory exceedingly incomplete. It may be easy to make allowances for the provocations which the bishop received for retreating from the field, but we cannot but

think that his retirement was unjustifiable and very deeply to be regretted; as our antagonist may be believed to be unanswered in what must be considered the main point of the controversy and in some of the arguments produced by the most strenuous exertions of his polemical talents.

It is on the words of institution "This is my body" and "this is my blood," that we are inclined to complain of the deficiency most to be lamented in the work of our episcopal advocate. These are to the Roman Catholic incomparably the plainest and the most convincing of the Scriptural arguments for his peculiar faith. If the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel does refer to the Eucharist, the words of institution and the subsequent communion are to him the fulfilment of what was there premeditated. But it is so uncertain to the Roman Catholic Church that the sixth chapter of that gospel bears that construction, that *many* (we have it on high Roman Catholic authority)[a] *many* Roman Catholic divines have denied the fact; but (what is principally to be considered) the Church of Rome, in her assumed corporate infallibility, founds her belief in Transubstantiation as to scriptural grounds, ostensibly on the words of institution above all other considerations. This appears from the decrees of her Tridentine Council (Sess. xiii., cap. i., iv.), and is agreeable to the following declaration of one of her most distinguished sons; with respect both to the body of the Church and its individual members, "To the mind of the Catholic, who receives his faith from the teaching of the Church, the evidence of the dogma is in the argument upon which we are now entering (the writer meaning the words of institution) and which has been pronounced by her definitive on the subject."[b]

To the examination of this her supreme authority therefore, so perfunctorily discussed in the controversy to which we have referred, we beg to lead the reader through a somewhat intricate labyrinth of argument, where we have been obliged to follow our learned, but we cannot add judicious, opponent. We shall start from a sound position to which we expect to find that we have returned on issuing safely from the maze.

It appears to us, then, that the apostles must have *perceived* very evidently and very satisfactorily, and that we ourselves must see likewise, that there is no change of the bread and the wine in the sacrament of the Lord' Supper into the actual body and blood of Christ, and that they and we must be certain of it, because we have perceived that no material change has been effected, and that we are justly and truly certain of it on that

[a] Wiseman's *Lectures*, v., 158.
[b] *Lec.*, v., 160. See also passages in pp. 157, 158, 161, 162.

very ground most particularly. This must have been, we believe, a certain proof to them as it is also to us.

Now, our accomplished opponent argues against us substantially in this manner. Is it likely that the apostles, "simple-minded men," as he very properly calls them, after they had seen the many miracles which Jesus did, would have doubted the possibility of *this* being a miracle?[c] To this we reply, whether we believe that the apostles would not have erred if they doubted or denied the possibility of a miracle in the case, it is superfluous, and therefore it is not our intention, to declare. We answer rather, that there is no reason for imagining that the apostles, plain and "simple-minded men," thought of there being any miracle performed at all, much less of the possibility of there being one. They observed that there was none, and we believe, as they were rational and "simple-minded" that it was far from their thoughts to suspect the contrary, principally for this reason, because the senses were the evidently-constituted judges whether a miracle had been performed or not.

It was justly argued by Bishop Turton that it is not to be expected that a miracle could be believed to exist contrary to the senses, since Christianity is founded upon sensible miracles. We would make an advance on this position by asserting that in every instance where it is universally admitted by professing Christians that a miracle was performed on an object of sense, the senses of witnesses were always the proper instruments of forming that judgment. If we examine the New Testament for every miraculous external change wrought on a sensible object, as bread is, and certainly acknowledged to be a miracle by all believers in revelation, we shall find that the people might always be *sensibly* convinced that the course of nature had been interrupted. One or more of the senses of men were appointed the judges of the actual execution of the supernatural work. As for example, in the conversion of water into wine, the fact was known by the sight, the smell and the taste.[d] According to Scripture the senses are not only very proper, but the sole judges as to the question of the performance of a professed external miracle which comes under their observation; and to make the argument more general, is it not also, we would ask, universally the case (unless transubstantiation stands alone as an

[c] *Lect.* vi., pp. 203—209.

[d] It is not implied that the senses under all circumstances whatever are unerring. It is well known that the apparent sense is not always agreeable to fact. Distant objects in a landscape, for instance, assume a hue not their own when viewed through the medium of the atmosphere. The same colours look differently in natural and artificial light. And the perception of the flavour of the same articles of diet varies according as the palate is healthy or diseased.

exception) that where material objects are submitted, ***without any disturbing natural causes,*** to the examination of persons who are in full possession of their senses, the appearance is always in general accordance to the reality—or the reality invariably corresponds with some degree of exactness to the appearance? Was there any other instance ever heard of, such as we have alluded to, where the appearances are directly opposed to the senses? Are we anywhere but here, in examining closely into material or sensible things, known to be treated by God as if we had no senses, or as if our senses and our reason were of no service in the execution of their legitimate office? Are not the senses made the judges of the external nature of material objects in the word of God and in the world about us, and of the performance of any substantial change produced in them, if fairly subjected to their probation? Now our senses, if consulted, would inform us that the bread consecrated by the priest has not undergone any transmutation of its substance—certainly not into flesh and blood; and that therefore as far as Scripture and nature warrant us to decide by our senses, it has not been so converted; and in every other instance but this, the warranty, in the absence of natural impediments, is complete and satisfactory.

But we are met here by this learned lecturer of the Roman Catholic faith with numerous arguments in reply, one of which is, "Let us see whether the apostles were not often placed in a situation where they must have believed a miracle to have been wrought upon their divine master's word *without* evidence of the senses.[e] He then quotes two or three examples in accordance with his implied supposition. But all this is really nothing to the purpose. We do not deny that the apostles might believe some miracles to be done *without* the evidence of their senses on their Saviour's or other person's affirmation, after they had seen him perform others. We ourselves believe all the miracles of the New Testament entirely without the evidence of our senses, all, we repeat, if we may be allowed to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. What we say is this: that the senses, where a miracle on objects of sense *is brought before them,* are the authorized judges that a miracle is performed, and that in all cases of ascertained miracles of this kind, the senses did determine the question of the performance. In the identical examples cited by the learned lecturer, though the apostles and ourselves do not determine by *our* senses, because the cases were not submitted to our sensitive organs for arbitration, yet the persons

[e] Wiseman's *Reply*, p. 248.

alluded to *did* judge, or *might* judge, by the use of *theirs*. And the conclusion we have drawn is still untouched, that the senses where they are actively concerned, where the case is brought under their cognizance, are always competent to decide whether the miracle has taken place. Now the bread and the wine which Christ blessed were objects of the senses of the apostles, both before and after their consecration. Bread and wine are objects of men's sensual observation in every succeeding age. We do not judge without the evidence of sense, we judge *by* the evidence of it, and that evidence declares to us, as it declared to the apostles, that there is no material change effected. The senses of the apostles appear to have given, and our own to give, the verdict immediately against the miraculous operation contended for. Since, then, the senses are the authorized umpires in the dispute, where external miracles wrought on objects of sense are submitted to the test, the apostles, in our judgment, must have believed at once, like ourselves, as rational "simple-minded men," in the absence of all miraculous agency without any idea of the contrary. However we may believe in some cases without the evidence of sense, we do not give credence to any assertion of a miraculous change in material substances, where we see the sensible evidence is directly opposed to that assertion.

Now it may be a question of curiosity with many persons in what manner the ingenious Roman Catholic thinks of escaping from this decision of the senses, which appears to us to be in this judicial matter the lawfully-constituted court of appeal, particularly when Scripture, nature, and experience are entirely in favour of their judgment. The difficulty, if difficulty only it may be called, is presumed to be surmounted by the objections which follow: That transubstantiation is not a *common* miracle —that this is *our mistake*, the grand mistake we make in the whole case to think that it is a common miracle[f]—that it was not, and is not, like other miracles, wanted as evidence to convince unbelievers (p. 251)—that it is a *mystery*, a mystery containing, or as it appears concealing a miracle (p. 252), and is *not to be* judged by the senses—that it is the condition of every miraculous mystery (he explains himself in these very words) "to be transcendent to human perceptions"—that if we disbelieve this mystery we might as well disbelieve the Trinity and the Incarnation, which are both mysteries[g]—that it is absurd to speak of any distinction between that which is *above* and that

[f] *Reply*, c. ix., p. 250.
[g] *Lect.* vi., pp. 215, 216, 218, and *Reply*, c. ix., pp. 252—256.

which is *contrary* to reason[h]—and that our principle of judging by our senses would lead to all the extravagancies of the rationalistic theology.[i]

Now all these objections to judging by our senses (for it ought to be well understood and remembered they are all objections to *that)* we will examine in the order which we think most conducive to perspicuity, and to the least possible extent commensurate with an adequate exposure of their insufficiency.

With respect to the charge of rationalism, it is not impossible that the learned writer did not intend to implicate the deniers of transubstantiation generally in all its follies. The accusation is rather than otherwise personal towards his opponent, excited by one or more of his arguments or observations. It is beside our purpose to vindicate any part of his conduct of the case. Under the impression, however, that the charge is of a general nature, we include it in the catalogue of objections to our theory. We are accused, then, of what is denominated rationalism on account of judging of the nature of the sacramental elements by our senses. We are told, for one thing, in support of this charge, that "an empty distinction has been often popularly made between one doctrine being *above* reason and another being *against* reason—that this is truly a distinction without a difference."[j] Now we are sufficiently aware that much absurdity has been advanced, by *one* writer at least, in his distinctions between the two phrases, above *experience* and contrary to *experience*, but we are perfectly satisfied that all the four modes of expression are capable of having assigned to them very distinct and intelligible meanings. At all events, however, we may affirm, we think, without any risk of refutation, that there may be a difference, and a very *wide* difference, between the signification of the terms, above our *perception* and against our *perception*. By a fact *above* our perception, we would mean something which we have not the faculties to perceive; by what is *against* that perception, we would signify anything which is, or is said to be, contrary to that which we perceive by our senses that it *is*. There may be many things above our perception which are not contrary to it, and many contrary to it which are not above it;—one example out of thousands will make our meaning sufficiently plain. Take the growth of the smallest, meanest, thrifty plant in the vegetable world. To a great extent the manner how it increases in size, by the action of earth and sun and rain and air, is a mystery to us above our perception; but

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[h] *Lect.* vi., p. 216.

[i] *Reply*, c. ix., p. 256.

[j] *Lect.* vi., p. 216.

the assertion that it does not increase is contrary to our perception, inasmuch as we perceive that it does. What is styled rationalism may, for aught we know, disbelieve everything in religion which is above its perception or comprehension. This is no part of our system. We believe much that lies beyond the province of our experience. We think it perfectly reasonable, we deem it rationality itself, to yield our assent to such incomprehensibilities.

In the nature of the Deity, for example, and in all the modes of His operations, everything is placed infinitely out of the limits of our powers of intelligence; yet we do not disbelieve in their existence so far as we are informed of them by divine authority. On the contrary, so far from denying such mysteries, which are to us perfectly inexplicable,—so far from desiring to bring them down to a level with our humble faculties, we maintain that it was to be expected that the attributes of an infinite Being should be imperceptible and unintelligible to creatures of limited and shallow capacities like ourselves; and that the Scriptures speak to us as reasonable persons in requiring us to believe such things which are cognizable by knowledge, "too wonderful and excellent for us," to which we cannot possibly "attain," and "which is past finding out," while we are in this inferior state of existence. This inference we hold is perfectly distinct from that abuse of reason which is entitled rationalism. We assert, on the contrary, with perfect confidence in the irrefragable truth of the assertion, that it is a part of the true use of reason, of the essence of rationality. There are some of the articles of our creed, in which we believe what is *above* our perception. But in disbelieving transubstantiation, we disbelieve only what is *contrary* to it. If it is asserted that the bread and the wine are really changed into flesh and blood, this is *against* what we do actually perceive; we perceive that they are not so changed: and this denial only of that which is directly the reverse of our perception will certainly not land us in all the extravagant conclusions of rationalism, which denies what is merely above it.

These observations are intended only (and we trust they are sufficient) to shew that there is a distinction between what is above and what is against our perception, and that we are not necessarily chargeable with the follies of a modern school of divinity, because we believe the positive evidence of sense. And these observations, too, in great measure anticipate what needs be said on the next of the objections which we shall notice—that about its being our duty to believe transubstantiation as much as it is the Trinity.—It is with respect to the Trinity that the reproach of the learned lecturer was hazarded concerning that

emptiness of distinction between, above, and against, reason which we mentioned.[k] But, its author, we are convinced, and every professor of his religious creed, can never intend to signify that there is not in the two doctrines of the Trinity and of transubstantiation, much of that distinction which we have just asserted, respecting an *opposition* and a *superiority* to our natural perceptions. The doctrine of the Trinity concerns exclusively things divine and supernatural. The doctrine of transubstantiation is concerned not with things thus exclusively characterized. In the doctrine of the union of three persons in one Godhead after some mysterious manner, there is nothing of which we can affirm that we perceive by our senses that it does not exist. In the doctrine of transubstantiation there is something involved which is the object of our senses, and which our senses perceive is directly contrary to its *assertion*. There is thus a very broad distinction between the credibility of the two cases, independently of what we have already observed, that it is reasonable to expect a mystery in one and not in the other doctrine, and the difference between the two cases is precisely such as warrants us in affirming that we are *not as much* bound to believe in transubstantiation as in the Trinity.

The learned lecturer, indeed, does not much insist upon the case of the Trinity. He appears conscious that the exclusively divine nature of the subject is not analogous to another which is partly composed of material objects. He, therefore, has recourse to another example, on which he rests his main argument, because it does regard substances of that nature. The example we allude to is the incarnation. Here he appears to believe that he has found a case exactly in point, and his argument is laboured and minute. We will not lead the reader through the whole train of his thoughts for several reasons. It will be sufficient to observe that their force is concentrated in the following statement,—that the incarnation of Christ in its commencement, agreeably to the annunciation of the angel, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee," is such that, "upon the simple declaration of this divine Messenger, that what was born of Mary was through the Holy Ghost, we set aside the entire experience of all ages (we are quoting his own words), regarding, mind, a physical law of which experience was the legitimate test on every other occasion. "We presume not to scrutinize what portion of the usual laws was suspended, and what allowed to remain in operation, we take the simple declaration, and we

[k] *Lect.* vi. 216.

believe it in all its necessary results." "Now this suspension of the ordinary laws of constituted nature, this contradiction to the sole test or basis of those laws (for we call those the laws of nature, which every observation, every experiment, proves to have uniformly directed the operations), was surely miraculous in the highest degree; but who would call it no more than a miracle of the same class as the rising of a paralytic from his bed, given, like this, in evidence or to be discussed on the principle of investigation, and proof, apart from the divine revelation?" "The fact is, this is a *mystery*, part of the mystery of the incarnation, it is itself an object of faith, and as such withdrawn from the sphere of all philosophical scrutiny."[1]

Such is the substance of our theologian's reasoning on the subject. He seems to conceive that the incarnation is *so* different from other miracles performed on material substances,—*in its evidence,—in its mysteriousness,—and in its opposition to a law of nature,*—and at the same time *so like to* transubstantiation, that it countenances all the alleged deviations from nature in transubstantiation. But we cannot do otherwise than dispute the justness both of his observations and of his conclusion. The incarnation doubtless is mysterious; but not in the way of transubstantiation, if transubstantiation be a true doctrine. If transubstantiation be founded in truth, *it* is mysterious not only in its mode of operation, like all other material miracles, but it is also mysterious in its effects;—*so mysterious, that the result appears not as it is said to be.* Now the incarnation, simply considered as incarnation, is mysterious only in the mode of its operation; *at least the effect produced is not mysterious in appearing to be what it is not.* So far the cases are not parallel. Then again, as to the incarnation, considered in the same way, being contrary to a law of nature: this concerns only the mode of operation, the effect both promised and produced is, according to our understanding, *perfectly natural.* Here, there is direct opposition to transubstantiation. The result alleged to exist in transubstantiation is not, according to our understanding, perfectly natural, but rather, according to our understanding, perfectly *un*natural, perfectly inconsistent with the nature of things. And then, thirdly, as to evidence; the incarnation was capable of evidence in its results. Transubstantiation is not; and it is quite sufficient, even without any other consideration, to shew that the two cases are not so alike that we are as much bound to believe one as the other;—that the dispute does not concern a law of nature's operations, drawn by the learned doctor unnecessarily into the argument, but whether there is any operation performed at all.

[1] *Reply*, c. ix., pp. 253, 254.

It concerns simply the question whether a certain effect is produced; and in one case, in the incarnation, we have, to say the least, no ground whatever for denying the effect was produced; and, in the other, we have the strongest reasons for such a denial, by our perceiving that it is *not*.

It appears, then, we trust, that it is contrary to fact that we must be implicated in the guilt of rationalism, if we deny transubstantiation; or, that, to be consistent with ourselves, we must believe in transubstantiation, if we are believers in the incarnation and the Trinity. The cases are so dissimilar that there is no arguing from one to the other. The objections indeed from the doctrines of the Trinity and the incarnation may be shewn to be farther evidently futile, if we can prove that it is to be believed that transubstantiation is non-existent; for they are intended by our opponent as illustrations of the miracle of which he is the advocate,—which of course they cannot be, if such miracle is only imaginary. But we are satisfied in this discussion, with respect to those two admitted miracles and mysteries, to have shewn that they are irrelevant to the question before us. These, however, it will be remembered, are not the only objections which our opponent has brought against deciding by our senses, whether a miracle, in this matter, has been performed or not. It is added to these, that transubstantiation is not an ordinary miracle,—that it is our error to think that it is an ordinary one,—that it was not, and is not, like other miracles, wanted as evidence to unbelievers,—that it is a mystery, a mystery containing, and indeed concealing, a miracle;—that it is not to be judged by the senses,—and that it is the condition of every such mystery "to be transcendent to human perceptions." It must be evident, we think, to the reader that there is a deeply radicated conviction in the mind of the writer of these sentences that transubstantiation is a reality. But they are not the root of the conviction themselves; they are at the most excrescences. Indeed, with the exception of the alleged miracle of transubstantiation not being needed as evidence, they are, for anything we have seen at present, mere assumption or assertion. They principally shew that there is a strong determination to defend the faith in the litigated doctrine. They appear to imply that transubstantiation must and does exist, and that therefore it is reasonable to affirm that there must be some greater mystery in this case than in other effects of supernatural power. But though we have not yet seen the ground, clearly and fully stated, of all this confidence, it is indisputable that such a ground (whether solid or unsound is the question), most certainly exists somewhere. There appears, beyond all question, to the Roman

Catholic, to be an autocratic and absolute reason which enforces the belief that the judgment of his doctrine of transubstantiation is, in kind, an exception to the otherwise universal law of God, of the competency of the senses to perform their natural functions, and of the adaptation of material things to the exercise of these functions. There appears at least to be such a reason which necessitates the faith, that God speaks to us as reasonable and sensible persons everywhere but on this subject;—that this is a single exception, that in this instance he addresses us as if we had neither reason nor sense;—and that physical reality in one only case when submitted without natural disturbance to our observation, is contrary to appearance and appearance contrary to fact. There appears such a reason as compels the Roman Catholic thus to surrender, on a solitary occasion, the use of his natural powers in relation to matter,—powers which God has given him for that exercise, without instructing us to think that they are ever doubtful in their operations when in full vigor, and not obstructed in their action by natural causes. But in reply to the apparent assumptions which are now more immediately under notice, we are inclined to resume a former attitude, and deny that there is any sufficient reason for thinking of any mystery or miracle at all, considered as material, in opposition, as it must be, to our senses, the competent and authorized judges in all miracles which are performed on matter externally, and are, with at most this solitary exception, their proper objects.

Most certainly no reason for determining the necessary presence of a mystery can be discerned in the bread and wine themselves, because it is allowed that mysteries transcend human perceptions; and there ought to be some marvellously strong reason indeed to compel any wise and judicious person to maintain that a substantial miracle exists in contradiction to the evidence which we possess to the contrary. It is manifestly felt by the Roman Catholic that there is some such reason to be assigned, from the determined manner in which he attempts to vindicate his faith. He must allow at least the apparent strength of the objections to his doctrine on one side, and of course there must be some exceedingly powerful argument to prevail over them on the other. Nothing but the most irresistible causation imaginable can, we may suppose, be sufficient for their overthrow. It is to us indeed impossible to conceive any reason adequate to the production of that effect, because we are certain that the senses are decisive of the question. But this is past all dispute; that unless there is some astonishingly strong and positive ground for asserting the existence of a miracle and mystery in the case;—the concurrent voice of reason and sense, the uni-

versal rule, in all instances, except this, of the authority of these natural endowments, must be allowed to be paramount to every other consideration; we profess, and we trust, not unreasonably, that, before we can give our assent to such an assertion, we require a reason resembling a torrent of an immense volume of waters which bears down every mighty obstacle before it with resistless violence: or, at the very least, we hope we should escape deserved censure, if we treated any such assertion with indifference, unless it can be supported by some reason sufficient for establishing its validity.

We still persevere in maintaining that it is not *reasonable*, in opposition to what has been already advanced, to suppose the truth to be otherwise than we believe it is. But it is evident to us the mind of our adversary is under some extraordinary impulse which overpowers all opposing rationality;—and we confine ourselves at the present moment simply to the consideration of what is the wonderfully predominant cause for believing the Romish tenet in the face of every rational objection. What is this most astounding influence?

One reason of our learned combatant is, we have seen, that transubstantiation was not a common miracle, but a mystery containing a miracle, because it was not wanted as evidence. In our opinion this would be an infinitely better reason for thinking that there was no miracle at all. But this is not the grand,—the all-powerful motive. No one indeed imagines that it can be, if he recollects one of our opponent's former declarations. The reader, we suppose, must be prepared to expect its announcement from another quarter. And here we adduce it. It is in fact no other than this. It is the simple assertion, *This is my body*. It is the revelation:—*that* revelation most particularly. It is what the accomplished Roman Catholic divine entitles the *clear* revelation. He says in one place, "Suppose a mystery revealed, is its worth to be tried, etc.,[m] by its accordance with the results deduced?" The reader is most particularly requested to observe that the whole *master* argument turns on the assumption, on the supposition, that *a mystery is revealed*. In another place he writes (we will give several proofs of this being professedly the foundation of his faith); "The term Triune is opposed to natural reasoning;—would they (philosophers) then have been right in rejecting the Trinity?" He says, "Most undoubtedly not; *because, revealed by that authority* which created nature, man's reason must receive it and yield the conceptions of its feeble powers to that authority."[n] Again, *in like manner*, the

[m] *Lect.* vi., p. 215. [n] *Ibid.*

mystery of the incarnation, *once clearly revealed,* overthrows the specious reasoning deducible from experience."[o] Again; "precisely of the same character is the argument relative to the blessed sacrament."[p] "*If as clear a revelation has been made* of this mystery as of the others, the results of our observation must yield to the revelation."[q] "Reason unaided has equal repugnance to the Trinity and the eucharist, to one as to the other, but bows and is silent in regard to both when revealed."[r] And once more in his exclamation against the divinity professor, as being an unintentional ally of Strauss;—his argument is, "Admit, first, *no expressions, however clear,* can set aside the judgment of the senses," etc., etc.[s]

This is more than sufficient to shew that the faith of the Roman Catholic rests on *the alleged plainness of the Revelation,* on the conviction that these words, This is my body and this is my blood, are *in themselves* perfectly void of ambiguity, and must support his creed in all its integrity. It must be well understood, to the right apprehension of the argument, that it is the signification of these words—This is my body—*in themselves,* which is considered by the Roman Catholic of sufficient force to decide or preclude the question between us. We are not merely *at liberty* to take the sense of the words, independently of the existence of the belief which it is alleged that they inculcate, but it is *our duty* thus to consider it, because *the grand argument against us* is, *that these words are so incontrovertibly plain,* that there is no resisting the inference which the Roman Church has drawn from them. "This is my body" are the all-prevailing words which convert man, at times, in a most unparalleled and unprecedented manner into an irrational and senseless creature, while in the full possession of both reason and sense in all their soundness, vigour, and activity. But a question here forces itself upon us, *are* these words so unequivocal and plain, that it is impossible but that they must carry everything which stands in their way before them? Can they not, by any possibility, mean anything else, *by themselves,* than that what Christ held in his hand was really his body? We should first say, that if the words could mean nothing but *that,* we should, for our part, believe immediately that they could not be a genuine revelation from heaven. We should believe there must be some error arising from transcription, or some other cause, for we do not believe that any words of revelation can contradict the naturally unbiassed judgment of sense, in matters belonging to its own

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[o] *Lect.*, vi. p. 215. [p] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[q] *Lect.* vi., p. 216. [r] *Ibid.* [s] *Reply*, c. ix., p. 256.

province. Is not, we ask most confidently, is not the judgment of the senses, in matters of that kind, where there are *no natural causes* to prejudice their decision, *is it not a voice ordained by Omnipotence?* and is not revelation the same? Would not one contradicting the other be divine truth contradicting itself, and is this contradiction possible?

But we revert to the point which is, we hope, to decide the great question between us and the eminent Roman Catholic disputant. Is it quite impossible that these words, "This is my body," can bear a figurative interpretation? must they, of absolute necessity, be understood literally?

There might be very powerful arguments advanced of various kinds, for believing the negative of this interrogatory. It might, for one thing, be argued that our Saviour did, most certainly, speak figuratively as to the eucharist, on the occasion of his using the expression now under consideration. For example, in St. Luke's account of the institution, it is written of Christ, "Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you.*" We may challenge the most rigorous advocate of literal interpretation to prove that these words can be taken literally. It is evidently absurd to entertain the idea for a moment. If we go no farther than the first part of the sentence of Christ, it is enough, This cup is the New Testament. Is it possible, with reason, that these words can be understood literally? and if we add what follows, the literal interpreter is involved in deeper and deeper difficulties: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." And then, again, according to the Greek, it is very plain that *the cup* was said to be shed. This could not be literal, and indeed our learned opponent says, *this cup* means *what was in the cup.* He thus himself abandons the literal interpretation. Not that this explanation will much elucidate the matter, for literalness will then be out of the question, if we write, What is in this cup is the New Testament in my blood. To which it may be added, that *this cup which is shed* cannot be literally understood, even if we were to allow that *this cup* is *what was in the cup;* for at the time our Saviour spoke, his blood was not actually or literally shed. Here is abundant proof that our Saviour employed language in the benediction of the cup which cannot be reasonably received according to the letter, and the Roman Catholic must admit, and has, in part, admitted, that the impossibility exists. Other instances might be given. Indeed, the very words, "This is my body which is given for you," cannot be altogether understood in a literal sense, for a similar reason to that just mentioned, with regard to the blood. It

was not actually given when the words were first spoken, and we would ask, how do we know that our Saviour did not intend his words to be figuratively understood in blessing the bread? It would be only agreeable to other expressions he used at the time, more particularly to what he said of the cup, to believe that He did. He spoke figuratively in one case, and it may be presumed He did so in the other. It is certainly a reason *more* for it than against it.

But it is time to recollect that we are making a digression. We must examine the words, "This is my body," *by themselves.* We by no means intend to surrender such auxiliary observations, as we have ventured to make already, as to the impropriety of taking the words, "This is my body," in their literal acceptation; but simply for the sake of the confident argument which the learned Cardinal has advanced, we must address ourselves to the bare question, must the words be understood literally? We are bound to make this separate examination, in duty to the Roman Catholic as well as to ourselves, and, what is of infinitely higher consideration, to Christ Himself, when it is the pretended *independent* meaning of these words which is brought against us as the argument which is insurmountable; and if we shall be able to see that the words may be taken figuratively, that they do not necessarily signify that it was His body which Christ held in His hand, it will be more likely that they are to be so taken, and they will certainly not oblige us to renounce the most incontrovertible principles of sound decision.

Now, it has been constantly asserted and maintained, we believe, by learned and judicious Protestant controversialists, that "*This is my body*" may be, and ought to be, understood figuratively in a similar way to which "*I am the door*" ought to be understood. This, as far as we know, has been appealed to continually by Protestants as an irrefutable argument for the soundness of their faith. We never saw it questioned with any apparent success till in the year 1827, by Father Maguire, in his disputation with Mr. Pope. He denies that "*This is my body*" is analogous to "*I am the door.*" He insists upon its analogy to *I am this door*;—alleging very unanswerably that, if our Saviour had laid his hands on a particular door and said, *I am this door*, we should have known that he spoke literally; and then insisting, as we trust it will be seen very illogically, that *This is my body* is parallel or analogous to *I am this door*, and must therefore be understood literally. The sophism seems to have been new to Mr. Pope; and in the heat of debate he appears, according to the "authenticated report" published in Dublin at the time, to have omitted all notice of it in his reply; but a slight

deliberate examination very easily exposes the fallacy, and leaves the analogy of *I am the door* to *This is my body* in its old established security.

Our opponents seem to have bewildered themselves with the demonstrative "*this.*" They appear to us to think that its presence in both the sentences, *I am this door* and *This is my body*, stamps them both with analogicalness. The fact is, it does no such thing. Analyzing these few words, and leaving the disputed doctrine out of the question, which we are required in strict propriety to do, when we are considering whether the words "this is my body" must *abstractedly* mean as the Roman Catholics understand them, and can mean nothing else,—analyzing the words on this principle, we observe that the subject "I" and the predicate "this door," of the proposition I am this door, are both definite terms. "I" represents definitely the speaker, and no other person; and "this door" represents the door laid hold of, and "no other door." Taking the words by themselves, abstractedly, they can signify nothing else: but not similarly with "This is my body," taken thus abstractedly. It is evident *to us* at least, that the subject here (this) is not a definite term, as the subject in the other sentence. *This* is my body (as far as the words themselves go,—and that is the point the Roman Catholic insists upon,) may signify simply that this which I hold in my hand is my body; or this thing which I hold, and which you see is bread, is my body. The "this" may mean one or the other: the form of words may mean only "this is my body," or "this bread is my body,"—which latter meaning is certainly figurative. Confining our view to the bare abstract phrase, it may admit of either of these interpretations. The first sentence, "I am this door," is capable of only one interpretation. "This is my body" is susceptible of two imputable significations, of which only one can be true, and from which that true one is to be selected. So far then the two sentences are not analogous; and we are not restricted to only one mode of interpretation of "This is my body," by there being only one construction to be put on "I am this door." The fact is, that "I am the door" after all is analogous to "This is my body," and "I am this door" is not. As there is a choice of interpretations in the words "This is my body," we prefer that which is alone agreeable to reason, experience, and the rest of Scripture, and declare that "This is my body" signifies this bread is my body, or is figuratively its representative.

But we must not lay the flattering unction to our souls that, unanswerable as we believe this argument to be, we are to maintain it without the slightest opposition; for the Cardinal

affirmed in his fifth lecture that τοῦτο has no definite meaning whatever till we come to σῶμα. He asserts that the *this*, in "*This is my body*," is the body; and he implies that it can be nothing else. In speaking of both the sentences "this is my body" and "this is my blood" his words are:—"The *this* is nothing but the body and the blood. It represents nothing,—it means nothing, till identified at the close of the sentence with the substances named."[1] These words reduced to a grammatical construction, and taken in their natural and obvious sense, are simply *an assertion* of the doctrine of transubstantiation without one atom of evidence. An assertion of that kind is, of course, perfectly worthless as argument. Invention can easily produce an equivalent. What is believed to be the body of Christ has all the accidents of bread, but it is His body notwithstanding. They are, in short, neither of them any argument at all.

For the negative assertion of the Cardinal concerning τοῦτο to be sufficient for his purpose, he ought to have proceeded further, and made at least the surprising averment that it is perfectly impossible that τοῦτο could have any meaning truly assigned to it, but an identification with the predicate σῶμα. He needed besides to have proved at least that it is contrary to the universal usage of τοῦτο, in a similar collocation of words, to have a different meaning from that which he has ascribed to it; and that there is no colourable pretext for its ever bearing any other interpretation. We need not to think what reply could have been made if such impossibilities had been established. We have certainly, it must be professed, learnt our grammar very differently. And not only do we make a counter-assertion, by declaring it agreeable to one legitimate and not very uncommon use of τοῦτο in a sentence of like construction, to be understood in our manner—to have a proper and true meaning, which presents itself to the mind with the word, and without a thought of the predicate at the opposite end of the sentence at all;—but our assertion shall, also, unlike that of the Cardinal, be substantiated by proof, and we will derive our examples from the Word of God. We refer, then, his Eminence and our readers to Philippians i. 22, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου; to 1 Peter ii. 20, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ Θεῷ; and to Exod. viii. 19, Δάκτυλος Θεοῦ ἐστι τοῦτο.

Leaving these and such like examples to their examination and digestion, we come at last, we hope, to the undisturbed conclusion that there is no impediment to believing that if we imagine, what was really the fact, that our Saviour took the sacramental elements into His hands and blessed them, before

[1] *Lect.* v., p. 180.

the eyes of the apostles, the words "This is my body," in the Greek, taken by themselves, *without reference to any doctrine,* are *ambiguous,*—are capable of one of two constructions, admit, that is, of a choice of interpretation, either that this thing which I hold in my hand is my body,—or this thing, of which you see the nature, is my body. *Supposing,* we mean for a moment, that there could be no dispute about what it really was which Christ held—*supposing* that he knew that the apostles could not be mistaken;—but might, and ought, and would be ruled by their senses, the words he used were, *in themselves, abstractedly considered from any doctrine,* quite consistent with *such a supposition. If Christ had meant* the apostles to understand it was bread which was in His hand, He might have used the very words He did use. They might be in themselves expressive of the intention. *Certainly,* on the contrary, if our Saviour had intended the apostles to understand that *His body* was passing through His hands, He might have employed the same language; but at the same time, if He had meant what we believe He did, He might have spoken the identical words. It would have been only agreeable to known phraseology in the original tongue. The language of our Saviour, abstractedly considered as it ought to be in this case, is capable of signifying that the contents of His hand was really bread. Nothing is more easy than to understand His words in that sense. *Where then is the necessity* from these words abstractedly considered, (which is the Romanist's argument in this place,) *where is the necessity* of running counter to all the most established principles of our understanding, and to the divine laws of perception? It was in fact, as we have seen, consistent with another part of our Saviour's discourse, at His Last Supper, to speak figuratively with respect to the bread. In part of the form of blessing the bread, He does indeed speak *not literally,* and the very words in dispute admit of the choice which we have described. Where then, we ask again, the necessity of imagining a miracle, and a mystery concealing a miracle; and of vainly attempting to take refuge in the doctrine of the Trinity and the incarnation, in support of the allegation; and of contradicting the senses in a case of such a kind as they are invariably appointed and able to decide? Where the necessity of believing transubstantiation, and of involving a direct contradiction between two equally divinely appointed criterions of truth? The necessity from these words, "This is my body," could arise only in case the words could not by any possibility be understood independently, in more ways than one,—and that one against us: but it is quite certain, that they are not, grammatically speaking, thus restricted to one inevitable import, and that they need not

be taken in any sense conflicting with the realities of nature. The overpowering necessity, therefore, is all imagination. Thus there is no compulsion to surrender the judgment of our senses, where there are no natural impediments to their legitimate action; and as there is in these words, on which the argument of the Romish Church reposes, *not* a necessity, as they contend there is, to lay the senses prostrate, in opposition to every other instance of God's dealings with His creatures, of a similar nature, and in opposition to a law which we cannot conceive to be ever broken, since it involves a contradiction to truth itself, it is quite certain that the apostles, as "simple-minded men," would agree with our view of the whole circumstance of the sacramental benediction, —that there was no motive for thinking of a miracle in the least degree whatever. The apostles might well, as "simple-minded" men, imagine that our Saviour meant what they saw in His hand to be significant of His body;—and learning and reasoning, after all, come to the plain common-sense settlement of the case at last, as indeed it was to be expected that they would. The apostles formed, we believe, almost or quite an intuitive decision. They little thought of the labour and ingenuity to which the words of Christ would give rise in future ages; but it would have been wonderful—appalling indeed, if even the most laboured exercises in Biblical literature were not to arrive, in a matter of sense, at the same conclusion as our own natural faculties: it would have been most incredible, in short, if the most subtle inquiries had obliged us to decide any otherwise than like the reasonable beings which God considers us to be in all His addresses to our understandings, and in perfect consistency with His dispensations and His works.

E. C. K.

BISHOP WARBURTON'S UNPUBLISHED LETTERS.

WARBURTON is a writer who, whatever influence, good or evil, he exerted on the English literature of his day, has at least inseparably attached his name to it. We can scarcely glance at the life of any author of that period without finding Warburton more or less connected with it. To the life, as well as to the works, of the greatest poet of his time, he contrived to affix himself so closely that there is no possibility of detaching him from them. We find him in connection with Bolingbroke and Middleton, with Jortin and Hume, with Wesley and Whitfield, with Cibber and Quin, with Mallet and Sterne. We look into the biography of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and we find him there; we look into the correspondence of the author of *Pamela*, and we find him there. We think of commenting on Shakspeare, and we cannot write our comments without paying some attention to those of Warburton.

It is to the force of mind shewn in what he wrote, and not to the real value of the writings themselves, that he owes the notice which he has received. The *Alliance* and the *Julian* are his two best pieces, considered as literary compositions; but the *Divine Legation* of course displays more intellectual power. Hurd, speaking of this work to Warburton, said very justly, "There was something in your mind, still more than in the matter of your book, which struck me." He could look, as Pope said, on all sides of a question, and if judgment or honesty did not always dictate his treatment of it, he never failed to handle it with vigour. Whatever was the worth of what he produced, it manifested mental power in the producer.

A number of his letters, as the public are aware, have been recently brought to light, and lodged in the British Museum. We have looked through the collection. We find many of them trifling and unimportant, relating to small matters of business or trivial occurrences; but in others we notice passages of strong Warburtonian remark, much of it sarcastic. Some of these we have extracted, and offer them to our readers, trusting that they may find in them something to repay perusal. The letters to the Hon. Charles Yorke, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's son, are the most attractive, as there was no one, except Hurd, to whom Warburton wrote with so much freedom; and it is from these, accordingly, that our extracts will chiefly be taken.

In 1753, after receiving from Lord Hardwicke a prebendal stall at Gloucester, which had been previously occupied by Cudworth, he writes,—

"Dear and honoured Sir,—I received your kind remem-

brance from Caryl. He told me what you said of my relation to Cudworth, which I did not know. So much I did know, that this stall had been occupied by Bishop Bull. If these two men preceded me, one of whom was so eminent for *profane* knowledge, and the other for *sacred*, I accept the omen (many an ancient sage would have been glad of one so promising) for the success of my studies, which, you know, all tend to promote both, by the mutual light I make them lend to one another."

When he took possession of his stall, he found that there had recently been a violent contest between the Dean and the Bishop about ecclesiastical rights; on which he observes,—

"As to the ground of this civil rage, the Dean's exercise of power, I suppose one may say of it, as of Sir Roger's head on the sign-post, *much may be urged on both sides;* the features were enlarged, and a little ferocious; there was something of the Saracen mixed with the mild Christian Dean. But he pleaded, what sanctifies all rogueries in the Church, *conscience.* In truth power ecclesiastical is a devilish bewitching thing, of which this good Dean has just given me a very lively example. Could you believe that this conscientious man, who grows every day fonder and fonder of *Church authority*, is quite satiated with civil power? He came to me the other day, and with earnestness begged of me that when I went to town, I would present his duty to my Lord Chancellor, requesting it as the greatest favour, that his lordship would be pleased to strike him out of the commission of the peace, for that his age and infirmities are so great as utterly to incapacitate him for the due discharge of his office. You will ask why the same cause does not dispose him to devolve his church power on Dr. Atwell and Mr. Wolley, who were so well disposed to ease him of it. All I can say to this difficulty is, that I believe age and infirmities, which disable men for the discharge of civil power, make them but the fitter for the exercise of the ecclesiastical; for which, perhaps, many physical as well as moral reasons might be given. As thus, civil power, regarding the body and goods, requires health and reason to administer them; but power ecclesiastical is conversant only with spiritual things; and that spiritual thing, the mind, like all other good things which are covered with a case or husk, is supposed to be then in perfection when the covering is quite decayed, and, as the poet says, *lets in new light* from the chinks made by time. Again, the passions of humanity are seen strongly to influence the proceedings in human judicatories, but the ecclesiastical admit of none of this weakness, as is evident from the proceedings of the most perfect of all, the Inquisition. Now extreme old age is observed to harden

the mind, and make it insensible to the foolish extremes of human pity.

"I do all I can to mollify that stiffness which the past heats have left behind them; and I come in the nick, like Rabelais' famed arbitrator, who never offered his arbitration till the two parties had bled pretty freely. Besides, that demon of contention, which the evil spirit sent into I don't know how many cathedrals at a time, to inflame the canons against their deans, seems to have returned into the bottomless pit, and left both deans and canons to their usual repose."

The following postscript to a letter written the same year may be worth transcription:—

"You may value yourselves as much as you please about your *precision of evidence* in your courts of justice. Commend me to the little Island of Montserrat (as I find the case quoted in Barbot's trial) for carrying the point of *positive evidence* to perfection: 'Captain Watts was indicted for killing Ould in a duel. The witness swore she saw Watts draw the sword out of Ould's body; but as she could not swear she saw him thrust it in, the jury acquitted the prisoner at the bar.' How nice, how delicate, how distinguishing is justice, when she is left to herself, and permitted to thrust her bandage aside!"

In January, 1754, he reads Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, published shortly before, and says,—

"We have been often told that Elizabeth's parsimony went to an extreme; but I think we never had so curious a picture of it as in these Memoirs, where we find that to spare her gratuities even to her bedchamber women, she ordered the bishops, on their promotion, *to give large sums unto them*, and suffered herself to be solicited by them to influence even the Chancellor's decrees, as appears by the memorial of Dr. Fletcher on behalf of his brother's family, and the story of the Lord Keeper Puckering and one of the ladies of the bedchamber in the cause of Booth, who seems to have been a notorious offender.

"These papers fully confirm what you long ago conjectured to me of the motives for the two Cecils traversing Bacon's pursuits at Court. And the resentment of the two Bacons for these ill turns, as they express it in these papers, throw new light upon Bacon's *Essay on Deformity*. What made me think of that was the reading of Mr. Hay's extreme pretty *Essay on Deformity*. Bacon, employing a Scripture expression (not quoting a Scripture affirmation), says, as he is quoted by Mr. Hay, p. 41, that 'deformed persons are for the most part void of natural affection.' Don't you think he had his eye on Sir R. Cecil, and his unkindness to this part of his family?"

Warburton, it will be recollected, on visiting Oxford with Pope, was asked by Dr. Leigh, the Vice-Chancellor, if he would like to receive a doctor's degree in divinity; and an offer was at the same time made to Pope of a degree in civil law. Both expressed assent; but Warburton's degree, through the influence of a party unfavourable to him, was refused; and Pope, in consequence, would not accept his. Both afterwards made light of the matter; and Warburton, in the following passage, affects to set a Lambeth degree, to which he was obliged to have recourse, above a degree from a University:—

"You must know that, taking it into my head that a degree from the Archbishop was more honourable than one in course at a University, and would be a kind of *sanction to my theological principles against bigots, etc.*, I wrote his Grace a letter on that head; and my choosing to break the matter without the intervention of any other person, was, I told him, out of the respect and reverence I owed him; as he was the only proper judge of the propriety of it, and so was quite free to determine what was fitting. I received the most obliging answer from his Grace, expressing the pleasure I gave him in affording him the opportunity of shewing his regard for me, etc. I know you will be so good, when you next see him, to assure him of the extreme grateful sense I have of all his goodness to me, as you know me best, and become a kind of sponsor for me in bringing me into his knowledge and good opinion."

In another passage he has another sarcasm at a doctorate from Oxford, "that Athens of loyalty and learning," as he calls it:—

"It is hard to say if Church or State be at present more benefited by it. For I think the fashionable divinity of Hutchinson is well-matched with the fashionable politics of Filmar. But it is certain Whigs and rational divines are at present the horror of that University. One thing of late among them was not so well; . . . their metamorphosing so many simple rustics into civil doctors. The unnecessary procreation of lawyers bodes but ill to a commonwealth. But the best of it is, that an Oxford doctor, like a trainband drum, forebodes no mischief or bloodshed."

In the same letter he says, in allusion to his contemplated *View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy*:—

"I amuse myself with a thing, which, was you here, you would be plagued with, because I never like my things so well as while you are reading of them. I have a better reason for your reading them, but, to tell you the truth, this flatters me most. The thing will be without my name, and a secret. I wish it

may in no way displease one I have so much reason to value as our friend; nay, I would not even have it displease any of his friends on his account. You will ask me then why I venture upon it. I will tell you sincerely. I think it my duty; for I am a Christian. I think I was designed to be the declared enemy of infidelity; for I am a little fanatical. If it was not for this, the iniquity of the parsons, with regard to me, would have deterred me. For though this thing be an apology, as it were, for the whole order, yet I am not certain whether it will not renew their clamours against me for the scurrility of my pen."

The scurrility was so gross that Murray, Lord Mansfield, wrote Warburton an anonymous remonstrance upon it. As to the clergy, Warburton is constantly complaining that they were either too dull to understand him, or wilfully misunderstood him in order to abuse him. Impenetrability to his argument he charges upon Sir John Hill, the botanical Knight of the Polar Star, who thought proper to assail Lord Bolingbroke:—

"Hill has wrote something against Lord Bolingbroke, and in the 481st page he charges me with holding that *Moses did not believe the immortality of the soul.* The man had no ill-will in this stupendous blunder. It was mere ignorance. Bolingbroke understood the matter better. He saw that all the force of my inference for an extraordinary providence, from the omission, depended on the truth that *Moses did believe the immortality of the soul;* and therefore amongst various arguments he brings to evade my conclusion, he urges this as one, that *Moses did not believe the immortality.* I mention only this to shew you what readers and answerers of the *Divine Legation* I have had. You will be surprised when I tell you that Brown, who referred me to this place in Hill, did not apprehend the blunder, for he speaks of him as only differing from me on the *question* of the *Divine Legation.* In short, I never met with any body who understood the book but yourself and Towne.

"A little before Barrow went on his travels he published his geometrical lectures. Ten years afterwards, on his return, he inquired who had read or understood his book; and the number was reduced to two, though the two greatest mathematicians in Europe. On which he thought it time to turn himself to other matters. Something of this I am ready to do, if not to say, in my own case."

In the beginning of 1756 Prior Park is visited by Potter, the son of the Archbishop, whom scandal declared to have been too intimate with Mrs. Warburton, and by Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, who had then been obliged to resign the Secretaryship of State to Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland:

"Potter is here; so this brought Mr. Pitt to dinner on Wednesday and yesterday; which was oftener by twice than I wished. For a man who has used my friend with the indignity he did the Attorney a year ago, I profess the utmost contempt of, and so consequently cannot wish to meet. I should have had just the same sentiments of him, had you, instead of the Attorney, been the object of his ill-usage. For my friend in such cases is more than myself. One has not a right to forgive so easily as in one's own case. And of a colder friendship I am ready to say with Hotspur in the play,

'Then out upon this half-fac'd fellowship.'

I think just the same, and for the like reason, of the new Secretary [of State, Fox], for an ounce of friendship weighs more with me than a whole cart-load of politics.

"Pitt appears very gay, very disengaged; yet, through all this, I think I can see the marks of a restless disappointed ambition. I am much deceived in him, if he had even the least notion of friendship, but as the foundation of a political connection. As his friend Littleton's [Lyttelton's] friendships, I believe, generally rose out of vanity, it would be hard to say which was most likely to be lasting, for flattery is as insatiable as ambition.

"To tell you the truth, I am apt to be a free speaker, but I had not a good opinion enough of these people to be so. My politics make part of my morals."

About the same time we find that Yorke, like most of the public, had passed an unfavourable judgment on Hurd's *Seventh Dissertation on the Delicacy of Friendship*, and did not approve of Warburton's fierce attacks on his opponents:

"You remember," says Warburton, "what passed between us concerning the *Seventh Dissertation*, and how amicably each of us enjoyed our own different sentiments on that matter. But I took no more pleasure than you will do, to learn (and I learned it by accident, not from the author of the *Dissertation*, who does not so much as suspect that it is come to my knowledge) that your sentiments are as well known at Cambridge as to me. I ascribe this to the indiscretion of a common acquaintance [Dr. Brown, the author of the *Estimate*], whom it is very like you might (as it was natural you should) have told your mind to on this occasion. This person, to excuse what he himself had said, and very strangely, I suspect used your authority, and abused your confidence, to justify his own conduct, which had not one feature of that perfect candour which accompanied all you said and thought of this matter.

"All this would not have been worth a single thought, had it not reminded me of my misfortune (a misfortune I do not think a light one), that, whether I defended myself against the most villanous abuses of my enemies, or was defended by a friend from the low scoundrel envy of one [Dr. Jortin] who had profaned that name, the vindication was never greatly to your satisfaction. I think, had it been your fortune to be used in this manner, either by open enemies, or, what is infinitely worse, by a false friend, I should have but little conception how the villany would be reproved or repelled too severely. But do I therefore complain on account of this misfortune? Far from it. I think our difference of judgment on this point a mere matter of taste, arising from the difference of constitution, and as little to be disputed about as that. All I complain of is this supposed indiscretion of our acquaintance; who, before he had an opportunity of knowing your sentiments (if, indeed, he ever did know them, and I not mistaken in my suspicion), wrote very unfriendly to one in Cambridge, who replied to him in these words:—'We have seen the pamphlet you speak of. I dare say what you mention will be the general opinion. For our age, so happily refined out of all passion, is arrived at that pitch of delicacy, that it can bear neither panegyric nor satire; and this pamphlet, being a compound of both, is likely, for a double reason, to be very offensive.' The author of the *Dissertation* likewise answered him on this occasion, but in a very different strain:—'Since,' says he, 'you have been so free to declare your disapprobation of that piece, I will tell you a secret which I have told to no other, and which your commendations should never have drawn from me, which is, that *I writ it myself;* that I write it in mere indignation at the paltriest and dirtiest fellow living [Jortin], not only without any knowledge or allowance of Dr. W., but with a fixed resolution that he should never know it. In this last, indeed, I have not succeeded, for he fixed it upon me with so little doubt, that it would have been a childish affectation in me to deny it.'

"I know you will be charmed with such sentiments, however little satisfied you may be with the works they produce. One thing I am confident of, that in this whole matter your sentiments were wholly guided by what you conceive to be my true interest."

In the next letter he says:—

"I was angry at Brown, and it was him I suspected of the indiscretion; and, therefore, I had a mind you should know it.

"You know how I love you; and, therefore, I am always [so] impatient if I cannot bring you to think as I, that I bring

myself to think as you. And what is it but your goodness and sweetness of manners, as well as great parts, that make me desire this? As to others, I am as indifferent as if I was no author; as indifferent as a man can possibly be who sincerely thinks he finds truth in religion, and loves what he finds."

In a letter written August 6, 1756, we meet with a passage shewing how Admiral Byng was calumniated:—

"Byng is burnt in effigy in almost every town of Great Britain, and yet I meet with nobody who believes that he will be brought to the justice he deserves. I have been told from good hands that it is a notorious truth that he sought or accepted the command with no other view than to engross the plunder of the French trade; and, indeed, I think this is a key to every step he took. I find how the public begins to open its eyes concerning Lord Bath's Bill, and that the extravagant and mad encouragement given to seamen has now rooted out all the bravery of the British flag, and planted only avarice and poltroonery in its stead. But if it were not a folly (almost equal to the knavery of factions) to suppose that they would be attentive either to common sense or common justice, while they were driving on the ends of their party, one would wonder they should not see that their beneficence might have been so directed, without being much abated, as really to encourage the bravery of the fleet, by giving half the capture of merchantmen, and the whole capture of men-of-war. God mend our posterity. The present generation seem resolved not to co-operate with him, and he will never do the work alone."

From a letter of Oct. 2, 1756, we learn that Yorke solicited from his father the Deanery of Lincoln for Warburton, but that the solicitation was fruitless.

In Dec., 1757, we find Hurd, at Prior Park, reading over with Warburton his *Dialogue on the Constitution*, "intended to confute that principle of Hume, that the Stuarts aimed at nothing but preserving the prerogative as they found it." "He has made," adds Warburton, "a marvellous use of a few hints I gave him." When he was preferred to the Deanery of Bristol, in 1758, he says that he considers himself obliged for it, not to Mr. Pitt or the Duke of Newcastle, but to Mr. Allen. "Had it been any personal consideration in the Duke of Newcastle, I suppose it would have been the Bishoprick rather than the Deanery; for, if I am accustomed to rate myself at anything, it is merely by comparison with the market standard, and not for any intrinsic value." Of Brown's "Vindication" of his *Estimate* he says, "I told him I expected he should tell the world that no friend had any hand or concern directly or indirectly in

this foolish matter; and he has done so. You will laugh at the pompous Galimatias, in which he acquaints the world with the origin of his *Estimate*. He talks as being profound in a subject of which he knows nothing; and I objected this to him, as I did to the general plan of his *Apology;* that the offence taken by the public was chiefly to the *manner*, and his 'Vindication' is of the *matter*."

Giving an account of his entrance on the Deanery of Bristol, he thus speaks of the Chapter:—

"I found a very small cathedral, but it contrives to make as violent a noise as the largest. But with regard to the offices thereunto belonging, it bears much more the face of an hospital. I found myself attended (nor do I exaggerate, which you will be ready to suspect) by the deaf, the blind, and the lame, and with every kind of invalid but the dumb. Had I been an apostle, what noble subjects had I here to work upon! I might have rendered this little blind deanery illustrious for its miracles, but being only in the number of those miserable sinners, doomed to pray for daily pardon and daily bread, I had only room for that other apostolic gift of charity, in its fullest extent, both to the living and the dead, for I can but just forgive the late Dean for his follies and absurdities."

Speaking of Hurd, in 1759, he says:—

"Your judgment of the *Dialogues* will make Dr. Hurd very happy. What you say of the first is so true, and was so little understood by a grave London divine, that you will smile when I tell you, that after having bought the book, he returned it to the bookseller in a great passion against the author, as a professed advocate for *insincerity*."

In December, 1759, he declares he will not resign his preachership at Lincoln's Inn till there is a certainty for the election of Hurd in his place. About a year afterwards we find rising in his mind the idea of the remarkable charge which he delivered to the clergy of Gloucester in 1761, when he had become their bishop. He thinks of writing *Directions for the Study of Theology*, "from the first elements of thinking to the last sublimities of the chair;" observing that as he had seen "an indisposition in the clergy to receive a few plain truths because they were new, and perhaps because they were his," he "would try to put them in a way to find them out for themselves," hoping, he adds, "to produce something not unuseful to the younger part of my clergy, to whom on this subject you may be sure I direct myself."

In the same letter he relates what he calls his "last exploit" at Durham:—

"The Dean and Chapter had appealed against each other to the Bishop, and he had appointed his day of visitation to hear their mutual complaints, who were at the utmost distance with each other. The Bishop has such near connections with the Chapter that their honour and his are the same; and I found him mortified that they were likely to become a spectacle to the gentry of the country, who appeared to enjoy the quarrel. At the same time he believed it impossible, from the claims as well as temper of the two parties, to make it up. However, I undertook it, and (though the only particular by both sides confessedly injured) they agreed to refer all things to me as a common mediator, which, with much labour and some difficulty, after sacrificing my own resentments to peace, I at length brought to pass, before I left the place, and on terms most to the honour of a mediator. They agreed, with the Bishop's consent, mutually to withdraw their reciprocal appeals, the Dean promising on his honour never more to intrench on their rights, and they, on theirs, to hold sacred his privileges and prerogatives. The conclusion was, that I received their common thanks, and left them in peace and cordial harmony.

"Could I ever have obtained such an interest (and I have done much more to deserve it) in the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, they would never, in mere politeness and good manners, have suffered a forward coxcomb [Dr. Ashton] to engage their votes at a next vacancy, when they had never received from me the least hint that I was disposed to leave them." Dr. Ashton, having met the Attorney-General at Prior Park, had "surprised him into a promise." Warburton was indignant that the Attorney-General, who had professed a regard for him, had allowed himself to be so entrapped, having "thus, for the sake of a stranger, transgressed the most established rules of politeness and decorum in the commerce of life." But, he says, "a more exquisite revenge I could not take against men failing in common civility towards me than by giving them Dr. Ashton for Mr. Hurd. And if the keeper will but give our friend [Hurd] a prebend, which Mr. Allen says is promised (and as little wonders how it came not to be performed last vacancy), it will better fit the laziness of his temper than a pulpit, though, in my conscience, I believe the University of Cambridge not to be out in their judgment, when they esteem Mr. Hurd one of the best preachers in England."

In November, 1761, he gives us his notions of Convocation:—

"While I am thus anxious for works of charity [in support of the Gloucester Infirmary], my wiser brethren of the Convocation are displaying their faith, and, what is more, insinuating

their ambitious hopes to the throne. They promise the king, if he will let them sit again to fight and squabble, they will do it, as Convocation has never done before, like gentlemen and scholars. Had I been of the party, I should have excepted to this clause; and the silence in the king's answer I think would fully have justified me. But I should not have stayed for the support of my opinion; I should have been apt to say that I had two substantial objections to the clause:—

"1st. Because the licence of the times, which the sitting of Convocation is supposed to redress, may be effectually repressed by the civil law now in force. 2nd. Were the Convocation allowed to sit, it would be unable, with all its canons mounted, to remedy the evils complained of.

"The insolence of the Papists is righty belaboured, but why does the madness of the Methodists escape scot-free? Is superstition more fatal, either to religion or government, than fanaticism? The attacks of Popery, indeed, like those of the scorpion, are silent and insidious; those of Popery, like the rattle-snake, give notice of its approach. But this makes no difference amongst those who are ignorant of the nature of those deadly pests of society.

"The wisdom of councils, synods, and convocations, has always been held, in orthodox belief, to be *the wisdom that comes from above;* but St. Paul tells us that among the characters of this species of wisdom, this stands eminent, that it is *without partiality and without hypocrisy.* But why should I be serious in an age so given to banter? All the use to be made of it is to afford you and me a little speculation after dinner in your library. Or, whether we laugh at or lament what we cannot mend, it comes to the same thing, while we equally submit in either case to the superior, though not to the supernatural, wisdom of our governors."

In the next letter, written in the same year, he has a few more reflections on Convocation:—

"There are many truths of speculation which, in certain seasons, become evils in practice. Synods are of this kind. You know I contended for the right in the 'Alliance,' but should have given my vote for its lying dormant till all the evil constellations that shed their influence on church matters were past and gone. But they who pretend to believe that they were the men, and not the stars, which were in fault, will satisfy themselves with a more familiar instance. When you have gagged a foul mouth (especially when it is of the feminine gender, as I think Convocation is), if you remove the obstruction before the rage and resentments of the owner have subsided, you

make a bad matter ten times worse. There is now no remedy; you must keep it in till she has lost the use of speech.

"I am printing a little discourse *On the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit*,—not in Convocation. You will ask, *Quis leget hæc? Vel duo vel nemo.* I answer, *Turpe et miserabile!* I plough indeed an ungrateful soil, where the best seed will not give its increase till an age or two hence."

The preceding passage contains an intimation of "the *Doctrine of Grace*;" in the following he touches on it again:

"I am calm enough to have my scruples whether what I am doing, the opposing of another species of madness, fanaticism, be not hurtful; for civil and religious madness may for aught I know be like two counter-poisons, which, when put together and suffered to work, are said to destroy one another's effects.

"My detection, for so I might call it, of this species of fanaticism is yet in the press; so much has it grown upon me, that I am ready to subscribe to the advice of a late celebrated buffoon, '*Let none sit down and say, I will write a duodecimo.*'"

In another passage we have a reflection on the character of Bacon:—

"One Sir David Dalrymple lately sent me a small collection of letters which he has inscribed to your brother, Lord Royston. It is extremely curious; but a passage in one of Bacon's to King James puts the former to me in a more odious light than all his other meannesses and vices put together. It is at page 51: *It is good to teach a parliament to work upon an edict or proclamation precedent, i. e.*, to make the parliament *ministerial*, as Richelieu soon after did the parliament of Paris. Such an anecdote as this is worth a volume of chronicle. Machiavel never gave so wicked nor half so able advice. Had James had a faculty to comprehend the *fecundity* of this principle (to speak in the physical language of this great man), he would have bid fair for his despotic rule. But he was for having his edicts pass *at once* for Acts of Parliament; and they were so well supported by the star chamber, that the Parliament would have thought it a good compromise to be permitted to confirm them, and had been easily taught, had James been as good a schoolmaster in politics to his Parliament, as he was in Latin to his minister Somerset, *to work upon an edict or proclamation.* And then adieu to liberty. Such was the Attorney-General of those days."

A letter written April 4, 1768, soon after the death of Sterne, affords us some not unjust remarks on Sterne's character:—

"Poor Sterne, whom the papers tell us is just dead, was the idol of the higher mob, who have left the care of the public to

Wilkes and the lower, and rather choose never to go out of themselves than dishonestly to take a circuit back by the high road of the public. He found a strong disposition in the many to laugh away life; and, as every one *makes himself*, he chose the office of common jester to the many. But, what is hard, he never will obtain the frivolous end he aimed at, the reputation of a wit, though at the expense of his character as a man, a scholar, and a clergyman. But I suppose he thought with Wilkes (for mischief and folly are closely allied), who, in these late tumults when he was upbraided with sedition and blasphemy, in one of his advertisements told the public that the essential part of his character was a lover of liberty; so poor Sterne's essential part, he would tell you, was to provoke a laugh. He chose Swift for his model. But Swift was either luckier or wiser, who so managed his wit that he will never pass with posterity for a buffoon, while Sterne gave such a loose to his buffoonery that he will never pass for a wit."

In 1765, when he was revising his works, he speaks thus of writing for posterity:—

"It was sympathy which first drew me to you. For kind nature, foreseeing what I had to suffer from ignorance and malignity in the pursuit of truth, early provided me with a delightful refuge in your knowledge and candour, which was not only to recommend, but to *convey*, me to posterity. For I don't know how it happens, but those who are suspected of looking that way are always treated by their contemporaries as the Samaritans treated Jesus, *because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem.*"

In another passage he speaks thus of prospects in regard to posterity:—

"I have put the last hand to the first volume of the *Divine Legation*, and am going to launch it out for posterity; a desperate voyage, like that of the ancients to the Fortunate Islands, for which many set out, but we hear of nobody that arrived."

Of anecdotes he remarks:—

"It is true what you say, that anecdote has been Greek for falsehood ever since the time of Procopius. But we now speak plain English, and can lie without a figure."

In September, 1762, he is just about to publish the *Doctrine of Grace*:—

"I am afraid you will expect more than you will find in my discourse on the subject of fanaticism. I treat it less philosophically and speculatively than practically and popularly. I thought it of more use to give the picture of fanaticism in a living example, Mr. J. Wesley, whose account of his apostleship

I have taken from his own journals. I have examined his pretensions to *wisdom from above* by every mark Scripture has given of it, and compared each of these at large with Mr. J. Wesley's own account of himself, in every circumstance he has delivered to us of his opinions and practices. I have selected him from the rest, because in parts and learning he is far superior to the rest, and formed of the best stuff that nature ever put into a fanatic, to make a successful head or leader of a sect. But, as Milton says (as great a fanatic as Wesley, but that the fire of it luckily ran all into poetry), he is fallen on evil days, very unpropitious to the fortune of religious fancies."

In 1768 he speaks of a French life of Petrarch, which, having heard that it was praised by Mason and Gray, he had procured and read on their authority, and says that he had found it very amusing, the anecdotes in particular, especially those relating to Petrarch himself. "Here you will find," he observes, "that good Catholics, Petrarch and his numerous correspondents, as frequently call the *court of Rome* Babylon, as any Protestant reformer has done since, and rather with more evidence, since they had all those shocking enormities before their eyes which the following ages had only heard of."

In the same year he describes himself as making slow progress with the correction of the last volume of the *Divine Legation,* and determined to stay at home that his tardy advance may not be interrupted. "For an old author, like an old general, naturally grows less and less adventurous and enterprising. However, though I am unable to give that continued attention that I was wont, yet I observe, perhaps too literally, the painter's maxim, *Nulla dies sine lineâ.* I do not certainly acquit myself of the fault that it has remained so long unfinished; yet the iniquitous treatment that I have met with from scribblers of all denominations ought to share the blame; that occasioned a disgust of the pen, which a man less resolute, or less convinced, had perhaps never got over."

Alluding to Wilkes, he calls him "a convict blasphemer, and violator of all ties, human and divine;" observing that he is now doing for the State what Sacheverel in the reign of Queen Anne did for the Church, the one being as much a disturber as the other: but asking whether the people, in the days of Queen Anne, would ever have followed such a character as Wilkes "for their leader in patriotism?"

Such are the extracts which we felt tempted to make from the letters to the Hon. Charles Yorke. Looking into those to Knapton the bookseller, we are surprised at the familiarity with

which Warburton addresses him. To persons of that class he was generally very stiff and unbending. His letters to Richardson, even after he had produced *Pamela*, begin with "Good Sir," and end with "humble servant," the printer being kept at a distance, though the author was commended. But Knapton he calls "Dear Sir," and signs himself "ever most affectionately yours," adding expressions of concern, also, for the health and happiness of Mrs. Knapton. In one of his letters he abuses booksellers in general, but Knapton, he says, he "sincerely loves."

In speaking of Pope, and the fact that he had not destroyed the impressions of the *Idea of a Patriot King*, Warburton observes that he might easily have given orders for destroying them during his last illness, "had he been conscious of any oblique or lucrative views," but that he was restrained "by his idolatrous fondness for the author," which led him, not only to admire whatever he wrote, but also "to abuse many honester men," because his lordship hated them.

Knapton had been attacked in some publication in the year 1751; Warburton, writing to him soon after, says, "If one had one's choice, one would wish such execrable papers as the magazines would meddle only with their own trash. But, since they do what they please in this blessed land of liberty, one had better see them impertinent than scurrilous. The public is a strange machine, which by fits is as easily wound up by the veriest dunce or idiot as by the best artist, nay, shall be set a going so perversely, that it shall not be in the power of human wisdom to reform it. It is the condition of human things that the most insignificant of all animals shall do most unaccountable mischief. The states of Holland had like to have been ruined by a single water rat. In such a case an author has consolation enough, because he knows justice will be done him by posterity. In the mean time the bookseller has none, who may have contributed as much or more than the author to oblige the public."

Noticing the corrections that he made in his pages as they passed through the press, he observes that they relate chiefly "to the improvement of the style, or turn of the period, in which," he says, "I always endeavour to be very exact, and one always finds something or other of this kind to render more perfect." He speaks as if he were raising his style to something beyond positive perfection.

When Bolingbroke died, he said, "I believe I have lost an enemy in his death, but I am sure our country has lost a greater."

Sixty-seven letters of Warburton to Knapton are preserved in all; but they relate mostly to matters of business, and contain nothing of any importance to the public.

Twenty-three letters from Sir Thomas Hanmer to Warburton are preserved among these papers, the first dated Dec. 24, 1735, and the last May 25, 1739. Warburton's letters to Hanmer were returned to Warburton at the close of their correspondence; none of them are known to be extant. Nothing appears in Hanmer's letters to substantiate Warburton's charge, that he *trafficked with his papers on Shakspeare without his knowledge.* Warburton was introduced to Hanmer by Sherlock, then Bishop of Salisbury; and each declared that the other was the first to seek the introduction. Warburton appears to have offered his papers freely, and, perhaps, at the commencement of his intercourse with Hanmer, had no thought of publishing an edition himself.

Hanmer, in his second letter, Jan. 11, 1736, expresses his apprehensions that Warburton is thinking of bringing his observations to a conclusion, and that he shall in consequence "lose a very great entertainment which his weekly correspondence upon that subject has afforded him." He hopes, however, that he will think of a glossary, and invites him, whenever he comes to Cambridge, to extend his journey to Mildenhall, which is only seventeen miles distant, and spend ten days or a fortnight there; or, if Warburton should be coming to London, Hanmer would "bring the books," and Warburton should "run them over in a few mornings" at his house.

In his third, fourth, fifth, and sixth letters, Hanmer still declares his wish to see Warburton at Mildenhall, where he will shew him all his emendations; "they shall lie," he says, "open before you;" and observes that he had never so much hope of seeing Shakspeare restored to purity as since Warburton had promised him assistance.

In several subsequent letters, written partly from Mildenhall, and partly from Wales, Hanmer acknowledges the regular receipt of Warburton's letters; says that he cannot too often repeat his thanks for those "punctual weekly returns of entertainment and pleasure," and discusses emendations of various passages.

In the fifteenth letter, dated Dec. 13, 1736, after some allusion to a person whom Warburton accuses of *having forgot the rules of honour and honesty through indigence,* meaning, apparently, Theobald, Hanmer says:—

"I hear with uneasiness of the expectation which you say is

conceived of my making public the emendations and corrections I have made upon Shakspeare. Nothing was further from my thoughts when I began them; I proposed nothing but amusement in carrying them on, and no other end but my own satisfaction in getting as correct a copy as I could of an author I hold in the highest esteem. But there is nothing to which my mind is more averse than to become an editor; and yet I hope you will not grudge the pains you have taken in communicating to me your remarks upon the same subject."

In the eighteenth letter, April 19, 1737, he again invites Warburton to Mildenhall, and in the nineteenth letter, June 11, 1737, he alludes to Warburton having visited him there, and rejoices to hear of his safe return home: "for," says he, "as I wish you at all times free from misfortunes, so I should the most lament them, if from a journey undertaken from a motive of kindness to me any such should happen to you." But of what had passed between them during the visit, Hanmer says nothing, except referring to something that Warburton had said of printing and bookselling, and observing that Warburton was not likely to be recompensed for an edition of Shakspeare, printed in such a style as he, Hanmer, should like to see it.

Three more letters follow, in very friendly style, containing remarks on various passages of Shakspeare. The last of these three is dated Oct. 29, 1737, and concludes with a hope that he shall have "the favour of receiving" more emendations from Warburton.

Then comes the concluding letter of all, dated Mildenhall, May 25, 1739, the correspondence having been intermitted for nearly a year and a half.

"Sir,—I have received your letter, in which a new scene is opened to me, a scene of complaints not quite profess'd, but strongly implied, at the same time that I suspected nothing in the world less than any discontent harboured in your mind against me. I am glad now to find it proceeds altogether from a mistake, for you take it for granted that I have thoughts of publishing a new edition of Shakspeare, in which your information, from whencesoever it came, hath much deceived you. It is true that when I was last at London, partly out of curiosity, but chiefly from a desire to satisfy myself whether any advantage could be made out of it to you, I did ask some questions, both of Mr. Gyles and Mr. Tonson, and desired an estimate of the expense of an edition so beautified and in such a manner as I thought the author deserved. If the answer had been encouraging, I intended to have communicated it to you, but the consequence of the inquiry was only to convince me that far

from a prospect of raising any benefit to you, there was no likelihood of any booksellers entering into the undertaking, even though no such demand were to go along with it. You see, therefore, I was not out in my conjecture that it could not be made worth your while to trouble yourself in it, supposing the work to be carried on in such a manner as I wished to see. After this step, which I have truly related to you, I do assure you I took no other, nor is anything going on towards a publication on my part, but my books rest quietly upon my own shelves, and so they are likely to do. You have, therefore, the field open and clear to you, and I wish you good success in a matter which you tell me is of such great consequence to you. I am far from alleging any engagements to me which should prevent you, for I know of none on either side. The commerce begun and carried on between us I never looked upon in any other light but as proceeding from an agreement in our veneration for the same author, a concern to see so much good sense buried under the rubbish of a most vitiated text, and a pleasure which arose to both from communicating our thoughts to each other upon it. This was all my motive, this my only view, and I confess I thought the same had been yours too, for neither from the Bishop of Salisbury [Sherlock], nor from yourself, had I the least hint of your intention towards a new edition, which you now tell me was always in your mind. From my mistake in this particular, it may very well be that my sentiments and answers from time to time have been unsatisfactory to you, for which I now ask your pardon.

"As to your demand of having your letters all returned to you, I hope I shall have it in my power to comply with it. It is not my custom generally to keep letters by me, but I think I have kept all yours, not from an expectation I had that I should ever be called upon to restore them, or should ever be made responsible for them as matter of property, but because I might have occasion to look over them again. If I have left none at London, I shall soon find them all here, and I will get them together, and send them according to the direction I have received from you.

"I am, Sir,
"Your humble servant,
"Tho. Hanmer."

Thus we are left somewhat in perplexity how we ought to decide between the two. Hanmer, in his letter to Dr. Joseph Smith, dated Oct. 28, 1742, and given at length in Mr. Selby Watson's *Life of Warburton*, speaks of his desire at that time

to publish a new edition of Shakspeare, and declares himself satisfied that Warburton has no intention to publish one. He also states, in the same letter, that it was Warburton who applied to the Bishop of Salisbury for an introduction to him, in order to communicate some notes on Shakspeare which he had still lying by him, over and above those printed by Theobald; that they in consequence corresponded by letter, and that Warburton visited him at Mildenhall, where he stayed about a week, and had the inspection of all Hanmer's books, Hanmer having then no suspicion that Warburton had any other design than that of contributing to the improvement of Shakspeare's text, an object which they had both very much at heart, but that afterwards views of interest began to shew themselves, Warburton dropping hints of "the advantage he might receive by publishing the work thus corrected;" but that as Hanmer did not fall in with Warburton's views, Warburton "flew into a great rage," and demanded back his papers, upon which all intercourse between them came to an end. This statement Warburton violently contradicted, declaring that Hanmer sought the introduction from a desire to profit by his annotations; that he visited Hanmer after repeated requests; that he had no resentment at Hanmer until he heard that he was applying to a bookseller in London about an edition, in which he was going to make use, as he told the bookseller, of his (Warburton's) notes; and that he then demanded his papers back from Hanmer, who unwillingly gave them up, after cavilling about his right of property in them.

From Sir Thomas Hanmer's last letter it rather appears that Warburton had spoken of making Sir Thomas "responsible" for his letters "as matter of property," and that Sir Thomas gave them up without hesitation. The "great rage" into which Warburton flew seems to have been in his letters, not at any personal interview.

Certainly it is hard to believe that Hanmer, who in 1742 was preparing to publish his edition at Oxford, after finding publication impracticable in London, had not had thoughts of publishing in 1739, and had been collecting notes merely from a desire to have a corrected text of Shakspeare on his own shelves. But however he may have dissembled his intention to publish, there is no proof that he made any use of Warburton's notes without Warburton's permission.

It is observable that throughout the whole correspondence there is great stiffness and ceremony towards Warburton on Hanmer's part. His letters uniformly begin with "Sir," etc., and end with "your obedient" or "humble servant." As to his corrections of Shakspeare's text, he says of them, "I give

no loose to fancy, but keep the most cautious reserve imaginable;" but in truth they are very far from deserving this character, for they are much too venturesome, wandering away from the text, and by no means justifying Johnson's opinion of Hanmer's fitness for such studies.

*** These letters passed by inheritance from Mrs. Warburton, the Bishop's widow, to her second husband, the Rev. John Stafford Smith; from Mr. Stafford Smith to his second wife; from Mr. Stafford Smith's second wife to her nearest relative, the late Miss Wolferstan, of Tamworth; and from her to her nephew, the Rev. John Mill Chanter, the present Rector of Ilfracombe, who disposed of them to the British Museum. There appears to be no doubt that Mrs. Warburton destroyed much of the Bishop's correspondence, especially such as had any relation to private matters.

Royal Society of Literature.—Jan. 4.—J. G. Teed, Esq., Q.C., in the chair.—H. B. Owen, Esq., Rev. H. Clare, A. Whitworth, Esq., and J. N. Mangles, Esq., were elected Members.—Sir C. Nicholson, Bart., read a paper "On some Small Egyptian Stelæ recently procured by him at Cairo." These stelæ, which are six in number, are formed of a soft calcareous limestone, and are about ten inches square, and from sixteen to eighteen inches long. They are said to have been found at Memphis. As the surface of the material is very rough, the inequalities had to be filled up with cement before the chisel was applied to them, from which circumstance, and a thick crystalline efflorescence with which they are covered, it has been a matter of much difficulty to obtain a satisfactory interpretation of the inscriptions with which they are covered. It is probable that they may have once belonged to one of the several tombs which were excavated by the Prussian mission in the neighbourhood of the Great Pyramid of Sakkarah. Although the surface is much corroded, the traces of the sculpture are still well marked, and display a style of execution not far removed from the best examples of Egyptian art. Portions of the original colouring applied to the surface are still discernible: the outlines are given in deep intaglio, and the forms of the kneeling as well as of the standing figures, with their flowing drapery, are well delineated. As far as the inscriptions can be made out, they would seem to be sepulchral memorials of different officers attached to Memphis, and especially of one named Mes, a name which recalls in its form that of the Jewish law-giver, Moses, and which is, indeed, so transcribed by Manetho. The date of these fragments is believed to be about the period of the nineteenth dynasty.

METAPHYSICAL SCHOOLS AMONGST THE JEWS, DOWN TO THE TIMES OF MOSES MAIMONIDES.

THE part of M. Munk's work which treats of Jewish philosophy, is necessarily shorter than that which refers to the Arabs. If we except Ibn-Gebirol, Moses Maimonides, Leo Hebræus and a few others, all the mediæval writers of Hebrew origin were mere Biblical commentators, or else they exercised their ingenuity in illustrating the mysteries of Rabbinical literature. Still, however, the question we are now approaching deserves to be thoroughly examined, and we are fortunate in having at our disposal an ample stock of materials, which we shall endeavour to condense for the benefit of our readers.

The books of the Old Testament present to us no system of philosophy in the generally received sense of the word; no trace can be found there of those speculations in which both the Greeks and the Hindus so freely indulged; the Hebrews, as M. Munk remarks, did not seek to penetrate into the secret of *being;* the existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, the knowledge of good and evil, were with them a matter of *faith*, not the result of a series of syllogisms. And yet, to every thinking mind, the existence of evil in a world created by Him who is the supreme God, must have always been a most puzzling problem. How can it be admitted without seeming to impose limits upon that Being from whom no evil can proceed? And how can these limits be acknowledged without thereby denying the Unity of the absolute God,—without falling into Dualism? The answer given to these questions by the Mosaic doctrine may be summed up as follows:—

"Evil has no real existence: it has no place in creation, which, being the work of God, cannot be at the same time the abode of evil. At each period of creation *God saw that it was good.* Evil enters this world only when intellect makes its appearance; that is to say, at the moment when man, having become an intellectual and moral being, is destined to struggle against matter. A collision then takes place between the intellectual principle and the material one,—and from this collision evil results; for man, gifted as he is with moral perception, and enjoying the freedom of his movements, should endeavour to make his actions harmonize with the supreme good;—and, if he allows himself to be conquered by matter, he reduces himself to become the artizan of evil. This theory of evil, contained in the third chapter of Genesis, is intimately connected with that of the freedom of the will, which is one of the fundamental doctrines of Mosaïsm; man enjoys absolute liberty in the use of his faculties;—'life and good, death and evil, are set before him' (Deut. xxx. 15, 19). It is important to bring out here, in all its force, this doctrine, in subordination to which the Jews have always placed the various metaphysical speculations of

foreign origin, which they embraced at different epochs. The development of this theory, in its connection with Divine Providence, and with the will of God, considered as the sole cause of creation, has ever been deemed by Jewish teachers one of the most important topics for their meditation."[a]

By way of farther illustrating this remark of our author, we may perhaps be allowed to quote a passage from Moses Maimonides' tract on repentance:—

". . . . It follows that the sinner himself is the cause of his own ruin; it therefore befits him to weep and lament over his sin, and [to grieve] for having done this to his own soul, by dealing so wickedly with the same. This is what is written [immediately] after the verse quoted above:—'*Wherefore doth a living man complain,*' etc. (Lam. iii. 39). And then he (the prophet Jeremiah) says again:—since the power [of doing good or evil] is in our own hands, and since all the wicked deeds which we have committed, have been committed with our [full] consciousness, it befits us to turn penitently and to forsake our wickedness; the power [of doing so] being still in our hands. This is what is written [immediately] after [that verse]:—'*Let us search and try our ways, and turn* [*again to the Lord*]' (Lam. iii. 40). Now, this matter is a very important principle; nay, it is the pillar of the law and of the commandments, as it is said:—'*See, I have set,*' *etc.*, (Deut., *ubi supra*), meaning that the power [of doing good or evil] is in your hands, and that any of the actions [which are within the reach] of men, if one choose to do them, whether good or evil, he can. And for this reason it is also said, '*O that there were such a heart in them* (Deut. v. 29); by which it was meant to express, that the Creator neither compels the sons of men, nor decrees that they should do [either] good or evil, but that all this is left to themselves."[b]

We do not think it necessary to give any details in this article respecting the state of Jewish theology during the golden age of that nation. The observations we might make on the various books of the Old Testament or on the sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, would be mere repetitions or *résumés* of the able disquisitions published in modern Cyclopædias. We shall therefore go on at once to the first centuries of the Christian era, and consider the Jews as they stood immediately after the appearance of the promised Messiah. The circumstances amidst which they were thrown told most unfortunately upon

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[a] Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 462.

[b] *The main principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews, exhibited in selections from the* YAD HACHAZAKAH *of Maimonides, with a translation, etc.* By Hermann Hedwig Bernard. pp. 264, 265. Cambridge. 1832. 8vo. Cf. Also the summary of the doctrine of Maimonides on "free-will," given in the notes to a Latin translation of the same work.—*R. Mosis Maimonidis tractatus duo:* 1. "*De doctrina legis, sive educatione puerorum.* 2*nd. De natura et ratione pœnitentiæ apud Hebræos.* Latine reddidit, etc., Robertus Clavering. pp. 148—151. Oxford. 1705. 4to. And the *Ductor Perplexorum.* Part III. Cap. xvii. pp. 375—384 of Buxtorf's translation.

intellectual culture; in the first place the nation was absorbed by the political struggles which followed the terrible catastrophe of Jerusalem; and when, after the unfortunate attempt of Barcochebas, the doctors who succeeded in escaping from the vengeance of the Romans, became convinced that Jerusalem could no longer be the centre of their worship, and the head-quarters of the Jewish community, their first care was to strengthen the bonds which could link together as a religious society the children of Abraham, throughout all the civilized world. The system of the Pharisees, embraced by the majority, did not allow of merely confirming the authority which belonged to the sacred books; it was necessary that an equal weight should be attached to traditional interpretations and developments which had till then only been inculcated by oral teaching, for the few partial written reproductions of these commentaries could not aspire to the honours of canonicity. Such was the origin of the *Mischnâ* (δευτέρωσις in Justinian's *Novellæ)*, which appeared during the first quarter of the third century, and which it took three hundred years to annotate, to discuss, and to amplify. At the same time an immense critical undertaking was begun for the purpose of fixing irrevocably the text of the sacred books from a collection of the most authentic MSS.; and, in their desire for accuracy, the Rabbis went so far as to count the letters contained in each book. Throughout the voluminous compilations which remain to us, and which were made during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, in the *Talmud* as well as in the allegorical interpretations of the Scriptures, there are only few traces of metaphysical speculations. If we often find there reminiscences of Kabbalistic doctrines, they bear almost exclusively upon angelology and exoteric points; the existence of the speculative part of the Kabbala—a part respecting which we shall on another occasion have more to say, is revealed to us merely by the mention of the mysteries contained in the *Bereschîth* or the first chapter of Genesis, and in the *Mercabâ* or visions of Ezekiel.[e]

A complete account of the Talmud, its history and its literature, would require a separate article, and therefore is quite inconsistent with the scope of the present essay; but in order to give our reader an idea of what may be called the esoteric doctrines of Rabbinism, we shall put together a few passages relating to the *Mercabâ*, just mentioned. After discoursing of the angels and other spiritual intelligences which occupy an intermediate place between God and man, Maimonides says:—

"That which we have said on this subject in these two chapters, is as

[e] Munk, *Mélanges*, pp. 469, 470.

a drop of the ocean in comparison with what ought to be explained under this head. Moreover, the explanation of all the radical principles [contained in these two chapters] is called the *matter of the chariot*. The sages of old have directed that no one shall lecture upon these subjects except to a single person, who also must be wise and intelligent by his own knowledge; and, even then, we may only point out the passages to him, and inform him very little of the matter; and he, being intelligent by his own knowledge, may become acquainted with the end and depth of the matter. Now these things are exceedingly profound, and not every intellect is capable of sustaining them, wherefore Solomon in his wisdom says respecting them, by way of parable, '*The lambs* [*are*] *for thy clothing*' (Prov. xxvii. 26). So the sages say as an explanation to this parable:—'*The things which are* THE MYSTERY *of the universe, let them be as a garment to thee;* meaning, [Let them be kept] to thyself alone, and do not discuss them before many people. Thus also he (Solomon) says respecting them:—'Let them be only thine *own, and not strangers with thee*' (Prov. v. 17). Again, with respect to them he says:—'*Honey and milk* [*are*] *under thy tongue*' (Song of Songs iv. 11), which the sages of old explain in this manner:—'*The things which are like honey and milk ought to be under thy tongue.*'"[d]

That the *matter of the chariot* refers to the first chapter of Ezekiel, is apparent from the following quotation:—

"How far (*i. e.*, to which verse of the chapter) is [it called] *the matter of the chariot?* The Rabbi says:—'Even to [the words] '*and I saw as the colour of Hashmal*,' recorded last (*i. e.*, in the twenty-seventh verse of the chapter, and not merely to the *Hashmal* mentioned in the fourth verse). Rabbi Isaac says:—'To [the word] *Hashmal;* as far as the word ואראה, *and I saw*, we may point out the passages [to every learner], but thence farther, if he (the learner) be wise and intelligent by his own understanding, we may, and if not, we may not."[e]

As another illustration of the passage from Maimonides, quoted above, we may transcribe the following passage:—

"Rabbi Jochanan said unto Rabbi Eleazar, 'Come, I will teach thee *the matter of the chariot;* but the other said unto him, I am not old enough yet. When he grew old, the soul of Rabbi Jochanan went to rest (*i.e.*, he died); then Rabbi Assi said unto him (Rabbi Eleazar), 'Come, I will teach thee *the matter of the chariot;*' but he said unto him, 'Had I been worthy [of knowing this subject], I would have learned it of Rabbi Jochanan thy teacher. Rabbi Joseph was studying *the matter of the chariot*, whilst the elders of Tumbeditha were reading the *matter of the beginning* (*i. e.*, the matter of the creation), so the latter said unto him, 'My lord, teach us the *matter of the chariot;*' but he said unto them, 'Did you teach us the *matter of the beginning* (the matter of the creation)? So

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[d] *The Main Principles, etc.*, pp. 90—93.

[e] *Bab. Talm. Treatise Chegigah*, sect. 2, cf. the *Main Principles*, etc., p. 91, note.

they taught him the same. After they had taught it him, they said unto him, 'My Lord, teach us *the matter of the chariot;*' but he said unto them, 'With respect to these [subjects] we are taught thus:—'*Honey and milk* [*are*] *under thy tongue;* [meaning that] *the things that are sweeter than honey and than milk, ought to be under thy tongue* (*i. e.*, thou must not utter them). Rabbi Abuhuh says [we may also derive it] from this [text], כבשים ללבושך,—*the lambs are for thy clothing;* do not read it גְּבָשִׂים *lambs*, but [read it] גְּבוּשִׁים *the secret things*, (meaning) *the things which are the mystery of the universe, let them be as a garment to thee.*'"[f]

Hence we are led to conclude, first, that the *matter of the chariot* was an allegorical and mystical commentary on the first chapter of Ezekiel. Second, that those persons who were allowed to study the *matter of the chariot*, were previously made acquainted with a similar exposition of the first chapter of Genesis, designated as *the matter of creation.* Third, that both these speculations were of a strictly esoteric character, and reserved for a limited number of duly qualified students.

Before we pass on to examine the intellectual condition of the Jews at the time of Mahomet, we would say a few words on the use of rabbinical literature. There is no doubt that the undue prominence given to allegory, coupled with a servile attachment to legal and ritual traditions, have too often filled the Talmud with the most extraordinary puerilities;[g] but it would be wrong, on the other hand, to denounce the study of Hebrew theological writings as unprofitable and worthless. In the Preface to his Latin translations of the book Joma, Robert Sheringham (to quote only one authority) pointed out more than two hundred years ago[h] the extreme importance of a knowledge of the Talmud, not only for the theologian but also for the lawyer and the historian. "Quicunque enim," said he, "peregrinarum gentium ritus et consuetudines scire capiunt, quicunque etiam rebus novis et vulgo ignotis delectantur, aliquid hîc inveniant quod ipsos capiat delineatque."[i] It is interesting too to find our Lord introducing into his discourses parables, reminiscences of which have been preserved to us by the Rabbinical writers. Thus the Gemara of Babylon (book *Beracoth*) contains the parable of Dives and Lazarus; the story of the husbandmen in the vineyard will be found in the Jerusalem Gemara (same book), and

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[f] *Bab. Talm.*, ubi supra.

[g] On this subject the student is referred to the late Dr. M'Caul's work, *The Old Paths*, sections 17—26.

[h] *Joma, Codex Talmudicus, in quo agitur de sacrificiis, etc.* Ex Hebræo sermone in Latinum versus, et commentariis illustratus à Roberto Sheringhamio, Cantabrigiensi. Lond. 1648. 4to.

[i] Sheringham. *Preface.*

the Babylon Gemara (book *Shabath*) gives us the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins. These are only three instances taken almost at random:—"cætera vero taceo," adds Sheringham, "ne præfari longius quam velim necesse sit. Pleraque enim quæ aut in concionibus aut in privatis colloquiis usurpavit Christus, in Talmudicis scriptis occurrunt."

The intellectual development of the Arabs under Mahomet, was felt most strongly by the synagogue. Controversies arose, of a nature totally different from those to which the Rabbis had hitherto been accustomed; and it became evident that the old weapons supplied by the Talmud would no longer prove sufficient. During the reign of Abu-Dja'far al-Mançur, second Khalif of the Abbasside dynasty, 'Anân ben David, one of the chief Jewish doctors of the academy of Babylon, placed himself at the head of a party whose purpose it was to throw off the Rabbinical hierarchy, and the yoke of tradition. 'Anan proclaimed the rights of reason and the principle of free enquiry; acknowledging, however, that tradition, by allowing more flexibility to the sacred text, enabled Judaism to become progressively perfect, he did not, like the old Sadducees, discard the necessity of interpretation and every kind of tradition; but he wanted both to be always in perfect harmony with reason as well as with the text of Holy Scripture; and he contested the compulsory observation of a number of laws inserted in the *Mischnâ*. The members of this sect assumed the name of *Karaïm* (textuaries, or upholders of the text), and they are known amongst modern authors as *Karaïtes*.[j] It has been objected, that for want of fixed principles, and on account of their acknowledging no other authority than the individual opinions of their doctors, the *Karaïtes* ended by building up a mass of contradictions and fine-drawn arguments much more difficult to clear up than the Talmudic discussions; but, on the other hand, no one can doubt that Karaïsm, at least in its earliest manifestations, had the result of giving to Hebrew doctors a salutary impulse, by employing the weapons of reason to attack Rabbinism, and by compelling the Rabbis to have recourse to the same arms in self-defence. The *Karaïtes*, besides, were alone fit to found a true system of Biblical exegesis by an alliance between theology and metaphysical speculation. In this respect they were no doubt very much influenced by the example of the Arab *Motecallemîn*; for their doctrines, and their position as schismatics, gave them many features in common with the *Motazales*, who had originated

[j] The true date of the establishment of *Karaïsm* appears to be Hegir. 144, or 761 A.D. See M. Munk's note, *Mélanges*, pp. 470, 471.

amongst the Mahometans the science of the *Calam.*[k] The Karaïte divines adopted themselves the designation of *Motecallemîn;*[l] and Maimonides tells us positively that they borrowed their arguments from the Mussulman *Motecallemîn.*[m] These arguments had for their object the establishment of the fundamental doctrines of Judaism on a metaphysical basis. The theologians, both Mahometans and Jews, were much indebted to the dialectics of Aristotle, which were then beginning to be known amongst the Arabs, although they made use of these newly acquired weapons for the purpose of attacking the philosophical theories of the Stagyrite. The principal positions maintained in the works of the Karaïtes are the following:—1st. Original matter has not always existed: 2nd. The world is created, and consequently it has a Creator: 3rd. This Creator, who is God, has neither beginning nor end: 4th. He is a purely spiritual being, and is not enclosed within the limits of space: 5th. His science embraces all things: 6th. His life consists in intelligence, and is, itself, pure intelligence: 7th. He acts with free will, and his will is in conformity with his omniscience.[n]

None of the works of the most ancient Karaïte doctors have come down to us, and we know them only through a few scanty quotations to be found in recent writers. One of the most celebrated amongst them is David ben-Mervânal-Mokammeç of Racca in Irâk-Arabia, who flourished during the ninth century.[o] His work is quoted by some Rabbanites, such as Ba'hya and Jedaïa Penini,[p] who do not seem to have been aware that he was a schismatic. We are thus brought to the conclusion that ben-Mervân only discussed fundamental doctrines admitted by both sects, and that his works had not a polemical character. We are informed by Iépheth ben-'Ali (tenth century[q]) that he maintained, amongst other points, the pre-eminence of man above the angels, as being the *microcosm.*

We possess the writings of some Karaïtes of the tenth cen-

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[k] Cf. note in the *Mélanges*, pp. 472-3.

[l] Cf. the *Khozari*, Buxtorf's edit., p. 359, lib. v., § 15.

[m] Quant à ce peu de choses que tu trouves du *Calâm* chez quelques *Guêonîm* et chez les *Karaïtes*, au sujet de l'Unité de Dieu et de ce qui s'y rattache, ce sont des choses qu'ils ont empruntees aux *Motécallemîn* des Musulmans, et c'est très peu de chose en comparaison de ce que les Musulmans ont écrit là-dessus.—*Guide des Egarés*, trad. Munk, lib. i., cap. lxxi., pp. 335-6. In Buxtorf's Latin transl., p. 133. Cf. M. Munk's copious and excellent notes *in loco.*

[n] Cf. the *Khozari.* Lib. v., § 18, pp. 362—365 of Buxtorf's edition.

[o] Cf. note in the *Mélanges*, p. 474.

[p] Cf. note 2 in the *Mélanges*, pp. 474-5.

[q] For details on this writer, cf. M. Munk's addition to the notice on Saadia Gaon, appended to his edition of R. Tan 'Houm's commentary on the prophet Habakkuk, p. 104 in M. Cahen's Bible, vol. xii.

tury which justify completely what has just been said respecting the *Calâm* of that sect. Thus, for instance, Joseph ha-Roëh (or in Arabic, Abu-Yakub al-Baçir) has left us a doctrinal treatise,[r] in which we find nearly all the theories and all the hypotheses ascribed by Maimonides to the Arab *Motecallemîn*. We have there the doctrine of atoms; and the various transformations of matter are reduced to the four phenomena of reunion (or aggregation), separation, movement, and repose.[s] The author speaks of the divine attributes in the same sense as certain Motazales; and like them he proposes a number of curious theories, particularly that of the divine will exercising itself independently of all substratum. The demonstrations by which he establishes the unity and immateriality of God, and the creation *ex nihilo*, are entirely similar to those of the *Motecallemîn*.

The Rabbanites, or followers of the Talmud, speedily profited by the example which the Karaïte doctors had set them; and they endeavoured to strengthen their own religious edifice through the help of arguments borrowed from the metaphysical teaching of the day. The first man who made this experiment with some measure of success, and whose doctrines obtained some authority amongst the Jews, was Saadia ben-Joseph al-Fayyoumi, celebrated as an exegetical writer, a divine and a Talmudist, and at the same time one of the most powerful opponents of Karaïsm. He was born at Fayyourm in Egypt, A.D. 892, and was appointed in 928 chief of the academy of Sora, near Bagdad, then the central siege of Rabbinism. Having lost his dignity by the intrigues of some adversaries, he was reinstated into it a few years afterwards, and died at Sora in 942. Amongst his numerous works the one which interests us chiefly is his *Book of Creeds and Opinions*, which he composed in Arabic (933); it was translated into Hebrew in the twelfth century by Jehouda Ibn-Tibbon, went through several editions, and has lately been clothed in a German dress by M. Fürst (12mo, Leipzig, 1845). Together with the authority of Scripture and tradition, Saadia acknowledges that of reason; he asserts not only the right but the duty of examining religious belief; for, says he, our faith must be an intelligent one in order that it may be both strengthened, and capable of defending itself against attacks from without. Reason teaches the same truths as revelation; but through the help of the latter we arrive more speedily at the knowledge of those highest verities which, by the assistance of the former, we could obtain only with much labour and difficulty. The topics discussed

[r] This treatise, entitled *The Book of Delights*, forms part of the Leyden library. Cf. Wolf, *Bibl. Heb.*, vol. iii., p. 377.

[s] Cf. *Guide des Egarés*, lib. i., cap. lxxiii., vol. i., p. 378. Buxtorf, p. 149.

by Saadia are, in general, those to which we have already alluded in speaking of the Karaïtes:—the Unity of God, His attributes, creation, the revelation of the law, the nature of the human soul, etc. A few points of a secondary nature, beyond the cognizance of reason, such as the resurrection of the dead,[t] are admitted by him, and he merely shews that they are not repugnant to reason. He qualifies as absurd and utterly rejects other doctrines which had then become popular amongst the Jews; for instance, the transmigration of souls (lib. vi. cap. 7). In his commentary on the book of Job, Saadia denies the existence of Satan, and asserts —opinion extremely bold, considering the time in which he lived —that Satan as well as the sons of God, mentioned in the beginning of the book, were nothing but men.

Polemics occupy a large place in the *Book of Creeds;* and they are interesting to us, because they bring before us the opinions which were then current in the domains of religion and of philosophy. We thus learn that the Jewish metaphysicians had adopted, like the *Motecallemin,* the doctrine of atoms, which they deemed eternal; others, unable to resist the consequences of rationalism, rejected all the miracles, endeavouring to explain them by natural causes. Philosophy, we should add, occupies in Saadia's writings only a subordinate place; it is the handmaid of religion, and used merely as a weapon to defend the articles of the Jewish faith. Pateticism had at that time only made small progress amongst the Arabs; it was just beginning to establish and strengthen itself through the labours of Al-Farâbi. The only points of Peripatetic metaphysics which Saadia discusses are the categories, and he proves at some length that they cannot be applied to God (lib. ii., cap. 8). His theory of the creation of matter is an attack against the philosophers of antiquity in general. Amongst the Jewish authors whose names have been handed down to us, Saadia is the first who taught systematically the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo,* which had been undoubtedly professed before him by the Karaïte divines. Saadia demonstrates it especially in an indirect manner by a lengthened refutation of all the systems contrary to it (lib. i., cap. iv.); the will of God is the only principle which he introduces as the cause of creation. Another point fully developed by Saadia is that of the freedom of the will founded upon the fourfold evidence of the senses, of reason, of Scripture, and of tradition (lib. iv., cap. ii., iii.). The great merit of Saadia is that of having taught his contemporaries not to fear the light of reason, but, on the contrary, to believe that religion finds in reason a firm support. He

[t] Cf. Pocock's *Porta Mosis,* Not. miscellan., cap. vi., pp. 164 165.

thereby prepared the introduction of real philosophical studies amongst his fellow religionists, and inaugurated the glorious epoch of the Jews of Spain and of Provence.

Shortly after Saadia's death the metaphysical writings of the Eastern Arabs began to spread themselves throughout Spain. At the same time the Spanish Jews threw off as a troublesome burden the religious authority of the academy of Sora, founded a rival school at Cordova, and under the impulse of an eminent physician, 'Hasdaï ben-Isaac ben-Schafrout, then high in credit at the court of the Khalifs, became distinguished in all the branches of sacred and profane literature.[u] It is commonly thought that the Mussulman philosophers of Spain were the teachers of the Jews in the pursuit of metaphysical researches; as far as Maimonides and his successors are concerned, the assertion is true; but the example of Ibn-Gebirol (Avicebron), whom we must now consider, proves that the Spanish Jews cultivated philosophy with the greatest success before that science had found amongst the Mahometans a worthy representative.

The biography of Ibn-Gebirol forms, as we have already stated,[v] a distinct part in M. Munk's excellent *Mélanges;* we have also there a *résumé,* accompanied by illustrative quotations from the philosopher's *Fons Vitæ.* With these documents at our disposal we shall endeavour to present to our readers a short but accurate view of the teaching inculcated by one of the most distinguished of Jewish philosophers.

Few names have been so popular amongst the Jews as that of Solomon ben-Gebirol; a great number of his hymns are even now preserved in the Hebrew liturgy of all countries. Yet all that we know with certainty about his life is, that he was born at Malaga and educated at Saragossa, where he composed in 1045 a treatise on ethics.[w] We know neither the date of his birth nor that of his death. According to the Chronicle of Abraham Zacuto, he died at Valentia in 1070; but this indication has been questioned. One of the poems ascribed to him bears date Hegira 461 (1069). We know that he composed an elegy on Hâya Gaon, chief of the Jewish academies of the East, and who died in 1038; we have also by him another elegy on a certain Iekouthiel, killed in 1040; and, as it is probable that these poems were composed shortly after the death of the two individuals who were the subject of them, we must assign 1025 as the latest year that can be named, with any probability, for

[u] On ben-Schafrout, cf. the note in the *Mélanges*, pp. 480, 481.
[v] *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January, 1865.
[w] Cf. the notes in the *Mélanges*, pp. 155—158.

Ibn-Gebirol's birth. From the various evidences brought together by M. Munk, it is clear that our poet-controversialist began to make himself known as a philosopher about the middle of the eleventh century. His works are numerous; but the only one which we shall consider here is the *Fons Vitæ*, a Latin translation of which was discovered some years ago amongst the MSS. of the Paris Imperial Library by M. Munk, who had previously been fortunate enough to find there also an abridgment of the same work with a partial translation, written in the thirteenth century, by a Jewish *savant* named Schem-Job ibn-Falaquéra. The three principal points of Ibn-Gebirol's system refer to, 1. The theory of form and of matter; 2. The oriental or rather Alexandrine view of emanation, carefully restricted within the limits of the universe; 3. The attempt made by the author to place a Pantheistic system of cosmology an intelligent and all-powerful will, a free and personal God, thus preventing, if we may so say, the fatal current of emanations from ascending as high as the divine essence.[z]

Metaphysical science which ought to be preceded by logic and psychology has for its object three things. 1. The knowledge of matter and of form; 2. That of the divine will or of the *creative Word;* and 3. That of the primary substance, or of God. This last point can be seized by man only in a very imperfect manner, and is beyond the range of metaphysical speculation alone.

The will, first efficient cause, and whose essence contains the form of all things, holds the middle between God and the world. It is not from the Divine *intellect*, but from the *will* that the creation emanates; that is to say, creation is not a necessity, but a free act of God. God gives freely to the world the perfection he chooses, and what the inferior world receives from the will is very little compared with what remains in the will itself.

The divine will manifests itself gradually through different hypostases, and proceeds successively from the simple to the compound.

The first and direct emanations of the divine will are matter and form in their highest universality; universal matter embraces at the same time the spiritual and the bodily world; this *power* or *faculty* of being exists in every thing, that is, with the exception of God who is the Absolute Being always acting. Matter receives from the will existence, unity, and substantiality, which constitute together the most universal form.

The universal soul is the second hypostasis; it manifests itself

[z] Cf. Ad. Franck, *Études Orientales*, p. 369. 8vo. Paris, 1861. M. Franck's article on Ibn-Gebirol should be studied as a very lucid and complete *résumé* of the philosopher's theory.

in three different manners in the universe (macrocosm) as well as in man (microcosm). Being in itself the principle of life, through the rational soul, it is connected with the intellect; whilst by means of the nutritive faculty it is connected with *nature*. Nature is a simple substance, distinct from the world of corporeity, bodily substances; it is a superior force which governs this world, and especially imparts to it movement. This force being more directly in relation with the sensible world than are the superior substances of the soul and of the intellect, we might designate it as *natura naturans*, by opposition to the *world of corporeity*, which would be the *natura naturata*; but we must bear in mind that Ibn-Gebirol does not, like Giordano Bruno and Spinosa, identify the *natura naturans* with God; on the contrary, for him it is only one of the inferior hypostases of the Divinity, and is under the dependance of the superior hypostases which act in connection with it.

The substance of nature, which is the last of simple substances, forms the limit between the spiritual and the sensible worlds; from it emanates the world of corporeity, in which we likewise distinguish various degrees, in passing always from the simple to the more compound. Here begin time and space; space is an accident which manifests itself at the inferior extremity of form. It is, first, the imperishable heaven with its various spheres, and, then, the sublunary world, or that of birth and of destruction.

With this system of emanation is connected what the author says respecting the different manifestations of matter. In the various gradations of being established by Ibn-Gebirol, we can distinguish four different *matters* (if we can make use of such an expression), placed within one another, and particularizing themselves more and more as we proceed downwards. 1. The absolute universal matter, or that which embraces at the same time the spiritual and the bodily worlds. It is the general *substratum* of all that *is*, except God. 2. The bodily universal matter, or that which serves as a substratum to the forms of corporeity and of quantity, and which embraces together the celestial spheres and the sublunary world. 3. The matter common to all the celestial spheres. 4. The universal matter of the sublunary world, or that of the elements, seat of contingency, and which our author designates as *natural general matter*. To each of these four *matters* corresponds a universal form, and these *forms* in the same way as their respective *matters*, particularize and condense themselves more and more in proportion as we descend the scale of beings.

Forms in general are of two kinds: the one, constituting the

essence of all things, is common to all that proceeds from the divine will; the other, limiting being more and more, varies at each degree of the scale of beings. The former of these kinds is anterior to the latter; for matter has, first, the *faculty of being* in general, and it is only when it assumes the forms of *existence* and of *substance*, that it becomes such and such a thing in particular.

As the whole universe is one single individual, the superior part of it is the prototype of the inferior, and from a consideration of the latter we can judge of the former, and penetrate its mysteries. The higher we ascend the more insufficient is our knowledge. The will is impenetrable to our unassisted mind, and we can become acquainted with it only through a kind of ecstacy which places us in the sphere of the Deity. In accordance with this proposition Ibn-Gebirol here and there attempts to prove the existence of the supreme will, not by rigorous demonstrations, but by mere inductions. The primary substance is inaccessible to us, and if we know it, it is only through the actions which emanate from it by the medium of the will.

Such are the principal features of Ibn-Gebirol's system. The student acquainted with the history of metaphysics cannot fail to recognize in it the traces of a threefold influence: viz., that of the Jewish traditions, that of Aristotle, and especially that of the Alexandrine Neo-Platonists. M. Munk has devoted an entire chapter to the full investigation of this interesting parallel, and from his account we shall quote two or three of the most important passages.

We know that the philosophers of the school of Alexandria, in order to explain the transition from absolute unity to the multiplicity, or to the world of the senses, have imagined a series of intelligible essences serving as connecting links. These simple and merely intelligible substances are in the Alexandrine terminology called *hypostases*, as being manifestations in which the essence of the *one* exhibits itself gradually, so to say; and amongst them the universal intellect, and the universal soul are the most conspicuous. The Alexandrine triad consists of the *one*, the intellect and the soul; to the *one*, Ibn-Gebirol substitutes the *will*. In his system we find figuring as one of the elementary substances, *nature*, emanating directly from the soul. Now the Alexandrine Neo-Platonists seem to distinguish from the law which governs the universe a superior *nature*, the last of the simple substances, and which produces, preserves, and directs the world. Plotinus appears sometimes to consider nature as a substance emanating from the soul, which holds an intermediate place between it and divine wisdom: *nature*, the

image of this wisdom, and acting under its influence, produces the world of the senses; but it acts necessarily, and without having any consciousness of its own power.[y]

One of the most essential points in Ibn-Gebirol's doctrine is that he acknowledges the existence of the material principle in being of a purely intelligible nature; now on this point he is entirely in agreement with Plotinus, and it is erroneously that he has been considered as the first who ascribed a material principle to the soul and to the other simple substances.[z]

Finally, we need scarcely say that Ibn-Gebirol's theory about ecstacy is identical with that both of the Neo-Platonists and of the sceptics of every school, both ancient and modern.[a]

Our philosopher had obtained an accurate knowledge of Greek metaphysics by means of the Arabic compilations so numerous in the middle ages. The theories he found there, duly developed and worked out into a bold system of quasi-Pantheism, could not fail to attract much notice; and although they do not appear to have much affected Jewish speculation, yet, on the other hand, they excited amongst the Christian schools of mediæval philosophy a great deal of attention. We must refer the reader to M. Munk's work for a full account of the discussion which arose from the *Fons vitæ*, and we shall merely say here that Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Duns

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[y] Sed quonam ejusmodi sapientia differet à naturâ? Hoc sanè, quod sapientia quidem primum, natura verò est ultimum: natura enim sapientiæ imago est. Quumque postremum animæ sit, ultimam quoque in se rationem habet desuper emicantem. Quemadmodum si dum profundior cera imprimitur, usque ad alteram ejus superficiem penitus figura pertranseat, ubi quidem figura superior perspicua sit: postrema vero vestigium sit obscurum, ideoque natura nihil novit, sed efficit tantum: tradens enim absque electione sequenti quod habet, corporeo materialique subjecto largitur, talemque duntaxat actionem habet.—*Ennead*, iv. 4, 13, *Transl. Ficin.*

[z] Quidam dicunt quod anima et omnino omnis substantia præter Deum est composita ex materiâ et formâ. Cujus quidem positionis primus auctor invenitur Avicebron, auctor libri *Fons Vitæ*.—*Thom. Aquin. quæst disput. quæst. de animâ*, art. 6. Hoc enim necesse est concedere omnes illos qui corporalium et incorporalium dicunt esse materiam unam; super quam positionem videtur esse fundatus liber qui dicitur *Fons Vitæ*, quem dicunt quidam factum fuisse ab Avicebron philosopho. *Albert Magn. Summa*, part i., tract iv., quæst. 20. Cf. likewise the same author, *de causis et processu univ.*, lib. i., tract i., cap. 5. The following passage is conclusive against the supposition of Thomas Aquinas: Quod si illic est forma, est insuper et formatum, circa quod differentia est. Subest itaque materia quæ illam accipiat formam, perpetuòque subjectum. Præterea si intelligibilis illic mundus existit, hic vero noster illius est imitatio, atque componitur ex materia: illic quoque oportet esse materiam.—*Ennaed*, ii., 4, 4, *Ficin.*

[a] In his French translation of the *Enneads*, M. Bouillet gives a curious list of passages which illustrate Ibn-Gebirol's acquaintance with Plotinus. Cf. Bouillet, *Les Ennéades de Plotin traduites, etc.* Three vols. 8vo. Paris: Hachette. Vol. iii., *table générale, s. v. Ibn-Gebirol.*

Scotus were the chief *dramatis personæ* in this literary and theological tournament.

Amaury de Chartres, David de Dinant, Alain de Lille, and several other divines whose doctrines were condemned as heretical, professed opinions very similar to those of Ibn-Gebirol, but whether they derived them from a study of the *Fons vitæ*, or from their own original meditations, cannot be determined That Duns Scotus, whom M. Hauréau rightly designs as maintaining *Spinosism before Spinosa*,—that Duns Scotus, we say, sympathized with Ibn-Gebirol's teaching, may be gathered from the following passage: "Omnia quæ sunt secundum modum sibi convenientem et possibilem, unitatem appetunt . . . Unde appetitus unitatis ita intimus et essentialis et universalis est omnibus, tam creaturis quam creatori, quod nullum est, nec excogitari potest genus multitudinis, aut divisionis, sive distinctionis, quod ad unitatem aliquam non reducetur, ita quod ipsa, ut unitatem habeant, sive illud in quo sunt prius occurrat intellectui, quam ipsa multitudo sive diversitas. Sic dicimus quod diversa accidentia sunt unum subjecto, diversa numero sunt unum specie, diversa specie sunt unum genere subalterno, diversa genere subalterno sunt unum genere generalissimo, diversa genere generalissimo sunt unum in ratione entis."[b]

We must now take our leave of M. Munk's admirable monograph of Ibn-Gebirol, which is in itself a monument of learning, and which throws the greatest light upon an important chapter in the history of mediæval philosophy; our sketch of it is necessarily very imperfect, but we have endeavoured to bring out every feature of moment, and time warns us that we should hurry on.

The Jewish theologians could not fail to notice the dangers which threatened religion, in consequence of the rapid strides made by philosophy. Ba'hya ben-Joseph (close of the eleventh century) tried for the first time, in his treatise on the *Duties of the heart*, to present a complete and systematic theory of the ethics of Judaism. He began by an essay on the unity of God, a work in which he manifested an evident predilection for Saadia's method, although he gave proofs of an intimate acquaintance with all the different parts of the Peripatetic system. The superiority which he assigns to practical ethics over mere speculation, renders him similar to Al-Gazâli, whose contemporary he was.[c]

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[b] *De rerum principio*, quæst. viii., art. iv., No. 24. Cf. *Spinosa, ethic.* pass. def. 3, and propp. 6, 8, 15. Edit. Brüder, vol. i.

[c] Cf. *Mélanges*, pp. 482, 83.

A more direct reaction was manifested in the book *Cosri*, or, better, *Khozari*, composed about 1140 by the celebrated poet, Juda ha-Lévi. This author, starting from the fact of the conversion to Judaism of a king of the Khozars, or Khazars, and of a great proportion of his subjects (the event happened during the second half of the eighth century), gave to his book the form of a dialogue between a Jewish doctor and the monarch above mentioned. The latter, being warned in a dream that his intentions are agreeable to God, but that his works are not so, converses successively with a philosopher, a Christian divine, and a Mussulman theologian. Not one of these three having been fortunate enough to convert his majesty, the king sends for a Jewish doctor, who clears all the enquirer's doubts, and, as a matter of consequence, wins him over to the Hebrew faith. Such is the groundwork of the book *Khozari*, which contains a complete theory of Rabbinical Judaism, and is a regular declaration of war against philosophy. Ha-Lévi refutes the error of those who believe that reason can, unassisted, arrive at the conclusions taught to us by a revelation from above. Revelation, he says, teaches us nothing directly contrary to reason; but it is through faith alone, and by a life consecrated to meditation and to religious practices, that we can, in a certain measure, share the inspiration of the prophets, and become thoroughly penetrated with the verities revealed to them. Reason can supply proofs of the eternity of matter as well as of the creation *ex nihilo*; but ancient tradition, which has been handed down to us from age to age, carries along with it a greater power of conviction than a whole structure of syllogisms painfully elaborated, and to which other reasonings can be opposed, proving with equal force directly opposite propositions. Without entering further upon an appreciation of Ha-Lévi's doctrines, we shall just say here that his exaltation made him embrace the dreamy theories of the Kabbala, which he considered as forming an integral part of tradition, and to which he ascribes very great antiquity, tracing back the book *Yecîrâ* to the days of the patriarch Abraham. The *Khozari* probably helped to revive the study of the Kabbala, which we shall find presently in the most flourishing condition.[d]

The efforts of Juda Ha-Lévi were not powerful enough to deal a decisive blow at the study of philosophy, which had just then been taking a fresh start in consequence of the brilliant labours of Ibn-Bâdja. But the reactionary movement embodied in the

[d] On the book *Khozari*, cf. *Mélanges*, p. 483, note, and a good article in the new edition of Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, s. v. JEHUDAH HA-LEVI.

Khozari created an extraordinary amount of fermentation. The doubts and questionings of even the most enlightened and independent thinkers of that epoch are faithfully portrayed in the Biblical commentaries of the celebrated Abraham Ebn-Ezra, where we see a singular mixture of rational criticism, and of puerilities borrowed from the Kabbala, of ideas sound and worthy of a philosopher and of astrological superstitions.[e]

Abraham ben-David of Toledo, tried, in his book entitled the *Sublime Faith*, to reconcile the Jewish theologians with Aristotelic philosophy, but this attempt did not much succeed.[f] In order to bring about, if possible, an *entente cordiale* between Judaism and metaphysics, it was necessary that a man should come forward thoroughly acquainted with them both, joining calm and lucidity with energy and depth, capable by extensive learning and searching criticism, of lighting up the whole domain of religion with the torch of science, and of determining precisely the respective limits of reason and of faith. This man was Moses ben-Maïmoum, more commonly called Moses Maimonides.

Before giving here an account of the doctrines taught by that celebrated philosopher, it will be best to state the resources we have had at our disposal towards the satisfactory performance of that part of our task. It is somewhat curious that whilst so many master-pieces of Arabic literature have during the last thirty years been published, elucidated and commented on, the original text of Maimonides' great work the *Moré Nevochim* remained concealed under the dust of a few public libraries. The Hebrew version of Samuel ibn-Tibbon had alone received the honours of impression, and from that version (the printed editions of which are very faulty) two Latin translations had been done, the former ascribed to a Jewish physician named Jacob Mantino, and published at Paris in 1520, the latter by John Buxtorf, bearing date 1629, published at Bâle, in quarto. If we remember, 1, that Mantino's translation is completely unknown; 2, that Buxtorf, entirely ignorant of the Arabic language and literature, often mistook the sense of Maimonides, besides accompanying by no commentary a work every line of

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[e] Ebn-Ezra, well known as one of the boldest commentators of the Bible amongst the Jews, was not less so for his knowledge of astrology. He was considered as one of the chief representatives of that chimerical science to which he devoted a series of works formerly held in much esteem, and translated in Latin by Petrus Paduanus, in 1293 (MSS. of the Paris Imperial Library, No. 7438). The original Hebrew text of these books is likewise kept at the *Bibliotheque Impériale* in several MS. codices.—Cf. M. Munk's note, *Mélanges*, page 485.

[f] See M. Munk's *Guide des Egarés*, vol. i., p. 339, note.

which requires careful illustration and elucidation, we shall see at once that M. Munk's publication of the original text of the *Moré Nevochim*, together with a French version and copious notes, is a real boon rendered to metaphysical studies.

In preparing his work the illustrious *savant* has had at his disposal six MSS. belonging to the Bodleian Library, and two which are preserved at Leyden. Let it here be mentioned to the eternal honour of the late M. Weyers, and of his successor, Professor Juynboll, curator of the Leyden Library, that they *spontaneously* offered to forward to Paris the valuable MSS. placed under their care, and that M. Munk has thus been able to collate leisurely, in his own study, documents without which his own edition could not, as a matter of necessity, have reached the perfection it undoubtedly possesses.

Another difficulty, however, and a serious one remained, even when M. Munk's labours were brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The publication of such a book as the *Moré Nevochim*, text, translation, and notes, was, from a financial point of view, a serious matter, and the most spirited *éditeur* could scarcely be expected to undertake, without assistance, the bringing out of a work destined to a relatively limited circle of readers. At this critical juncture Baron James de Rothschild came most generously to the rescue, and through his patronage the last obstacles were removed. We may safely say that no Mecænas ever deserved so well of the lovers of serious literature, and the publication of M. Munk's work reflects the greatest credit upon all those who have had anything to do with it. Two volumes of it have appeared bringing us down to the second part of the *Moré Nevochim;* the third is in the press and will, we understand, be published in a few months. From the instalments now before us, and from M. Ad. Franck's interesting essay, we shall condense all we can state here on Moses Maimonides.

Moses ben-Maimoum was born at Cordova, according to the most authentic documents, March 30, 1135. His father, a distinguished Talmudist, and author of a commentary on Alfarghâni's *Compendium of Astronomy*, initiated him from his earliest years to the study of theology and of the other sciences. He frequented also the Arab schools, where, as he informs us, he had for master a pupil of Ibn-Bâdja, and for fellow-student a son of the celebrated astronomer, Geber, or Djâber ben-Aflah, of Seville. He had scarcely reached his thirteenth year when the fanatic Khalif, founder of the Almohade dynasty, took the city of Cordova, and both Jews and Christians were compelled to choose between the adoption of Islamism and exile. A great many families, unwilling to leave Spain, outwardly conformed to the

faith of the conquerors, whilst others, rather than incur the heinous guilt of hypocrisy, "travelled about," as Maimonides himself tells us, "by land and by sea," without finding a resting place for the sole of their foot. In 1159-60 we find Moses with his parents at Fez, where they were obliged, at the imminent peril of their lives, to make a profession of Islamism. The Jews of that city still relate about him curious legends which are connected with the residence he made amongst their forefathers. After having spent some years in that part of Africa, Maimonides could finally withdraw from the oppression which had been weighing down upon him, and he embarked for Saint Jean d'Acre, where he arrived with all his family, May 16, 1165. He only stopped there five months, and in company with his father and a few friends he started on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, notwithstanding the severe laws which at that time prohibited the Jews from visiting the holy city. Finally, he went to Egypt, and selected as his residence Fostat, the port of Cairo. Then began for Maimonides a period of prosperity. Whilst maintaining himself by the commerce of precious stones, he delivered public lectures which procured for him, as a philosopher, a theologian, and especially a physician, the greatest reputation. An important political event, of which his adopted country was then the theatre, further increased his prosperity, and added new lustre to his reputation. The famous Saladin, after having overthrown the Khalifate of the Fatimites, had caused his own authority to be recognized throughout Egypt. The friend and minister of that prince, the Kadhi Al-Fâdhel, had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Maimonides and of appreciating his eminent qualities; he took him under his protection, afforded him the means of giving up his industry for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to science, and procured him the appointment of court-physician. So high a state of favour necessarily excited the jealousy of our philosopher's enemies, and they tried to bring about his ruin. However, through the constant protection of Al-Fâdhel, Maimonides remained undisturbed in the enjoyment of his well-earned repose until his death, which happened Dec. 12, 1204. On that sad event "the Jews and Mahometans of Fostat had public mourning for three days, the Jews of Jerusalem proclaimed a day of extraordinary humiliation, reading publicly the threatenings of the law (Deut. xxviiii.), and the history of the capture of the ark by the Philistines (1 Sam. iv., etc.); for they regarded Maimonides as the ark containing the law. His remains were conveyed to Tiberias; and the reverence which the Jewish nation still cherish for his memory is expressed by the well-known saying, "From Moses,

the lawgiver, to Moses (Maimonides) no one hath arisen like Moses," in allusion to Deut. xxxiv. 10.[g]

We shall not give here a bibliographical list of the numerous works composed by Maimonides. His great work, the *Moré Nevochim*, is the one which affords the completest insight into his metaphysical views, and to a brief examination of it we shall confine ourselves. It is divided into three parts very clearly marked out by the author himself:—1. The object of the first is to lay down the basis of the system of interpretation which should be applied to the Scriptures, and to refute certain opinions incompatible with philosophy and sound faith. 2. The second, consecrated to an exposition of theodicy and cosmology, such as Maimonides understood them, is terminated by a singular theory of prophecy. 3. The third is more particularly moral and exegetical: it treats of evil, of liberty, of providence, and shews that there is nothing in the law which does not find its justification either in reason or in history.[h] Instead of proceeding at random as Philo, or of having recourse to arbitrary assertions, like the Kabbalists, Maimonides seeks in the very language of Scriptures the foundation of his allegorical interpretations. Taking one by one all the expressions which the Old Testament makes use of in speaking of God, and by which it ascribes to Him our infirmities and our passions. He analyzes them, compares them together, shews that they are susceptible of various significations, and always succeeds in eliciting from the text a spiritual or figurative sense. Thus to see, to look, to hear, to walk, to go up, to come down, are expressions which apply not only to the body, but to the mind; thus, the image after which we have been created, according to the passage in Genesis, signifies, not a material image, but that intellectual form which constitute the imperishable substance of our soul. This part of our philosopher's work is a real dictionary of the Old Testament, a dictionary of synonyms composed for the use of spiritualism, and no one can imagine what an amount of patience, erudition, and ingenuity such a labour must have cost. By means of this magical key a refined mind can discover in the Scriptures, and

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[g] Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.*, *s. v.* MAIMONIDES.—Franck, art. on *Maimonides*, in the *Dict. des Sciences Philosophiques*, reprinted in the *Etudes Orientales*, pp. 317—361. 8vo. Paris. 1861.

[h] On the title of the *More Nevochim* see Munk's Translation, vol. i., Introduction, note. The Latin *Ductor perplexorum* (not *doctor*, has Buxtorf has it), seems the best equivalent. Leibnitz said of the work: Egregium video esse librum rabbi, Mosis Maimonidis, qui inscribitur *Doctor perplexorum*, et magis philosophicum quam putaram, dignum adeo lectione attenta. Fuit in philosophia, mathematicis, medica arte, denique Sacræ Scripturæ intelligentia insignis. Legi versionem a Buxtorfio editam, 4to. Basileæ. 1629.

even in the rabbinical writings, whatever it thinks proper to assume, nor does anything remain there that can shock our reason.[h]

But Maimonides is not satisfied with protesting against material anthropomorphism; he also endeavours to refute that error from a moral or intellectual point of view, and in order to strike at the root of the evil, he maintains that a true conception of God is inconsistent with the ascription to Him of any positive attributes. "Attributa," says he, "qua Deo per Negationem attribuuntur, sunt attributa vera; utpote in quibus nulla est imminutio (h. e. *quæ Deo nihil detrahunt, nec minus, quam convenit, adscribunt)*, et quæ nullam imperfectionem Deo assignant. Verùm attributa affirmativa sunt tùm communia cum aliis, tum etiam maximoperè imperfecta, prout fusè jam a nobis declaratum."[i]

In his learned note to this passage, M. Munk shews that before the time of Maimonides, the Jewish divines, principally those of Spain, had already established as an essential proposition that we can declare not what God *is*, but what He *is not*, and that the attributes generally ascribed to Him, far from expressing an affirmation, only indicate the exclusion of their contraries; thus when we say that God is one, we only mean that He is not multiple, when we say that He is eternal, we mean that He is not created, etc.[j] The Arab philosophers adopt the same view, and some Mussulman sects, particularly the *Dhirâriyya*, make of the negative attributes an essential point in their doctrine.[k] The Karaïte Ahron ben-Elias in his *Tree of Life* (cap. 71), refutes the upholders of the negative attributes. These metaphysicians believed they were countenanced in their teaching by Aristotle, whom Ba'hya quotes in the following manner: "Therefore Aristotle says, the negative attributes of the Creator are more true than the affirmative ones; for all the attributes that might be ascribed to Him affirmatively, could only be those of substance or of accident; now the Creator both of substance and of accident cannot have in his essence any of their attributes. But the attributes which are removed from Him (*i.e.*, the attributes expressed negatively) are undoubtedly true." The above passage quoted likewise by Ibn-Falaquéra[l] is evidently a spurious one. It is a fact that Aristotle, whilst speaking of the *original motor*, very often makes

[h] M. Munk. [i] *Deut. perplex.*, i., cap. 57. Buxtorf's Trans., p. 95.
[j] Ba'hya, *Duties of the Heart*, i. 10; Jehuda ha-Lévi, *Khozari*, ii. 2; Abraham ben-David, *Emounâ ramâ*.
[k] *Scharestâni*, vol. i., p. 94, of the German translation.
[l] *Moré ha-Moré*, p. 29.

use of negative terms;[m] but he never excludes affirmative terms, and the absolute assertions of the Arab philosophers, in this respect seem taken from Neo-Platonist commentators, and may be referred to the doctrines of Plotinus.[n] Thomas Aquinas, in his turn, when he says that we can express ourselves about God only by the negative process, has followed the Arabs, from whom he no doubt borrowed the term *via remotionis*.[o]

We then see that if Maimonides was much indebted to Aristotle[p] for some of the doctrines taught in the *Moré Nevochim*, he made, on the other hand, the Stagyrite responsible for a number of theories which are of quite a different origin. The notes to M. Munk's translation abound in instances of these extraordinary mis-statements,[q] ascribable to the immense popularity enjoyed by Aristotle, and accordingly, to the anxiety felt by the mediæval philosophers to place under his sanction every theory they propounded respecting the origin of the world, the laws of the mind, and other kindred subjects.

After having defended the immateriality of God against a false religion servilely attached to the letter of Scriptures; after having, as he supposed, defended His unity against a false philosophy which distinguished the divine attributes from God himself, Maimonides undertakes to combat the Arab *Motecallemîn*, who, occupying a middle position between the theologians and the metaphysicians, were equally disowned by both sides, and failed to defend both reason and faith. But, whilst he criticizes the doctrines upheld by that sect, he makes us acquainted with them through a very accurate and extensive exposition, and this portion of his work (part i., cap. 71, 73—76) is of the highest importance as a contribution to the history of philosophy.[r]

If the views of the *Motecallemîn* are erroneous, it is necessary that we should establish upon a more solid basis the fundamental truths of philosophy and religion. This Maimonides undertakes to do in the second part of the *Moré Nevochim*. By way of introduction, the author lays down twenty-five demonstrable propositions, and one hypothetic, serving as premises for the Peripatetics to prove the existence, the unity and the immateriality of God.[s] He then explains the peripatetic demonstrations, and shews that they preserve all their worth, even if

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[m] *Metaph.*, xii. 7, and *passim*.
[n] Cf. Ritter, *Geschichte der Phil.*, iv., pp. 573 and following.
[o] Cf. *Summa v. Gent.*, i. 14.
[p] Cf. *Guide des Egarés*, i., pp. 39, 89, 106, 108, 124, etc., in the notes.
[q] Cf. *Guide des Egarés*, i., pp. 230, 233.
[r] For our *résumé* of the first part of the *Moré Nevochim*, we have consulted chiefly M. Ad. Franck's excellent essay previously alluded to.
[s] Introd. Munk, ii., pp. 3—28.

we reject the theories of the eternity of movement and of time.[t] The idea of intermediate beings between God and the universe is unfolded according to the teaching of Arabianism Aristotel,[u] and the author endeavours to shew that these doctrines are consonant both with Scripture and with tradition. We now come to the *vexata quæstio* of the origin of the world.[v] Religion teaches us that the universe was created from absolute nothingness by the free-will of God, and that it has therefore had a beginning. If, on the contrary, we believe Aristotle, the universe has always existed as the necessary effect of a motive cause perpetually acting. Maimonides quotes as an intermediate opinion that of Plato,[w] who admits the eternity of chaotic matter, but denies that both of movement and of time. This hypothesis may agree with religious belief, but as it is based upon no demonstration, it can also be rejected. The Peripatetics have alleged in favour of their views a certain number of demonstrative proofs; the author, however, shews that Aristotle did not deceive himself in this respect, and that he never claimed the pretension of being able to prove rigorously the eternity of the world. Maimonides then takes a step in advance; the creation *ex nihilo* is not, he says, susceptible of demonstration any more than the eternity of matter, but it has the advantage of being less improbable.[x] The movement of the heavenly bodies offers the greatest difficulties, if we assume that everything in the universe follows an eternal and immutable law. All the theory of successive emanations applied to heavenly intelligences and spheres cannot account for the multiplicity and diversity which exist in the world; whereas these problems vanish as soon as we acknowledge the action of a free will, manifesting itself *designedly* and not *by necessity*. The hypotheses imagined by astronomical science have not in themselves much probability; they are, besides, little in agreement with physical laws, and with the principles of movement as laid down by Aristotle. In conclusion, all Aristotle's theories on the nature of the sublunary world are unquestionably true; but with respect to what exists above, he has been unable to state any proposition capable of proof; and what he has said in reference to this point

[t] Cap. ii., "Demonstratum itaque tibi jam est, existentiam Dei esse necessariam, nullamque habere sui causam, neque possibilitatem ratione substantiæ suæ; adductæ sunt demonstrationes certæ et evidentes de existentiâ ipsius, sive mundus statuatur esse novus, et aliquandò non fuisse, sive non statuatur esse novus."—Buxtorf, p. 192. [u] Cap. 3. [v] Cap. 13.

[w] Cf. the *Timæus*, also *Leo Hebræus*, *Dialoghi;* 3rd edit., Venet., 1572, fol. 145 and following. On this supposed opinion of Plato, cf. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, vol. ii., pp. 508 and following; Henri Martin, *Etudes sur le Timée de Platon*. Vol. ii., pp. 179 and following; and the note in M. Munk's *Guide*, vol. ii., pp. 110, 111. [x] Cap. xvi.

resembles mere conjectures, which cannot impair the doctrine of creation. This doctrine, besides, is a postulate of religion: if we deny it, we are necessarily led to deny likewise prophetic inspiration and the whole scheme of miracles. However, because we admit creation *ex nihilo*, it does not follow that we are compelled to believe in the ultimate destruction of the universe.[y] Maimonides thinks, on the contrary, that the world will never cease to exist such as it is; and he proves that all the passages in the Old Testament, supposed to allude to a final dissolution, must be taken in a figurative sense. Miracles are only momentary interruptions of the laws of nature; they are exceptions to these laws, restrictions placed upon them when they were first established by God. Maimonides then explains, according to the directions given in the Talmud, certain particulars of the narrative of the creation, proving that everything there said respecting sublunary things agrees with the peripatetic theories. The whole discussion terminates with a few observations on the institution of the Sabbath, which symbolizes the doctrine of creation.[z]

The remainder of the second part is taken up by a theory of *prophecy*, in which our author sees only the absolute ἐντελέχεια of man's intellectual and moral faculties. These, brought to their highest perfection and assisted by a certain power of imagination which places man in an ecstatic state, render us fitted, in this life, to perfect union with the *active intellect*.[a] All men arrived at that high state of perfection would necessarily be prophets, if the will of God had not exclusively reserved the gift of prophecy to certain elect individuals, denying it to others, notwithstanding their undoubted aptitude for it. The revelation on Mount Sinai, and the circumstances which accompanied it, are mysteries which we cannot fathom in all their reality. The same must be said of the perceptive faculties of Moses; these were above the corresponding powers of the other prophets; and in them we find manifested the highest intelligence of divine things, without any participation of the imaginative faculty. Moses saw God face to face; that is to say, he apprehended Him by his intellect in the state of watchfulness, and not through the medium of his imagination. The law revealed to Moses is the most perfect of all laws, avoiding excess, and being equally distant from exaggeration and from deficiency. Maimonides describes the signs by which a true prophet is recognized; he defines prophetic inspiration, and its various degrees.

[y] Cap. xxvii.—xxix. [z] Cap. xxxi.

[a] Cap. xxxvii.. On the Intellect, both Active and Passive, cf. a note in the first volume of M. Munk's translation, pp. 304—308.

He then speaks of the external form under which prophecy is presented, particularly the parabolic visions. He also devotes a few remarks to the metaphors and hyperboles made use of by the sacred writers.

We have thus given, nearly in M. Munk's own words, a short summary of the second part of the *Ductor Perplexorum*.[b] In the third and last will be found curious views on evil, on providence, on foreknowledge and liberty, and on the respective claims of revelation and reason. Maimonides considers evil, not as a thing existing in itself, but as a negation, a privation, the absence of good. Hence it follows that God cannot be called the creator of evil. "De Deo Opt. Max. non potest absolute dici, quod *malum per se faciat*, quod intentio ejus prima et principalis sit *facere malum*. . . . Nam actiones ejus omnes sunt optimæ, quia ipse nihil facit præter existentiam; existentia autem omnis bona est."[c]

The opinions respecting the Providence of God can be reduced to five. 1. Epicurus and his followers deny it absolutely, and admit in the universe nothing but the empire of chance. 2. Aristotle, as interpreted by Alexander Aphrodisæus, says that the action of divine Providence is only exercised throughout the heavenly spheres, and is limited by the orb of the moon. Under this head we may class the view of the Peripatetics who admit a providence for universal things, for genera and species, but deny it for individuals. 3. The *Ascharites*[d] placing themselves at a point of view directly contrary to that of the Peripatetics, do not believe in general laws, and acknowledge in God nothing but special purposes fixed from all eternity, and which determine in its most trifling details the life of every individual. 4. According to the *Motazales*,[e] both God's providence and his remunerative justice are extended indifferently to all beings, even those who have no liberty and who are therefore irresponsible. No creature, they say, from the smallest insect up to man, suffers without being, *ipso facto*, entitled to compensation in the next world; none enjoys without having deserved that enjoyment. Thus the innocent mouse which falls under the cat's tooth will be adequately remunerated in after life. 5. Finally, we may suppose that divine Providence applies to individuals only so far as they are responsible moral agents. In all other cases its action is limited to genera and species, whilst individuals are abandoned to the immutable laws of nature. Maimonides ex-

[b] In preparing the text of this part M. Munk has had at his disposal, besides the MSS. mentioned above, another one belonging to the late Rev. Dr. Cureton.

[c] Cap. x, page 353. Buxtorf.

[d] Cf. *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* for Jan., 1865, page 359.

[e] Cf. *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* for Jan., 1865, page 356.

amines successively these five different theories, he shews that the first four give no adequate solution of the problem, and he adopts the fifth as satisfying the demands both of reason and of faith.[f]

Whether the providence of God applies to man or to nature, it extends, of course, to the future, and includes foreknowledge. But how can foreknowledge reconcile itself with the fact of human liberty? This momentous difficulty, which has occupied the attention of metaphysicians and divines in all ages, is answered by Maimonides in the only manner consistent with good sense. We know, says he, that freedom is the principle of our actions, and the condition of our responsibility; on the other hand, we have no clear idea of God's foreknowledge, of the manner in which things are present to his thought, and submitted to his decrees; therefore, we cannot maintain that the two terms of the problem are incompatible with each other.[g]

It would take us too long to explain here the way in which Maimonides undertakes to harmonize the authority of the Scriptures with that of reason. Suffice it to say, that for the purpose of breaking down the barrier which separates religion from rationalism, he calls to his assistance all the resources of his erudition; natural history, medicine, metaphysics, history are pressed into the service, and whilst marshalling his array of evidences, the author of the *Moré Nevochim* gives us the most curious details on the religion of the ancient Sabæans.

The Jewish theologians attached to their faith clearly understood the true meaning of the works of Maimonides, and particularly of the *Moré*. However, it was only after the death of the illustrious thinker, that his opponents gave utterance to the feelings which possessed them. The Hebrew communities of Languedoc and Provence anathematized all the metaphysical writings of Maimonides, and consigned them to the flames. In their turn the champions of rationalism hurled sentences of excommunication against the orthodox divines, and a violent schism broke out, which lasted for a century. The victory, nevertheless, finally remained to Maimonides. Whilst his theological treatises preserved all their authority in the estimation of the Talmudists, his *Moré Nevochim* gave the impulse to the free thinkers who appeared in Judaism, from Spinosa to Moses Mendelssohn.

We purpose, in a concluding article, describing from the works of Messrs. Munk and Franck the leading features of Kabbalistic speculation, and the last representatives of philosophy amongst the Jews.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

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[f] Cap. xvii. and xviii.

[g] Cap. xxi.

THE METONIC CYCLE AND CALIPPIC PERIOD.

[Continued from Vol. VI., p. 416.]

According to my *Chronology*, the archonship of Apseudes must have been in B.C. 453, and the ninth Metonic cycle, that is, one hundred and seventy-one years, reckoned from the summer solstice of B.C. 453, would reach the summer solstice in B.C. 282. Thus my chronology would bear the test equally well with the chronology of Diodorus, and with this additional recommendation, that if the weight of historical testimony should decide in favour of mine, it would at once also decide that the Calippic period must have begun in B.C. 331, the archonship of Aristophanes; whereas if the weight of testimony should decide in favour of Diodorus, it would still remain doubtful whether the Calippic period began in B.C. 330, or in B.C. 331, this depending on the uncertainty whether the observation by Aristarchus was made in the beginning or at the end of 50 Cal. Per. I. This should increase our suspicion of the truthfulness of Diodorus's chronology, seeing that it was so decidedly rejected by Hipparchus and Ptolemy; or, at least, it should add to the carefulness with which the two systems should be tested, and give additional weight to any evidently undesigned circumstances mentioned by really cotemporary authors, such as the interval between the archonships of Diocles and Alexias at the end of the Peloponnesian war, mentioned by Lysias, and the nine additional archons in the time of Philip, mentioned by Demosthenes. I should also notice that if Diodorus be proved to be in error to the extent of two years, as to the archonship of Apseudes, which was most certainly the beginning of the Metonic cycle, the real error must be, at the least, nineteen years, the full extent of a cycle, or, it may be, twenty years on account of the two different years in which the beginning of the Calippic period is placed, or the true chronology could not bear the test of the Metonic cycle, as connected with the Calippic period in 50 Cal. Per. I.

And now for our tests of truth. As to the statement of Hipparchus, that the observation by Aristarchus was made in the forty-fourth year from the death of Alexander, my *Table* II., which is arranged according to Diodorus, shews its fulfilment, but only on the supposition that the death of Alexander was in E.N. 424, and that it is sufficient to shew that the end of 50 Cal. Per. I. was in the beginning of the said forty-fourth year; my *Table* III. will also shew its fulfilment on the same conditions, and by counting 424 E.N. as included. But this statement of Hip-

parchus must clearly be set aside as any test of truth; for it was evidently made by calculation on the supposition that the death of Alexander was really in 424 E.N., and that the observation was made by Aristarchus in the end of 50 Cal. Per. I. in 280 B.C., and not at its beginning in 281 B.C.

We will now turn to Diodorus's list of archons, as set forth in each of my *Tables* II. and III. Here it will be seen that, with the exception of the year at the end of the Peloponnesian war, Diodorus gives an archon for each year from the archonship of Apseudes to the archonship of Agesias (the death of Alexander). We have already seen how completely the chronology of Diodorus would be destroyed by the taking away of any one of these archons, as would in effect be done by the depression of Apseudes from 433 to 432 B.C. But the overthrow would be as complete by the introduction of a single additional archon, and, as I have noticed in a former letter, Demosthenes, who lived in the time of Philip, has mentioned in his *Oration on the Crown* (which he made in the time of Philip) nine archons, and eight of them are in decrees of the time of Philip; but not one of them is found in the list of Diodorus. Of these the strongest instance is perhaps that of Mnesithides; for, when Demosthenes asks in Court at Athens for the date of a transaction, the only answer which is given by the officer of the court is, "*Archon Mnesithides.*" No doubt then should exist but that he was an archon eponymus, who gave the name to his year of office, and that his name ought to appear in a true and complete list of the archons of Athens. Dr. Hincks suggests that he may have been an archon eponymus of Delphi. To this I reply, that when Demosthenes mentions other archons of Athens as dates, and whose names are found in the list of Diodorus, he mentions them as "*ἐπ' Εὐάνδρου ἄρχοντος*," "*προ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος*," "*μετ' Ευκλείδην ἄρχοντα*," making no mention whatever of Athens, and yet they are readily admitted to have been archons eponymi of Athens. The only inference therefore is, that all the archons who are mentioned by Demosthenes under similar circumstances were also archons of Athens; and that if Mnesithides had been an archon eponymus of Delphi, the officer of the court at Athens would have expressly said so. Hence these archons of Demosthenes must be held to overthrow the chronology of Diodorus, and the extent of a cycle in error would make ample room for all of them.

Further: on reference to Diodorus's list, it will be seen that he gives Alexias as the fifth from Diocles, the archon of the twenty-third year of the Peloponnesian war. But Lysias, an orator of the time of the Peloponnesian war, in his *Munerum accept. Defens.*, p. 183, introduces a client as saying,—

"Concerning the things laid to my charge, enough has been laid before you, my judges. But, I entreat you to hear some other things, that you may know what sort of a person I am that you are about to pass sentence on. In the archonship of *Theopompus*, I was appointed choregus to the tragedians, and spent thirty minæ, and in the third month of Thargelion I was victorious in the men's choir, and spent two thousand drachmæ, and when *Glaucippus* was archon, I spent on the Pyrrhian dances and at the great Panathanea eight hundred, and again in his archonship I was choregus for the men, and victorious at the Dionysia, and spent five thousand drachmæ together with the providing of the tripod; and when *Diocles* was archon I spent at the lesser Panathanea, on the cyclic dance, three hundred, and for the next seven years I was over the gallies and spent six talents, and though I was at such expenses, and daily running into danger, and travelling on your behalf, I nevertheless brought tribute, on one occasion thirty minæ, and on another four thousand drachmæ, and when I sailed home in the archonship of *Alexias*, I was immediately made gymnasiarch at the Promethean games and was victorious, and spent twelve minæ, and afterwards I was appointed choregus for the boy's choir, and spent more than fifteen minæ, and when *Eucleides* was archon I furnished Cephisodotus, and was victorious at the comedies, and spent sixteen minæ together with the providing of the apparatus."

From this mention of *Diocles* and *Alexias* in a public court of justice, where it must have been well known whether it was true or not, it seems impossible to doubt that *Alexias* was at least the seventh from *Diocles*, and not the fifth, as given by Diodorus. It must be so, or how could this man have been over the gallies, as he says, for the next seven years, and then sailed home in the archonship of Alexias? In his *De Trunco sac. Oliv. Defens.*, p. 58, Lysias introduces the name of *Pythodorus* as an archon, and in his *Pro Milite*, p. 74, Lysias introduces *Ctesicles* as an archon. Thus we have an orator of the time mentioning *Theopompus*, *Glaucippus*, *Diocles*, *Alexias*, *Eucleides*, *Pythodorus*, and *Ctesicles* as archons, and mentioning them all in the same form, and that the form employed by Demosthenes, making no mention of Athens. Can we then reasonably doubt, that if the first five were archons eponymi of Athens, the last two, *Pythodorus* and *Ctesicles*, must also have been archons eponymi of Athens, especially when we bear in mind that Lysias has made room for them as additional archons, by giving *Alexias* as the seventh from *Diocles*, instead of the fifth, as he is given in the list of Diodorus? But it would seem that Pythodorus must have been archon in the year which Diodorus calls "*Anarchy*." That the first five were archons eponymi of Athens must be freely admitted; for they are all found in the list of Diodorus within a few years of each other at the end of the Peloponnesian war, as may be seen in the *Tables*.

The conclusion is obvious. This purely undesigned testimony of Lysias must also be held abundantly sufficient of itself to prove the deficiency of Diodorus's list of archons to the extent of two archons.

I will now shew that as to these two additional archons between Diocles and Alexias, Lysias is quite confirmed by the Arundel Marble. See *Table* III. Diocles is not mentioned on the Marble: but, as he was the next before Euctemon, according to Diodorus, his number on the Marble would be 148, Euctemon being 147. Nor is Alexias mentioned on the Marble; but as he was the next after Callias, according to Diodorus, his number on the Marble would be 142, Callias being 143. Thus, according to the Marble, Alexias would be the 7th from Diocles, as he is given by Lysias.

I trust I have already conclusively shewn, that to make the Marble consistent with itself, Selden must be held to be right in interpreting 147 as the number for Euctemon, the archon in the 24th year of the Peloponnesian war.

But I will add some remarkable confirmation, quite conclusive, not only of the soundness of Selden in interpreting Euctemon as 147, but also of the deficiency of Diodorus's list.

Demosthenes, *Orat.* ix., *Philip.* iii. 116, says to the Athenians, "You held the sovereignty of Greece 73 years: the Lacedæmonians commanded for the space of 29 years, and in the latter times, after the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans were in the same degree of eminence." The Marble places Xantippus in its 216th year, and says that in his archonship the Athenians conquered Mardonius, the general of Xerxes, at the battle of Platæa. The archonship of Xantippus is placed by Diodorus, xi. 27, in 75 Ol. 2, that is, the 298th Olympic year. Diodorus, xiii. 104, 105, says that Lysander, the commander of the Lacedæmonians, conquered the Athenians in the battle of Œgospotamos, in the archonship of Alexias, 93 Ol. 4, that is, the 372th Olympic year. I have noticed that Alexias is not mentioned on the Marble; but that from his immediately following Callias, his number would be 142. Thus Diodorus and the Marble quite agree as to the interval between Xantippus and Alexias, both agreeing with Demosthenes in placing Alexias at the end of 73 years from Xantippus (the 73 years in each case beginning at the end of the year in which Xantippus was archon, and ending at the beginning of the year in which Alexias was archon). But this would not be so unless Euctemon were in 147, as seen in *Table* III. We now come to the 29 years for the Lacedæmonians. These (reckoned from the beginning of the year 142, the Marble number for Alexias), would, as *Table* III. also shews, end

in 114, the Marble number for Nausinicus, in whose time, as Clinton (*Fast. Hell.*, p. 98), remarks, Cleombrotus (the king of Lacedæmon) marches into Bœotia in the middle of winter) Xen., *Hell.* v. 4, 14; Demosth., *Androt.*, p. 606). Nausinicus is not mentioned on the Marble; but the Marble places Phrasiclides in its number 107, and says that in his archonship the Thebans conquered the Lacedæmonians (at Leuctra, in Bœotia). Diodorus gives Nausinicus as the 7th above Phrasiclides, and this would place Nausinicus in 114 of the Marble, and in the 29th year from Alexias: but, according to Diodorus (reckoning also from the beginning of his year for Alexias), Nausinicus was only the 28th, as the *Table* also shews. On this Clinton says, "Diodorus, xv. 25, has dated the beginning of this (the Bœotian) war, a year too low, *ἐπὶ Ναυσινικου*," and refers to Demosthenes, *Androtion*, and an old Marble mentioned in Corsini's *Fasti Attici*.

Clinton also shews from Demosthenes and Xenophon that Diodorus is inaccurate in placing the action at Naxos in the archonship of Callias. Diodorus places the beginning of the Bœotian war at the distance of 29 years from the battle of Œgospotamos, as it is given by Demosthenes and illustrated by the Marble; but he places it in the archonship of Callias, the next below the archonship of Nausinicus: that is to say, Diodorus has clearly omitted an archon between Alexias and Nausinicus; nor is it difficult to point out where the omission took place. It must have been between Laches and Aristocrates. According to Diodorus, these two were consecutive archons; but, according to the Marble, there was an archon between them.

Further: Polybius, i. 6, states that the year in which the Gauls took Rome, was the 19th after the battle of Œgospotamus and the 16th year before the battle of Leuctra; and Strabo (vi. 320) says that it was so according to Polybius. We learn from Dionysius, *Hal.*, i. 60, that the Gauls took Rome in the archonship of Pyrrhion. Pyrrhion is not mentioned on the Marble; but, according to Diodorus, he was the 11th after Aristocrates, who is in No. 135, and in the 17th year above Phrasiclides (the battle of Leuctra), who is No. 107 on the Marble. This would place the archonship of Pyrrhion in No. 124 of the Marble, and in the 19th year from Alexias, as given by Polybius. But, according to the list of Diodorus, he was only in the 18th year, as may be seen in *Tables* II., III. In his *lib.* xiv. 2, Diodorus also says: "In the foregoing books we have described matters from the taking of Troy to the end of the Peloponnesian war and the Athenian government (93 Ol. 4, the archonship of Alexias), and have gone through 779 years, and in this book we

shall go on with the consecutive matters, and begin from the establishment of the thirty tyrants at Athens and end at the taking of Rome by the Gauls, 18 years." His list shews that by eighteen years Diodorus means eighteen inclusive of the years for Alexias and Pyrrhion, and therefore 93 Ol. 4, the Olympic year of Alexias, is not to be included in the 779 years. Here, again, we have a striking evidence of the correctness of 147 as the number for Euctemon, and also of the deficiency of Diodorus's list to the extent of one archon between Alexias and Pyrrhion, and this quite confirms the deficiency of the one, which is shewn by Demosthenes, as between Alexias and Nausinicus.

Thus, the variation between Diodorus and the Marble as to the interval between Euctemon and Aristocrates must be three years, as it is given by the Marble, viz., two between Euctemon and Alexias, as confirmed by Lysias, and one between Alexias and Aristocrates, as confirmed by Demosthenes and Polybius.

As to the interval between Pyrrhion and Phrasiclides (the battle of Leuctra) Diodorus and the Marble are agreed in giving it as sixteen years, as stated by Polybius.

Further: Micon is given by the Marble, as he is given by Diodorus, the fourth from Callias, and Clinton gives in his p. 80, "*Μίκων τέταρτος ἀπὸ Καλλίου.*" This agreement between Diodorus and the Marble as to Micon being the fourth from Callias, shews clearly that, Micon being placed by the Marble in 139, Callias is rightly placed in 143 on the Marble, and consequently Euctemon could not have been 144 on the Marble, as contended for by Dr. Hincks, because Diodorus himself places Antigenes between Euctemon and Callias. Further: Antigenes is placed by the Marble in 145, and consequently Euctemon, who was before him, could not be 144. Further: Selden is aware of the difficulty attending Euctemon being placed by the Marble in 147; but in his p. 113, he expressly says that the Marble forbids his giving Euctemon as 144 and Antigenes as 142, and if the Marble permitted it, there must still have been an archon between them; but according to Diodorus they were consecutive archons.

Further: we learn from Thucydides, iv. 50, that Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, died at the latter end of the 7th year of the war, and number 147 for Euctemon in the 24th year of the war would give number 164 for the 7th year of the war. The Marble places the death of Darius Hystaspes in its No. 225. This would give No. 224 for the first year of Xerxes, and this would give 61 years for the united reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, according to the Marble. Now we learn from Sulpitius Severus

(ii. 9) that the reign of Xerxes was 21 years. Africanus, in giving the 20th of Artaxerxes as the 115th of the kingdom of Persia, requires Xerxes to be 21 years, and Diodorus (xii. 64), and Eusebius *(Chron.* 131) both give Artaxerxes as 40 years. Thus the united reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes would be 61 years, as given by the Marble, on the supposition that 147 was the right number for Euctemon. This is a singular confirmation of the soundness of Selden's interpretation of the Marble in giving 147 for Euctemon.

Further: the whole system of Ptolemy is built on the supposition that the archonship of Apseudes was in 316 E.N., 432 B.C., that is, that his archonship was the 59th year from the 31st of Darius, E.N. 257. But we have also seen that it is quite incredible that Apseudes was archon so late as B.C. 432. According to Diodorus, he must have been archon at least not later than B.C. 433, that is E.N. 315, and this would give Apseudes as in the 58th year from the 31st of Darius. We have had the Marble placing the last, that is, the 36th year of Darius, in its number 225. This would place his 31st year in number 230, and as Apseudes was archon in the 2nd year before the Peloponnesian war, his number on the Marble would be 172, and this would give Apseudes as in the 58th year from the 31st of Darius, according to the Marble. Here we have Ptolemy (being corrected for one year by Diodorus as to Apseudes) giving a striking confirmation of the correctness of 147 for Euctemon.

Further: according to Selden's interpretation, Philip of Macedon began to reign in the archonship of Agathocles in the 93rd year of the Marble, and with 147 for Euctemon in the 24th year of the war, the first year of the Peloponnesian war must have been in its No. 170. Aulus Gellius (xvii. 21) places the beginning of the Peloponnesian war in U.C. 323 and the accession of Philip in U.C. 400. Orosius (iii. 12) also places the accession of Philip in U.C. 400. Thus Aulus Gellius agrees exactly with the Marble, as interpreted by Selden, in making the accession of Philip to be 77 years after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. But, according to Diodorus, the interval was only 71 years. Dean Prideaux, in his edition of the Marble, meets this variation of the Marble from Diodorus as to the kingdom of Macedon by suggesting that the Marble, instead of recording that Philip began to reign, should have recorded that Philip built Philippi in this year.

Further: the Marble places the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Memor in Persia eight years farther from the Peloponnesian war than it is placed by Diodorus, and Prideaux meets this by suggesting that it is the death of Alexander Pheræus, and not

the death of Artaxerxes, which should have been recorded in this year.

To evade the difficulty of 147 being the number on the Marble for Euctemon, Dr. Hincks, in your p. 415 for July, says, "That the sculptor of the Marble has made mistakes I have no doubt; and I suspect that the copyist made others. Which of them made the mistake in this instance is of no importance whatever. It is certain, however, that one or other of them has done so. If 144 was not the date on the Marble, it ought to have been so."

Now whatever may be thought of the philosophy of these suggestions, they must at least be regarded as plain admissions that between the Marble and Diodorus there is an irreconcilable variation, not only as to the archons of Athens, but also as to the reigns of the kings of Macedon and Persia. In short, the history of this period, as received in the time of the author of the Marble, must have been very different from that which has been handed down by Diodorus. So that we need not be surprised at the complaint of Livy (vi. 1, viii. 40) as to the confusion in the history of this period, or as to the complaint of Plutarch (*Numa*, i., 60) that it was difficult to collect the times accurately, and especially those which were deduced from Olympiads, or as to finding traditions which contradict the chronology of Diodorus. That no mistake has been made, either by the sculptor or the copyist, as to the Marble number for Euctemon, must be held to be indisputable. The mistake, if any, must have been a mistake of the author of the Marble, and surely the authority of Diodorus, who lived about 400 years after the Peloponnesian war, cannot be held sufficient to convict the author of an error, confirmed as he is as to Euctemon by Lysias, who lived at the time, to say nothing of his confirmation by Demosthenes and Polybius; and if there were only as many years as Diodorus has given archons between Agathocles and Agesias, the death of Alexander in 114 Ol. 1 must have been at the least three years farther from the Peloponnesian war than it is given by Diodorus, and thus the eclipses, commonly assigned to the Peloponnesian war, would all be thrown out.

These three years would also place the archonship of Apseudes, and with it the beginning of the Metonic cycle, in B.C. 436, instead of in B.C. 433 (where it is placed by Diodorus), and 152 years, that is, the amount of eight Metonic cycles, reckoned from the summer solstice in B.C. 436, would end at the summer solstice in B.C. 284. Now we have seen that by placing the beginning of the Calippic period in its earliest year, that is, B.C. 331, as given by the eclipse of 19 March, 200 B.C., the earliest year

for 50 Cal. Per. I. (in which the observation was made by Aristarchus), must have begun at the summer solstice in B.C. 282, that is, two years after the end of the eighth Metonic cycle, as reckoned from the summer solstice of 436 B.C. This would prove that the archonship of Apseudes could not be rightly placed in 436 B.C. if it is to bear the test of the Metonic cycle, as connected with the Calippic period in 50 Cal. Per. I. The application of this test also proves that the error of Diodorus, as to the archonship of Apseudes, must be at least 18, 19, or 20 years. It must have been 18 for the end of the ninth Metonic cycle to reach the end of 50 Cal. Per. I. at the summer solstice in 280 B.C.; 19 to reach the beginning of 50 Cal. Per. I. at the summer solstice in B.C. 281, and 20 to reach the beginning of 50 Cal. Per. I. at the summer solstice in B.C. 282.

I shall now produce a marvellous proof of the archonship of Apseudes having been in 81 Ol. 4, that is, B.C. 453, that is, 20 years above the date assigned to it by Diodorus; and I shall do this by converting the archontic years of the Marble into their corresponding Olympic years. To do this, Selden adopts the Olympic date which Diodorus gives to Aristocrates, and Dr. Hincks, as we have seen, would fix the date of the archonship of Aristocrates by the three eclipses of the moon, which Ptolemy places in the archonships of Phanostratus and Menander: but surely neither of these modes is admissible after the discrepancy which I have shewn between the Marble and Diodorus, and Ptolemy, not only in regard to these archons of Athens, but also in regard to the reigns of Philip of Macedon and Artaxerxes Memor. of Persia.

The great event in antiquity from which dates were reckoned was the Trojan war. Thus we have had Diodorus giving 93 Ol. 3, that is, the year before the archonship of Alexias, as the 779th year from the Trojan war: and in his *lib.* i., s. 5, Diodorus also says: "Following Apollodorus, the Athenian, we put down 80 years for the period from the Trojan times to the return of the Heraclidæ, and from this to the first Olympiad 328 years, and we collect the time from the kings of Lacedæmon; and from the first Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic war, which is the end of our history, there are 730 years; so that all our history, contained in forty books, comprises 1138 years, besides the time which comprises the matters before the Trojan times." Clemens Al. (*Strom.* i., p. 402) says: "Eratosthenes describes the times thus; 'From the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ, 80 years; from this to the colonization of Ionia, 60 years; from this to the administration of Lycurgus, 159 years; to the year preceding the first Olympiad, 108 years; from the

first Olympiad to the crossing of Xerxes into Greece, 297 years." Thus according to Eratosthenes, the Trojan war was 704 years before the crossing of Xerxes into Greece. The Marble gives the Trojan war as 954 years before the date of its own erection; and these 954 years, like the 779 and the 1138 years of Apollodorus and Diodorus, and the 704 years of Eratosthenes, must necessarily have been intended as consisting of a certain number of Olympic years and of a certain number of ante-Olympic years: for we cannot doubt but that the author of the Marble knew, as well as Eratosthenes, or Apollodorus, or Diodorus, the Olympic year in which he was living; and if we could ascertain the number of years which the author adopted as the interval between the Trojan war and the first Olympiad, we should of course know in what Olympic year the Marble was erected, and thus be able to decide with absolute certainty the corresponding Olympic year for each of the archontic years of its era.

The 779 years of Diodorus consisted of 371 Olympic years and of 408 ante-Olympic years, and if his history ended in 183 Ol. 2, his 1138 years must have consisted of 730 Olympic years, and 408 ante-Olympic years. The 704 years of Eratosthenes consisted of 297 Olympic years and 407 ante-Olympic years. Tatian (*Cont. Græc.*, 41, p. 276), states that the Olympiads were instituted 407 years after the Trojan times; and Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.*, l. x., p. 484) says that from the first Olympiad to the taking of Troy there were 408 years, as the records of times among the Greeks have it.

We have here a slight variation, but easily reconciled, by supposing that the 408 were intended as exclusive, and the 407 as inclusive of the first Olympic year; but seemingly, according to Apollodorus and Diodorus, the 408 were also regarded as exclusive of the first Olympic year. But that neither 408 nor 407 were adopted by the author of the Marble, as the ante-Olympic years to the Trojan war, is evident: for 408 deducted from his 954, would give his 546th year as the first Olympic year, and this would give the first year of the Marble era as the 546th Olympic year, that is, 137 Ol. 2; and this would give the accession of Philip in the archonship of Agathocles, in the 93rd year of his era, as 114 Ol. 2: but this could not be true, for all are agreed that Alexander, his son and successor, died in 114 Ol. 1.

Suidas, in his *Lexicon, Homer*, tom. ii., p. 682, says; "The first Olympiad was 460 years after the taking of Troy." Thus between Suidas and the 408 we have a variation of 52 years, the amount of 13 Olympiads: nor is it difficult to account for the variation.

Solinus, *Polyhist.*, c. i. 27, says: "The Olympic contest,

which Hercules instituted in honour of Pelops, his maternal great-grandfather, Iphitus, the Elean, restored after its intermission in the 408th year from the fall of Troy;" and, according to Callimachus, as handed down by Syncellus, p. 196, the Olympiad, in which Coræbus was victor, was the 14th of the restored ones; 13 not having been recorded: but Syncellus also states that, according to Aristodemus and Polybius, it was the 28th. Thus we can scarcely doubt but that Eratosthenes, Apollodorus and Diodorus, were in error in regarding the first recorded Olympiad as being also the first restored one, and therefore we may regard the tradition, as to the 408 and 407 years, as referring to the first restored Olympiad, and the tradition as to the 460 years, as referring to the first recorded Olympiad. Further: as the author of the Marble did not, like Eratosthenes, Apollodorus and Diodorus, adopt the 408 or 407 years as referring to the first recorded Olympiad, it may be that, in giving his Trojan date as 954, he adopted the tradition as to the 460 years (regarding them as inclusive of the first Olympic year). We need not assume that 460 years was the real interval between the Trojan war and the first recorded Olympiad: nor need we assume that there ever was in point of fact a Trojan war. All that we want is to find out what was the supposed interval which was adopted by the author. Assuming it to be 460 years, inclusive of the first Olympic year, we should have the 495th year of his era as the first Olympic year, and the first year of the era as the 495th Olympic year, or 124 Ol. 3, and the Olympic year following, that is, 124 Ol. 4, B.C. 281 (42 years after the death of Alexander), would be for the erection of the Marble. But, before I proceed, I shall shew that this tradition as to the 460 years, though expressed in a very different form, and therefore more valuable for confirmation, has also been adopted and handed down both by Clitarchus who, according to Diodorus, ii. 7, was with Alexander in Asia, and also by Timæus, who lived about 129 Ol., B.C. 263, about 40 years before the time of Eratosthenes.

We have just learnt from Eratosthenes and Apollodorus that from the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ there were 80 years; and we learn from Clemens Alex., *Strom.* i., p. 403, that, according to Clitarchus and Timæus, the period from the return of the Heraclidæ to the archon Evænetus was 820 years. This would give the period from the Trojan war to the archonship of Evænetus as 900 years; and these deducted from 954 (the Marble date for the Trojan war), would place the archonship of Evænetus in the 54th year of the Marble, and if number 1 of the Marble be 124 Ol. 3, number 54 must be 111 Ol. 2; and we learn from Diodorus (xvii. 2), as seen in *Tables*

II., III, that Evænetus was archon in 111 Ol. 2. Thus it is clear that the ante-Olympic years to the Trojan war, which were adopted by Clitarchus and Timæus, must have been 460 (inclusive of the first Olympic year), according to the tradition handed down by Suidas, or their sum of years would not have placed the archonship of Evænetus in the identical Olympic year in which it is placed by Diodorus. Thus these 900 years must have consisted of 407 ante-Olympic years, 52 Olympic years (13 Olympiads) not recorded, and 441 recorded Olympic years, which are equal to 111 Ol. 1, and the next Olympic year for Evænetus would be 111 Ol. 2, according to Diodorus. Therefore it is not at all improbable that the author of the Marble, who lived close to the time of Clitarchus, adopted his view; and thus his Trojan date of 954 years would consist of 407 ante-Olympic years, 52 Olympic years (13 Olympiads) not recorded, and 495 recorded Olympic years. I may now notice that the Marble quite agrees with Eratosthenes, as to the interval between the Trojan war and the Ionian colonization. We have seen that, according to Eratosthenes, it was 140 years, and these deducted from the 954 of the Marble, would place the colonization in the year following its 814th, that is, in its 813th year; and here it is expressly placed by the Marble. This is of singular importance, as shewing that we have taken a step in the right direction to find out our object. Further: we have had Eratosthenes placing the crossing of Xerxes into Greece at the distance of 704 years from the Trojan war; and these, deducted from the Marble's 954, would place the crossing of Xerxes in the year following its 250th year, that is, in its 249th year: but it is placed by the Marble in its 217th year. Here we have a variation of 32 years. The mistake of Eratosthenes as to the 13 unrecorded Olympiads would have led us to expect here a variation of 52 years; but this has been reduced to 32 by the first of Cyrus having been placed by Eratosthenes 20 years too low, that is, in 55 Ol. 2, according to Diodorus, instead of 50 Ol. 2, according to Africanus and Pliny. This too must surely raise a very strong presumption that I have taken the right step to convert the archontic years of the Marble into their corresponding Olympic years.

It is a most remarkable circumstance that the suggestion of a mistake as to what was meant by the first Olympiad, and also as to what was meant by the first of Cyrus in Persia, should account for the exact difference which we here find between the Marble and Eratosthenes. Can it be otherwise than true? In my *Chronology* I also shew that a similar mistake must have been made as to the reign of Philip of Macedon.

I now turn with confidence to the archonship of Apseudes in No. 172 of the Marble, the beginning of the Metonic cycle. We have already seen that for the end of the ninth Metonic cycle (171 years), to reach the beginning of 50 Cal. Per. I. in the summer solstice of B.C. 282, the first year of the first cycle in the archonship of Apseudes must have been in B.C. 453, 81 Ol. 4: and if number 1 of the Marble era be 124 Ol. 3, number 172 must be 81 Ol. 4. It also follows that each of the years of the Peloponnesian war, according to the Marble, must have been in the same year of its Olympiad, as is given both by Thucydides and Diodorus.

I now turn to the first annual archon at Athens, Creon, in No. 420 of the Marble. Julius Africanus, as recorded by Syncellus, p. 212, states that the first annual archon, Creon, was appointed in the 19th Olympiad: but, as others say, in the 25th Olympiad, and that from Creon to Philinus in 250 Ol. there were 923 archons; and if Philinus was archon in 250 Ol. 1, A.D. 221, and Creon archon in 19 Ol. 3, B.C. 702, there must have been 923 archons between; for $221+702=923$: and if No. 1 of the Marble was 124 Ol. 3, the archonship of Creon, in No. 420, must have been in 19 Ol. 4, a sufficiently close approximation. Thus, according to Africanus, there must have been about 20 more archons from the time of Creon than was supposed by those others to whom he refers. Dr. Hincks has charged me with wrongfully claiming Africanus as the authority for this statement: but, on referring to the Chronicon of Eusebius, he will find the tradition given as from Africanus; and Corsini, *Fasti Attici*, i., p. 6, says: "Eusebius places Creon in 24 Ol. 2; but in lib. i. 39, he says from Africanus that the government of the annual archons began with Creon, the first archon, in the 19th Olympiad, but according to others in the 25th; but he seems to reject those different opinions, and so does Africanus." That the 19th and 25th Olympiads were rejected by Eusebius, I admit; but from the manner in which Africanus has mentioned the 19th, it seems plain that he adopted it. The mention of the 25th Ol. by Africanus is of importance, as shewing the existence of a different tradition, and therefore we must suppose that Africanus had good reason for adopting the 19th Ol. as the date of Creon.

I now turn to Pisistratus: the Marble states that he was tyrant at Athens in the 297th year of its era. Tatian, *Cont. Græc.*, 41, says: "Onomacritus, the Athenian, lived in the time of the Pisistratidæ, about the 50th Olympiad:" and if No. 1 of the Marble was 124 Ol. 3, then 297 for Pisistratus must be 50 Ol. 3. We have in Aristotle and Thucydides a singular confirmation of the Marble as to the interval between Pisistratus in

297 and the battle of Salamis in the archonship of Callias, in the 217th year of its era. Both numbers included, this period would be 81 years.

	Years.
The reign of Pisistratus, Arist., *De Rep.*, v., c. xii.....	33
The reign of Hipparchus ,, ,, ...	18
From the death of Hipparchus to the battle of Marathon, Thucydides, vi. 59.....	20
From Marathon to Salamis, Thucydides, i. 18.....	10
From Pisistratus to Salamis.....	81

Thus, according to Africanus, we have abundant room for all the nine additional archons mentioned by Demosthenes; and this testimony must surely add to the probability that all the nine were eponymus archons of Athens. Dr. Hincks has rightly remarked that I ought to have said that there were eighteen, and not merely fifteen years to be introduced after the archonship of Agathocles. With the 460 years of Suidas, as the interval from the Trojan war to the first Olympiad, taken as exclusive of the first Olympic year, the additional number after Agathocles would be 18; but, by its being taken as inclusive of the first Ol. year, the number is reduced to 17.

I now turn to the kingdom of Persia. Dr. Hincks reminds us that, according to Afrianus, the 20th of Artaxerxes was the 115th year of the kingdom, and in 83 Ol. 4. This would place the first year of Cyrus in 55 Ol. 2; and, as the reign of Artaxerxes was 40 years, the duration of the kingdom at his death must have been 135 years.

We have already noticed that, according to Thucydides, the last year of Artaxerxes was in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, in No. 164 of the Marble. This would place the first year of Cyrus in its 298th year, and if No. 1 be 124 Ol. 3, No. 298 for the first of Cyrus must be 50 Ol. 2. In perfect accordance with this, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi., 4), says: "Dipænus and Scyllis, natives of the island of Crete, were the first who were celebrated for marble sculpture, even in the reign of the Medes, before Cyrus began to reign in Persia, that is, in the fiftieth Olympiad."

Africanus, as handed down by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.*, p. 488), says: "After the seventy years' captivity Cyrus became king of Persia in the year in which the fifty-fifth Olympiad was celebrated." Cyrus's becoming king of Persia after the seventy years' captivity, must mean his becoming king of Persia as the universal kingdom on his overthrow of Babylon, which was the universal kingdom before Persia; and Eusebius in his *Chronicon*,

says, that, according to some, the seventy years' captivity ended in the twentieth of Cyrus; and if the first of Cyrus was in 50 Ol. 2, according to the Marble and Pliny, his twentieth year must have been in 55 Ol. 1. The common chronology is based upon this tradition of Africanus; but Clinton is obliged to say of it that Africanus has unskilfully applied to the first of Cyrus in Persia transactions which belonged to the first of Cyrus at Babylon twenty-one years afterwards. That Africanus has not made this mistake is abundantly testified not only by his tradition respecting Creon, but also by my interpretation of the Marble; for it is quite incredible that my interpretation, based upon the grounds upon which I have placed it, should elicit such evidently right Olympic years for Apseudes, and Creon, and Pisistratus, and the years of the Peloponnesian war, and the reigns of Artaxerxes and Xerxes, and yet give a wrong Olympic year for Cyrus. Further: if the first of Cyrus was in 50 Ol. 2, B.C. 579, and the end of the kingdom was in 112 Ol. 2, B.C. 331, on the defeat of Darius at the battle of Arbela, its duration must have been two hundred and forty-nine years. The tradition of Strabo, xv., 850, and Sulpit. Sev., ii., 17, is that it lasted two hundred and fifty years. The common duration assigned to the kingdom is two hundred and twenty-nine years; but if its duration was really twenty years more than are commonly assigned to it, some one or more of its kings must have reigned more years than are commonly assigned to his reign. Accordingly, we learn from Plutarch, *Artax.*, 1027, and Sulpit. Sev., ii., 13, that Artaxerxes Memor reigned sixty-two years, instead of the forty-three years assigned to him by Diodorus. Further: Eusebius, after having placed the last year of Astyages in 54 Ol. 4, says: "Cyrus overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and became king of Persia, having conquered Astyages king of the Medes. Cyrus, having released the Jews from their captivity, caused nearly fifty thousand men to return to Judæa." Thus Eusebius agrees with Africanus as to the release of the Jews in 55 Ol. 1; but Eusebius goes on and places the first of Cyrus's thirty years in 55 Ol. 1. That Eusebius has made some mistake here, is not doubted; for, according to this arrangement, Cyrus did not become king of Persia, as an ordinary kingdom, before his conquest of Media and Babylon, whereas it is notorious that it was, as king of Persia, that he conquered both Media and Babylon; and the question is, Has Eusebius placed the reign of Cyrus too low, or the fall of Media and Babylon too high? That he has not placed the fall of Media too low, at least, not more than one year too low, is evident from a tradition of Diodorus, that Deioces became king of the

Medes 17 Ol. 2, B.C. 711. According to Herodotus, *Clio.*, 102, 106, 130, Deioces, Phraortes, Cyaxares, and Astyages reigned together one hundred and fifty years, and this would place the last year of Astyages in 54 Ol. 3, B.C. 562, and the thirty-fourth of Cyaxares must have been in B.C. 603. The correctness of this date for the thirty-fourth of Cyaxares is fully attested by Dr. Hincks. We can clearly collect from Herodotus that the most probable year for the end of the Lydian and Median war was the thirty-fourth of Cyaxares, and Dr. Hincks in your Journal, January, 1857, p. 466, says: "I myself, however, entertain no doubt that the eclipse of 18th of May, 603 B.C. was that which terminated the Lydian war:" and again, in your Number for January, 1863, p. 346, Dr. Hincks says, "I believe that his (Nebuchadnezzar's) father was the Labynetus of Herodotus, and that he was the king who intervened at the termination of the Lydian war in B.C. 603." Thus Dr. Hincks should hold that Eusebius has made no greater mistake than that of a single year in the date, which he has assigned to the conquest of Media by Cyrus, and therefore he should hold that the mistake of Eusebius must be in having placed the reign of Cyrus too low,—that he ought, according to the tradition which he has handed down, to have raised up the first of Cyrus to 50 Ol. 2, so that the fall of Babylon and release of the Jews might have been in the twentieth year of his reign, as well as in 55 Ol. 1, B.C. 560, in which he himself has placed them.

That Eusebius has erred in placing the first of Cyrus in 55 Ol. 1 is manifest; for if, as we have been reminded by Dr. Hincks, the one hundred and fifteenth year of the kingdom was in the fourth year of the 83 Ol., the first year could not have been in 55 Ol. 1, but in 55 Ol. 2, and Africanus must have known this. If therefore the one hundred and fifteenth year of the kingdom was in the fourth year of an Olympiad, the only first year of Cyrus that could have been in 55 Ol. 1 must have been his first year at Babylon, that is, his twentieth, according to the tradition of Eusebius.

Further: Xenophon (*Anab.*, iii., 4, 8) says: "At the time the Persians were wresting the empire from the Medes, the king of the Persians besieged Larissa, and could not take it by any means; but a cloud covered the sun and caused it to disappear, until the inhabitants were seized with consternation, and then it was taken." According to Mr. Airy's calculation, this Larissa eclipse occurred 19th May, 557 B.C., 55 Ol. 4.

Cyril (*Cont. Julian*, i., p. 13) says: "Haggai and Zecharias prophesied in the fifty-sixth Olympiad (B.C. 556), when Cyrus was following up the Persian forces."

Blair, who brings down the fall of Babylon to meet the twenty-second of Cyrus in 60 Ol. 3, B.C. 538, also brings down the last year of Astyages from 54 Ol. 4, where Eusebius has placed it, to 57 Ol. 2, B.C. 551. Thus, according to Blair and the common chronology, Cyrus must have been "wresting the empire from the Medes," and "following up the Persian forces" five or six years before his conquest of Astyages, and eighteen or nineteen years before his conquest of Babylon; but, surely, it is far more probable that this is a representation of what Cyrus did three or four years after his conquest of Media and Babylon.

Further: Pliny *(Nat. Hist.*, ii., 12) has handed down a tradition respecting the eclipse of Thales, which confirms the account which Africanus gives of the date of Creon's archonship, and therefore indirectly the account which Africanus gives of the release of the Jews by Cyrus, and also the account which he himself gives of the beginning of Cyrus's reign in 50 Ol. Pliny says that the eclipse took place in U.C. 170, and in the time of Alyattes. According to Herodotus, the eclipse predicted by Thales was that which terminated the Lydian war, and if this eclipse was in B.C. 603 (as we may very plainly collect historically from Herodotus and Diodorus, and have confirmed astronomically by Dr. Hincks), and also in U.C. 170, Rome must have been built in B.C. 772. We learn from Dionysius, *Hal.*, i., 57, that Rome was built when Charops was archon of Athens for the first of his ten years, and as Charops was the first of the seven decennial archons who immediately preceded Creon, the first annual archon, we should have the archonship of Creon in B.C. 702, 19 Ol. 3, the exact year in which the tradition of Africanus has placed it. I might add more respecting Rome, and I might produce testimony to the same effect, but in a very different form, as may be seen in my *Chronology*, respecting the kingdom of Macedon, but I forbear.

I must now turn to the eclipses of Thucydides. As the archonship of Apseudes began not later than 19th May, 453 B.C., the archonship of Pythodorus must have begun not later than 19th May, 452 B.C., and the first year of the war must have begun not later than 19th March, 451 B.C.; and in *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* I find an eclipse of the sun on 20th March, 451 B.C. The eighth year of the war must have begun in March, 444 B.C., and in this year there was an eclipse of the sun on the 30th April. The nineteenth year of the war must have begun in March, 433 B.C., and in this year there was an eclipse of the moon on the 8th September. That there were eclipses of the sun and of the moon on the several days and years which are commonly regarded as the eclipses of Thucydides and

Ptolemy, I need not deny, but I trust that I have shewn conclusively that the one set could not have been in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and that none of the other set could have been in the reigns and archonships to which they are assigned by Ptolemy.

In your Number for January last, p. 424, Dr. Hincks, in reference to the eclipses of Thucydides, says: "I need scarcely say that no such series of eclipses could have occurred twenty-one years before the dates that I have given, or any other number of years before or after them that Mr. Parker may be pleased to fancy." Not only have I found in *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* the eclipses which I have set forth for the different years of the Peloponnesian war, but in my *Chronology* I have set forth from the same authority a list of ten eclipses of the moon, beginning from 29th March, 768 B.C., and ending 21st December, 429 B.C., agreeing so nearly with the eclipses described in the *Almagest*, not only as to their respective intervals, but also as to their times of day and magnitudes, that before astronomers are agreed on elements of calculation, which will give, either for the common list or for my own, Ptolemy's times of day and magnitudes for the several eclipses with more exactness, it must, after their severance from the reigns in which they are placed, be a matter of doubt on purely astronomical grounds to which set of eclipses Ptolemy's records referred. Nor until they are so agreed, should they pronounce a decisive judgment on the particulars of the eclipses which I have produced for the years of the Peloponnesian war. Nor must we assume that all the eclipses recorded by the ancients were visible.

In his lib. lvi., p. 589, Dio Cassius says: "In the year in which Sextus Apuleius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls, Augustus went into Campania and set forth games at Neapolis, and then died at Nola. But prodigies had happened to him, which led to it, and these not very little ones, nor difficult to be understood: for the sun had been totally eclipsed, etc., and these things had appeared beforehand, whilst he was alive." The death of Augustus was undoubtedly in A.D. 14: but my *List of Eclipses* gives no eclipse of the sun for A.D. 14: but it only gives those that were visible in Europe.

In lib. lx., page 682, his *Annals* for the consulship of M. Vinicius II. and Statilius Corvinus, in the reign of Claudius, Dio says: "And seeing the sun was about to be eclipsed on his birth-day, it was feared lest any commotion might arise from it, (for many other prodigies had happened), and some one foretold not only that the sun would be eclipsed, but also the time and magnitude, and also the causes which made it to happen." This

reminds us of what Thucydides has recorded relative to the eclipse in the nineteenth year of the war. "When they (Nicias and the Athenians) were ready and about to depart (from Syracuse), the moon became eclipsed; for it was full moon, and the Athenians and most others laid it to heart, and exhorted the officers to stop, and Nicias (for he was greatly given to superstition, and to this especially), said that he would not even permit them to deliberate on moving before they had remained there three times nine (27) days, as the soothsayers had ordered. And the Athenians were therefore delayed."

The terror felt of old at the occurrence of an eclipse was not excited by the mere act of seeing the eclipse, but by the consciousness that the eclipse foreboded evil or good, and was to take place.

That my interpretation of the Marble era should place the years of the war, not only in years which have elicited such remarkable results, but also in the years in which the eclipses which I have produced occurred, must of itself (after what Dr. Hincks has said of the impossibility) be regarded as a very remarkable circumstance, whatever may be the future determination of astronomy respecting them.

I now turn to the two eclipses of the sun, which, according to Herodotus (*Polym.*, 37, and *Calliope*, 10), happened in the spring of the year in which Xerxes crossed into Greece in the archonship of Calliades, and in the autumn of the following year, about the time of the battle of Platæa. The archonship of Calliades is placed by the Marble in its No. 217, 70 Ol. 3, beginning in the summer 498, and ending in the summer 497. It is not said by Herodotus, *Urania*, 51, that the eclipse happened in the archonship of Calliades, but that Xerxes reached Athens when Callias was archon at Athens; and this coming to Athens must have been about five months after the departure from Sardes in the spring, when the eclipse occurred. This would place the eclipse in the spring of 498 B.C., and the *List of Eclipses* gives a central eclipse of the sun on 29th March, 498, and a partial one on 10th Sept., 497 B.C. But, according to Herodotus (*Polymn.*, 206, *Urania*, 26, 72), Callias must have been archon in the first year of an Olympiad, and herein the Marble fails. Diodorus, xi. 1, places the archonship of Callias in the sixth year of Xerxes, and in 75 Ol. 1, B.C. 480; and the *List of Eclipses* gives a total eclipse of the sun on 8th April, 480, and a small one on 21st Sept., 479. But Mr. Airy, on the *Eclipse of Xerxes*, says: "This account (of Herodotus), interpreted as a record of a total eclipse of the sun, has given great trouble to chronologers, and not without reason. The only solar eclipse

which it is worth while even to examine, is that of the morning of the 19th of April, B.C. 481." This should teach us that the finding of ancient eclipses must not be insisted on with much strictness. At all events, the same amount of strictness which is applied to the eclipses of Thucydides, must also be applied to the eclipses of Herodotus, and especially to this, which is said to have occurred on so memorable an occasion as the departure of Xerxes from Sardes for the invasion of Greece; and if in due time astronomers should decide that the eclipses of 29th March, 498 and 10th Sept., 497, answer the description of Herodotus, the conclusion must be that Herodotus has erred in placing the archonship of Callias in the first year of an Olympiad.

According to Herodotus (*Polymnia*, 1—4), Darius declared Xerxes king in the year before his own death, on his preparing to go to war with Egypt, in the third year after the battle of Marathon; and the sixth year of Xerxes, reckoned from this appointment, would be 70 Ol. 1, according to the Marble; but the Marble has placed the crossing of Xerxes into Greece in his eighth year thus reckoned, that is, in the tenth year from Marathon, and this would be the sixth of Xerxes, reckoned from his father's death. But Herodotus and Diodorus have placed the crossing into Greece in the sixth year of Xerxes, on the supposition that the whole of his twenty-one years were to be reckoned from the death of his father. Thucydides, i., 118, says that between the departure of Xerxes and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war there were almost (*μαλίστα*) fifty years. This would imply that the period was not full fifty years. According to Herodotus and Diodorus, the first year of the Peloponnesian war was the fiftieth from the departure of Xerxes (the year of the departure included); but, according to the Marble and Demosthenes, it was the forty-eighth year (the year of the departure included). We have seen that the Marble agrees with Thucydides as to the last year of Artaxerxes in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, being in the fourth year of an Olympiad, and consequently they would agree as to the last of Xerxes being also in the fourth year of an Olympiad; and so an error in regard to the particular year of Xerxes, in which he crossed into Greece, would not affect the general truthfulness of the Marble. There was a small eclipse of the sun 19th April, B.C. 500, and a central one 3rd October, 499 B.C. But the eclipse of 29th March, 498, being a central one, favours the supposition that the Marble and Demosthenes have rightly placed the crossing into Greece in B.C. 498, 70 Ol. 3. It may be that astronomers will find that this eclipse was not visible at Athens. Then we must bear in mind that the eclipse of the

sun, which Dio says happened in the year of the death of Augustus, is not found among the eclipses that were visible in Europe.

I now come to the great object for which my many years of intense study have been devoted to chronology,—the shewing that Jesus Christ was the Messiah foretold by Daniel. In Dan. ix. 25 we read: "Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the *Messiah the Prince* shall be seven weeks." From Ezra vi. 14; vii. 8, 15, we learn that Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, issued a commandment for this purpose. We have also learnt that the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus was in 78 Ol. 4, B.C. 465, and therefore the seventh of Artaxerxes must have been in 75 Ol. 3, B.C. 478; and if Jesus Christ be the Messiah here mentioned, we see at once that his coming to the temple in his twelfth year must be the event in his life to which Daniel points; for, twelve years added to 478 will give 490 years as the period designated by the mystical number of seven weeks.

In Dan. ix. 25, we also read: "And threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself;" or, as it is in the LXX. version, "And the anointing shall cease, and there shall be no judgment in it." The "troublous times" carry us at once to the troublous times when they builded the wall in the twentieth of Artaxerxes, described in Neh. ii. 1; iv. 1—18. According to my interpretation of the Marble, the twentieth of Artaxerxes must have been 78 Ol. 4, *i.e.*, 465 B.C.; and if we interpret these mystical sixty-two weeks as meaning four hundred and thirty-four years, we shall be carried to B.C. 32, the death of Aristobulus, the last high priest of the Asamonean family, in the time of Herod. Eusebius (*Chronic.*, p. 153) says: "Down to the time of Herod, Christs, that is, high priests, were kings of the Jews. They began to reign from the sixty-fifth Olympiad and the restoration of the temple under Darius, and continued to Hircanus in the 186th Olympiad. . . . These sixty-nine weeks make four hundred and eighty-three years, during which Christs, that is, high priests, consecrated by anointing, reigned until Hircanus. He was the last of all. . . . Nor were the high priests any longer appointed out of the sacerdotal family by succession. . . . Also Daniel the prophet foretold these things, saying, 'After seven weeks and sixty-two weeks the anointing shall cease. And there is no judgment in it.'" In *Demons.*, p. 398, Eusebius says: "It may be well said, '*There*

is no judgment in the anointing,' when you consider the want of judgment in the appointment of the high priests after Herod." Thus it was clearly the opinion of Eusebius that the sixty-two weeks of Daniel ended in the time of Herod.

In Dan. ix. 24 we read, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, . . . and to anoint the most Holy." As held by many, the destruction of Jerusalem in the second Vespasian, A.D. 70, seems plainly to be the end of the seventy weeks; and "*to anoint the most Holy,*" seems as plainly to refer to the *Messiah, the anointed Prince,* the time of whose coming is foretold as at the end of the seven weeks in ver. 25; and as the matters foretold in ver. 25 were all accomplished during the seventy years from the birth of Jesus Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem, this seems to be the period designated by the mystical number of seventy weeks.

In ver. 27 we read, "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." This mystical week seems plainly to point to the seven years' war which the Romans waged with the Jews, and which began three years and a half before the destruction of the temple, when the daily sacrifice ceased, as we learn from Josephus, and continued about three and a half years after, when the work of desolation was continued at Macherus, Jarden, and Masada, and attained its consummation at Alexandria and Cyrene in Egypt. As this seven years' war most certainly put an end to the old covenant with the Jews, it may also be regarded as confirming the new covenant with Christians. See Heb. viii. 13; Jer. xxxi. 27—32.

I had quite formed my system of chronology before I became acquainted with the *Arundel Marble,* as a record of the kingdom of Athens, doubting only as to whether the twentieth of Cyrus, which was the end of the seventy years' captivity, was also to be regarded as the first year of Cyrus at Babylon. On my discovery and interpretation of the Marble, it was a great satisfaction to find that my system was confirmed by it to the very year; the doubt, as to the twentieth of Cyrus, still remaining by reason of my uncertainty as to whether the four hundred and sixty years of Suidas for the ante-Olympic years to the Trojan war were to be regarded as exclusive, or inclusive, of the first Olympic year. By deciding that they were exclusive, my variation from the common chronology from the first of Cyrus to the death of Alexander became twenty-one years; but the

test of the Metonic cycle connected with the Calippic period at 50 Cal. Per. I. has removed all kind of doubt, and proved that the four hundred and sixty years of Suidas are to be regarded as inclusive of the first Olympic year, and that the twentieth of Cyrus was his first year at Babylon. It has also led to all the other most remarkable results which I have noticed, and thus my variation from the common chronology is now only twenty years.[a]

FRANKE PARKER.

CODEX SINAITICUS.—It affords us pleasure to introduce here from the pages of the *Churchman*, some observations by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, on a subject elsewhere treated in this number of *J. S. L.*:—"A very interesting meeting was held at a special *séance* of the Royal Society of Literature, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's in the chair, for the inspection of the original "Codex Sinaiticus,"[b] which was kindly brought for exhibition by the discoverer. Dr. Tischendorf, after a few introductory remarks by the Right Rev. Chairman, gave a long description in French of the circumstances under which he was led to the discovery of the MS. in the convent of St. Catherine, and of the manifold difficulties which he was enabled successfully to overcome. He also defended the manuscript against those who on various grounds impugned the extreme antiquity which he claims for it, and concluded by re-asserting the statement embodied in his printed dedication to the lovers of Christian truth throughout the world, that this MS. is 'ultimæ antiquitatis Christianæ monumentum.' There certainly are, it must be admitted, many signs in it of an extremely early date, *e. g.* (1) the order in which the Books of the New Testament are arrayed: viz., after the Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, with that to the Hebrews, interposed between 2 Thess. and the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon; then the Acts; then the Catholic Epistles; lastly, the Revelation. (2) The annexation of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, to which may have been added, where a few pages are now wanting, either the Epistles of St. Clement or the Apocalypsis Petri. These contents, and, to a certain extent, their arrangement, are those adopted by Eusebius, and it was not till the Council of Laodicea A.D. 364, and of Carthage A.D. 397, that these last-mentioned works were excluded from the Christian Canon. (3) The fact that there are *four* columns upon each page instead of *three* columns, as in the 'Codex Vaticanus.' This circumstance may be taken

[a] The Tables must be deferred till the next Number.—ED. *J. S. L.*

[b] Or rather of the "Codex Friderico-Augustanus," which forms a part of the Sinaitic MS.—ED. *J. S. L.*

as pointing to a time when the Codex had recently superseded the volumen or roll, to which a MS. in the form of the 'Codex Sinaiticus' would bear a closer resemblance. The same criterion of antiquity may be observed in the Æthiopic MSS. in the British Museum, where the number of columns on a page, and the larger size of the characters, is a certain mark of increasingly remote antiquity. Against these three points in favour of the early date claimed for the 'Codex Sinaiticus' may be mentioned (1) the enormous number—20 or 30 on almost every page—of the most extraordinary violations both of grammar, sense, and spelling in the various readings. These are of such a nature as to lead to the conclusion that these barbarisms are due to a period when the art of caligraphy had so declined that the MS. was made after dictation by a scribe imperfectly acquainted with Greek, and trusting to his *ear*, rather than to his *eye*, or to his *knowledge*. It is quite inconceivable how such constant blunders could have been made by the copyists of Alexandria, so famed for their skill in the fourth century. The Vat. and Alexandrian MSS. are nearly free from mistakes of this kind. (2) The seeming alterations of the text in favour of Monophysite opinions, which were at their climax about A.D. 530, the time when the Convent of St. Catherine was founded. We allude to the reading *θέος* for *υἱός* in John i. 18, and the omission of *ὁ ὢν* before *εἰς τὸν κόλπον*; in Luke ii. 50, instead of *in wisdom and favour with God*, the Cod. Sin. reads *in the wisdom and in the grace of God*. In Matt. xiii. 54, instead of Nazareth, *his own country*, we find a reading which implies that it only seemed to be his country, or was equivalent to his country. In Mark i. 1, the words *Son of God* are omitted from the first clause of the sentence; a similar theological bias may be detected in the various readings of John xvi. and xvii. Dr. Tischendorf does not appear to us to have disposed of these objections in his allusions thereto at p. xxxix. of his preface to the smaller quarto edition. (3) The note which has been added, apparently in the same handwriting as that of the original transcriber at the end of Esther, which says that the Cod. Sinait. 'had been collated with a most extremely ancient (*παλαιότατον λίαν*) copy, which had been corrected by the hand of the Holy Martyr Pamphilus.' Now, as Pamphilus was martyred about 294, and Tischendorf claims the date of A.D. 350 for his MS., it would seem that the expression, *most extremely ancient*, implies the lapse of a longer interval between the collation referred to in the note and the original transcript of Pamphilus. Half a century will certainly not satisfy that expression; two or three centuries would be much nearer the mark. The question concerning the age of this undoubtedly ancient, but, perhaps, not most ancient MS., must be considered quite unsettled. The question still awaits a full discussion and final settlement; nor will anything, in our judgment, better conduce to this result than a careful analysis and classification of the various readings. Should it ultimately be proved, which we suspect to be the case, that the Cod. Sin. is a copy made in the latter part of the sixth century, at the very earliest, of some more ancient text; it will still, through shorn of a claim which would place it in a superior rank to any other existing MS., afford valuable, though only secondary, aid in settling the text of the New Testament."

وهي[o] الحلة. وبها سمي هذا الجبل. وهو مشتمل على قرى كثيرة ومدن عامرة وبساتين وأنهار جارية ومياه غزيرة ومزارع وكروم وأشجار مثمرة وأعناب وفواكه وغلات وحبوب وأرزاق وخيرات وبركات وأموال وتجارات وأرباح وأقوات وأطعمة وأشربة وأدوية وعقاقير وأفاويه وأبازير وأصناف وأنواع وأجناس وأشكال وألوان وطعوم وروائح وأطياب وأرياح وأنداء وأمطار وثلوج وبرد وصقيع وجليد وغيوم وضباب وسحاب وبرق ورعد وصواعق وزلازل وكسوف وخسوف وشهب ونيازك وكواكب ونجوم وأفلاك وسماء وأرض وشمس وقمر وليل ونهار وظلمة ونور وحر وبرد وصيف وشتاء وربيع وخريف وأعوام وشهور وأيام وساعات ولحظات وأنفاس وأوقات وأزمنة وآباد وأبد ودهر وسرمد وأزل وقدم وحدوث وكون وفساد وحياة وموت وبعث ونشور وحشر وحساب وميزان وصراط وجنة ونار وثواب وعقاب وأمر ونهي وإيجاب وتحريم وتحليل وتحليل وتحريم وإباحة وحظر وإطلاق وتقييد وتخصيص وتعميم وتأكيد وتوكيد وتشديد وتخفيف وتقديم وتأخير وتعريف وتنكير وإضمار وإظهار وحذف وإثبات وإيجاز وإطناب وإشارة وكناية وتعريض وتلويح وتصريح وإفصاح وإبانة وإيضاح وتبيين وتفسير وتأويل وتحقيق وتدقيق وتلخيص وتهذيب وتنقيح وتحرير وتقرير وتسطير وتحبير وتزويق وتنميق وتزيين وتحسين وتقبيح وتشويه وتسويد وتبييض وتلطيف وتكثيف وتغليظ وتدقيق وتلخيص وتهذيب وتنقيح وتحرير وتقرير وتسطير وتحبير وتزويق وتنميق وتزيين وتحسين وتقبيح وتشويه وتسويد وتبييض وتلطيف وتكثيف وتغليظ

[o] B. وهزيز ٥٥.

[p] B. الذي ابتدع ابتدأ. صنيع الله كيف ابتدع ابتدأ. وهذا ابتدع ابتدأ. كما ابتدأ. أمره ابتدأ. ابتدأ.

ومنهم. وسمعا له يجيبه. وعند حتى له لسمعه. وقال
وخبره للخلق [h]وحده. وحي له وقر. وقال له
وسترت وقفوه على محلكه فصار ٥٥٥٥. لي مار
الله. ومار قد هذه وحدها [i]وحتى له ٥٥٥٥
وحق معهم. ومار لقد وبلاه لحي وحده
وقال ومار قد وهلك له وخبر وحنا. وحده
وحي وحدا وهذه. وحدها وحدث له وحنين
وسوا وحتى. وحدا ابنه [k]سعد. وهيبه وبلاه
ومخلصه. وحدا وهلحي وحدها سعد. وحدا
وهمه. وسعد وحدا. وهلله. وحدا هذه
وهنيه وحيهه. وهذه قد مد له. وهيده
وحدا لسعد وبه وهدا. وهيه لحتى وحدا
قد (٥٥ . 15) وحدده وبنه وهنيهه سعد وله
وعند حتى له وحا وله وحيده. ومار
وبه وحا لسعد وحنا, وحنا, وهه. وحنا, وحنا
لحنا, وهنا له يجه وعند وحتى. وحدا وسعد
[l]وحتى, قد وحدا وحنا وحدها. وهذه وحنا
وبلاه لحي وحدا الله وسعد وحنا, وبه وهيه وحدا
لقد وبه. [m]وحنا وحتى وحنا وحنا وحنا. وحا
وحا وحا. وحدا وحنا وحنا, وحنا وحنا
وحا الله وحنا. وحدا وحدا وبه وحنا له وحا
[n]وحا وحا له قد وحنا وحدا وحنا.

[h] B. adds وحا.
[i] B. وحنا.
[k] B. وسعد.
[l] B. وحتى.
[m] B. وحتى.
[n] B. وحا وحنا وحا.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

مصمحه مصمحه مصمحه مصمحه

ומלכותא דילה[s] לה הות. ומיתיהב לה מן קדם מלכא. ומשתכח לה מן קדם מלכיא. ומיתיהב לה יקרא ומלכותא. ומשתכח לה מן קדם מלכיא מלכין ומן קדם כל שלטנין דמלכותא דילה. ומלכותא דילה מלכותא דלעלם. וכל שלטנין לה יפלחון ולה יקבלון. ומלכותא דילה מלכותא דלעלם[t] לא תתעדי. ומלכותא דילה לא תתחבל. ומלכותא דילה

حنبر حنبر. حن ميز حنبر حنبر مهنبر حنهنبر حلميمر
مه. ميمنبر حنحنبر حمه حنبر حسمر حنمر حنبر. حنبر
حنبر, حنبر حنبر مسمحه حنبر حنبر. حنبر حنبر حنبر.
حنبر حنبر حنبر حنبر. حنبر حنبر حنبر. حنبر حنبر
حنبر حنبر حنبر. حنبر حنبر حنبر حنبر حنبر حنبر
حنبر حنبر حنبر

فإنه يرد عليه (fol. 42) بعد أن يقرر ما[c] ذكرناه، فيقول: إن
الحد. فإنه إنما لم يجز. لأنه. لا يجوز. لأنه لا يجوز. لأنه
لا يجوز. لأنه لا يجوز. لأنه

ولا. ابتدأ بذكر الله تعالى في كل أمر ذي بال. فإن كل أمر ذي بال لم يبدأ فيه بذكر الله تعالى فهو أبتر. وقد يحتمل أن يكون المراد بالأمر ذي البال ما يهتم به الشرع ويعتني به من أمور الدين. وقد يحتمل أن يكون المراد ما يهتم به العقلاء ويعتني به من أمور الدنيا. ولا يخفى أن ذكر الله تعالى في كل أمر ذي بال من أمور الدين أو الدنيا مما يقتضيه العقل والشرع. فإن من لا يذكر الله تعالى في أمر ذي بال من أمور الدين أو الدنيا فإنه يكون أبتر في ذلك الأمر. وقد ورد في الحديث: «كل كلام لا يبدأ فيه بذكر الله فهو أبتر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بذكر الله فهو أبتر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بحمد الله فهو أبتر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله فهو أبتر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أقطع». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أجذم». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أكتع». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق أسود». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق أسود». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر». وفي رواية: «كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه بالحمد لله والصلاة علي فهو أبتر أقطع أجذم أكتع أصم أبكم أعمى أعرج أقرع أشل أعور أحدب أزرق أسود أحمر أصفر أبيض أخضر أشقر أدهم أبرص أجرب أقرن أعضب أجلح أعرج

وقد ضل ضلالا بعيدا. وكذلك من قتل عبدا مرتدا
او حربيا او قتل من لا قود عليه. وقيل
له، وقيل لا. وقيل ان قتله بسيف الردة
فلا قود عليه. وان قتله بغير سيف الردة
فعليه القود. وكذلك من قتل من قد وجب
عليه القتل بقصاص او رجم او حرابة
او غير ذلك. وقيل ان قتله بسيف الحرابة
فلا قود عليه. وان قتله بغير سيف الحرابة
فعليه القود. وكذلك من قتل من قد وجب
عليه القتل بقصاص او رجم او حرابة
او غير ذلك. وقيل ان قتله بسيف القصاص
فلا قود عليه. وان قتله بغير سيف القصاص
فعليه القود. وكذلك من قتل من قد وجب
عليه القتل بقصاص او رجم او حرابة
او غير ذلك. وقيل ان قتله بسيف الرجم
فلا قود عليه. وان قتله بغير سيف الرجم

وهو الذي يقال له بالفارسية سمور. وأما الذي يقال له بالفارسية سنجاب فإنه يشبه السمور في لونه وفي طول ذنبه وفي كثرة شعره، إلا أن شعره أطول من شعر السمور وأنعم منه. وأما الذي يقال له بالفارسية قاقم فإنه يشبه السنجاب في طول شعره وفي كثرته وفي طول ذنبه، إلا أن لونه أشد بياضا من لون السنجاب. وأما الذي يقال له بالفارسية دلق فإنه يشبه السنجاب في لونه وفي طول شعره وفي كثرته، إلا أن ذنبه أقصر من ذنب السنجاب. وأما الذي يقال له بالفارسية كاژ فإنه يشبه السنجاب في لونه وفي طول شعره وفي كثرته وفي طول ذنبه، إلا أن شعره أخشن من شعر السنجاب. وأما الذي يقال له بالفارسية كاژ فإنه يشبه السنجاب في لونه وفي طول شعره وفي كثرته وفي طول ذنبه، إلا أن شعره أخشن من شعر السنجاب. وأما الذي يقال له بالفارسية كاژ فإنه يشبه السنجاب في لونه وفي طول شعره وفي كثرته وفي طول ذنبه، إلا أن شعره أخشن من شعر السنجاب.

[a] B. omits. [b] B. adds ذكر الحيوان وصفته.

ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܡܠܐ ܕ ܟܘܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܠܚ. ܟܬܒ ܩ̈ܝܡܐ
ܫ̈ܐ ܒܝܕ ܕ ܟܘܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܠܚ: ܟܘܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܠܚ ܒ̈ܥܠ̈ܐ ܟܐ. ܟܐܢ
ܟܐ ܒܝ. ܟܐ ܫ̈ܐ ܟܬܒ ܟܐ. ܒ̈ܥܠ̈ܐ, ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ
ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ,ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ. ܟܬ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ
ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ. ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ °ܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ.
ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ. ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ
ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ ܟ̈ܐ

ححمحنحا[1] ٭ حمنه هنحا حمحا نحمحه حمحنه[1] ٭ حمنه هنحا حمحا نحمحه حمحنه[1] ٭ حمنه هنحا حمحا نحمحه حمحنه

[illegible] (fol. 39) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

بن معاوية. لم يزل ملكه حتى توفي سنة ثلاث وثمانين ومائة. وكان
ملكه ثلاث سنين وشهرين. وكان ملكا جليلا عظيما. وكان يحب
العلم وأهله. وكان يجالس العلماء ويناظرهم. وكان يحب الشعر
والشعراء. وكان يحب الأدب والأدباء. وكان يحب الفقه والفقهاء.
وكان يحب الحديث والمحدثين. وكان يحب الكلام والمتكلمين.
وكان يحب الطب والأطباء. وكان يحب الفلسفة والفلاسفة.
وكان يحب الهندسة والمهندسين. وكان يحب الحساب والحسابين.
وكان يحب النجوم والمنجمين. وكان يحب الموسيقى والمغنين.
وكان يحب الصيد والصيادين. وكان يحب الخيل والفرسان.
وكان يحب الرمي والرماة. وكان يحب الصيد والصيادين.
وكان يحب الطرد والطاردين. وكان يحب الجوارح والبزاة.
وكان يحب الكلاب والسلوقية. وكان يحب الفهود والفهادة.
وكان يحب الصقور والصقارة. وكان يحب الحمام والحمامة.
وكان يحب الدجاج والديكة. وكان يحب الطاووس والطواويس.
وكان يحب الببغاء والببغاوات. وكان يحب الغنم والرعاة.
وكان يحب البقر والبقارة. وكان يحب الإبل والإبلية.
وكان يحب الحمير والحميرية. وكان يحب البغال والبغالة.
وكان يحب الفيلة والفيالة. وكان يحب الأسد والأسادة.
وكان يحب النمر والنمارة. وكان يحب الفهد والفهادة.
وكان يحب الذئب والذئابة. وكان يحب الثعلب والثعالبة.
وكان يحب الأرنب والأرانبة. وكان يحب الغزال والغزلان.
وكان يحب الظبي والظباء. وكان يحب الوعل والوعول.
وكان يحب الأيل والأيائل. وكان يحب الحمار الوحشي والحمر الوحشية.
وكان يحب الثور الوحشي والثيران الوحشية. وكان يحب الجاموس والجواميس.
وكان يحب الجمل والجمال. وكان يحب الناقة والنوق.
وكان يحب الفرس والخيل. وكان يحب الحمار والحمير.
وكان يحب البغل والبغال. وكان يحب الفيل والفيلة.
وكان يحب الأسد والأسود. وكان يحب النمر والنمور.
وكان يحب الفهد والفهود. وكان يحب الذئب والذئاب.
وكان يحب الثعلب والثعالب. وكان يحب الأرنب والأرانب.
وكان يحب الغزال والغزلان. وكان يحب الظبي والظباء.
وكان يحب الوعل والوعول. وكان يحب الأيل والأيائل.
وكان يحب الحمار الوحشي والحمر الوحشية. وكان يحب الثور الوحشي والثيران الوحشية.
وكان يحب الجاموس والجواميس. وكان يحب الجمل والجمال.
وكان يحب الناقة والنوق. وكان يحب الفرس والخيل.
وكان يحب الحمار والحمير. وكان يحب البغل والبغال.
وكان يحب الفيل والفيلة. وكان يحب الأسد والأسود.
وكان يحب النمر والنمور. وكان يحب الفهد والفهود.
وكان يحب الذئب والذئاب. وكان يحب الثعلب والثعالب.
وكان يحب الأرنب والأرانب

ܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܡܫܬܐ ܕܟܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܚ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܚ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܚ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܝ ܚܝ

(fol. 37)

[f] B. adds ...

[g] B. ...

[h] B. ...

[i] B. ...

[k] B. omits ...

[l] B. adds ...

[m] B. ...

[n] B. ...

[o] B. ...

ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܫܘܡ. ܘܒܗܕܐ ܓܒ ܢܫܠܡ ܟܬܒ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܫܘܡ. ܘܫܡ ܓܒ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܟܬܒ ܚܝ

ܒܥܠ ܕܐ ܒܥܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܚܝ ܐܚܝ ܡܢ ܐܚܝ

ربما تصانيعه متهومه، متدارك عليه ربيعه
ربما عليه متهومه. ربعه علم عدد (fol. 35) ربعوصانه
عصه بحاطبة لهم. متيم علم [k]عليه ربما عد
ربعه عدم لهذا ربعوصه لهم وهم [l]ربيم. ربيم ربعاصه
متلبه [m]عليه. ربعلم ربيه لهم عدد. بعده وهم
وهم ربعه، ربعده، عدارعه ربعم علمه ربعلم
ربعوصه ربعه لعلم ربعم ربعه. ربعده علم
ربعم. علم ربعيعه ربعلم عليه عدد، عليه ربعيه
ربعلم عليه، عليه ربعلم عليه. ربعلم عليه عليه
ربعم ربعه عليه عليه عليه ربعيه عليه عليه
عليه. ربعلم عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه
ربعم عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه
عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه عليه
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عليه

THE DEPARTURE OF MY LADY MARY FROM THIS WORLD.[a]

Book First.

The peace of God, who sent His Son and he came into the world: and the peace of the Son, who migrated from heaven and dwelt in Mary: and the peace of the Holy Spirit, the τραγῳδός who sings and the Paraclete who is besung: the peace of the Lord of created beings, the glory of whose Godhead created beings are not able to comprehend; who left the chariot that is adorned in the supernal heights, and descended and dwelt in the bosom of Mary: be with us and with all our congregation, and bless[b] the crown (*or* garland) of the priests our fathers, who sit at the head of us all and of our flock, for ever and ever. Amen.

Open, Lord, the gates of heaven to our prayers at this time, and let a sweet perfume ascend from our congregations to the supernal ranks;[c] and let the trumpets of the archangels sound in heaven, and the bands of the supernals stand rank on rank; and let there be praise in heaven before the exalted King; and from all the mansions of the Father's house let the voices of the guardian angels (ἐγρηγόροι) sing; and let troops stand facing troops, and ranks beside ranks, and armies opposite armies; and let there be praise and a sweet perfume before God, and also thanksgiving and worship to the Messiah, and laudations and praises to the Holy Spirit.

The exit of my Lady Mary from this world, our brethren, we call to mind before you. Command, Lord, a blessing and a good reward upon the ministry, that they may glorify; and upon the rich, that they may laud; and upon the poor, that they may become rich; and upon the old men, that they may praise; and upon the youths, that they may bless. And the women, the daughters of Eve, answer them, Lord, in prayer, when they cry to Thee; for from them was chosen the woman, the virgin and holy,[d] whom her Lord chose from all women, and

[a] B. "The history of Mary, the mother of God."—Since the Syriac text of this book was printed, I have been permitted, through the kindness of my friend Hofrath Dr. Tischendorf, to peruse the original Greek, which he has discovered and intends shortly to edit. The Syriac translation has, I find, been greatly amplified in various ways, such passages as the introduction, narrating the discovery of the book, the disputation before the Hēgemōn, the liturgical portions of the fourth book, and the like, being all later additions. The Greek text is not divided into books.

[b] B. "and let be blessed."

[c] B. "to the ranks of the supernals."

[d] B. "the holy virgin."

of her was born the Lord of glory, the Son of the living God, to whom be glory, and to her a good memorial, for ever. Blessed be Thy grace, God that didst die, King's son that wast debased, Undying that didst will and die; who didst migrate from the Father unto Mary, and from Mary to the manger, and from the manger to the circumcision, and from the circumcision to bringing up, and from bringing up to stripes, and from stripes to blows, and from blows to the Cross, and from the Cross to death, and from death to the grave, and from the grave to the resurrection, and from the resurrection to Heaven, and sittest, lo, at the right hand of Thy Father. Stretch forth, Lord, Thy right hand from the exalted throne of Thy glory at this time, and bless, Lord, our congregation, that exalts the commemoration of Thy mother, my Lady Mary, Thou Lord God.

And ye, believing hearers, hearers of the coronation of my Lady Mary, let every one that believes in the Father who is undivided, assert and confess that God sent His Son, and that He was born of Mary the Virgin, without marriage, as saith Isaiah the prophet, the most glorious of the prophets: "He grew up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground;"[e] and again he says: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel,"[f] which is, being interpreted, our God is with us. For the blessed (Virgin) too was holy and elect of God from (the time) when she was in her mother's womb; and she was born of her mother gloriously and holily; and she purified herself from all evil thoughts, that she might receive the Messiah her Lord, who came unto her, that through His being born of her He might give life to the people who believe in Him.[g] Consequently,[h] this is the woman whose memory we should celebrate; this is the blessed among women, of whom was born the Saviour of all mankind;[i] this is the land of blessings, of which was born the husbandman of gladness,[j] that by his going forth into the world he might root up the thorns, and burn the tares, and destroy error, and annihilate death, and drive away Satan, and make concord reign, and sow peace over all the regions of the world.

Now then we make mention before you concerning this book of my Lady Mary, how it was revealed at this time.

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[e] Isa. liii. 2. [f] Isa. vii. 14.

[g] *Literally*, "to the world that believes in him;" but عالم, عالم, is here used in much the same sense as "tout le monde," "all the world."

[h] This word is wanting in B.

[i] *Lit.* "creatures," *or* "created things." [j] B. "of joys."

Certain men on Mount Sinai,[k] Mār David the presbyter, and Mār John the presbyter, and Mār Philip the deacon, were much concerned,—because these three holy men were at the altar which was placed on the summit of Mount Sinai, where was the thornbush, out of which the Lord spake with Moses, and were the officiating priests of the shrine[l] that was built there,—and they wrote letters and sent them to Cyrus[m] the bishop, that his holiness might take much pains. And they asked therein concerning the book of my Lady Mary, how she had departed from this world; "because we have a great desire to know with what glory she was crowned." And when the letter was written from Mount Sinai, brethren came and brought it to Jerusalem, and it was read before the whole people; and they sought for the book of my Lady Mary and did not find it; but they found a book in which was written thus: "I James, bishop of Jerusalem, have written with my own hands in this volume, that in the year 345 my Lady Mary departed from this world; and there were written concerning her six books, each book by two of the apostles; and I testify (with regard to) these books which were written, that John the young[n] used to carry them, and also Paul and Peter know where they are, because they went along with them from Jerusalem." And when Cyrus, bishop of Jerusalem, sought for the book of my Lady Mary and they did not find it, they wrote[o] a letter to Mount Sinai (as follows). "From Cyrus, bishop of Jerusalem, and the whole clergy, to our brethren the priests and our fathers who are on Mount Sinai, much peace. The letter which came to us from you, we have received; and we have made inquiries in Jerusalem concerning the book of the departure of my Lady Mary, but we have not found it. We have found, however, an autograph (note) of James written thus; 'The six books which were written about the death of my Lady Mary, John the young, whose blessedness is great, used to carry them, and Paul and Peter and John the young know where they are, because they went along with them from Jerusalem.'" And at the request of Cyrus, bishop of Jerusalem, ...[p] they assembled the

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[k] See Enger, p. 11, "Erant in sancto monte Sinai," etc.

[l] *Lit.* "place of martyrs," place where the relics of martyrs are preserved, *μαρτύριον*.

[m] Apparently *Cyriacus*, as in the Arabic text (Enger, p. 12), قوراكس.

[n] *i. e.* the youngest of the disciples.

[o] B. "and did not find it, he wrote."

[p] It is evident from the context that a leaf must have been lost in the manuscript from which our codex A. was copied. The Arabic text, too,

whole people, and offered incense, and passed the night at the shrine of Mār John, and prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, Son of the glorious God, who didst love Mār John the apostle more than his fellows, if it be pleasing to Thy Godhead that all Thy wonders and glorious deeds, which Thou didst before my Lady Mary who bore Thee, should be revealed unto the world, let the apostle Mār John appear to us, conversing with us this night." And the brethren fell upon their faces praying, and became drowsy and slept. And Mār John the apostle stood beside these brethren and said to them: "Be not grieved, ye blessed, for the Messiah will reward you for all your wanderings.[q] Rise, take the book of the mother of my Lord, for lo, it is with me; and go to Mount Sinai, and ask after the welfare of our brethren, and say to them: 'John has sent you this book in order that there may be a commemoration of my Lady Mary three times in the year, because, if mankind celebrate her memory, they shall be delivered from wrath.'" This sign we saw, and trembled and were alarmed and in great fear. And the blessed one departed from beside us; and we were bowing down and praying. And the morning rose, and the verger (*παραμονάριος*) opened the door, and entered (the place) where the grace[r]

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shows that, on the receipt of the bishop's letter, two monks were sent *from Mount Sinai to Ephesus*, and that it was they who assembled the whole people, and offered incense, and passed the night in prayer at the shrine of St. John (see Enger, p. 14): فلمّا وصل الكتابّ الي طور سينا كتبوا لوقتّهم الي اساقفة الروميّة والاسكندريّة من اجلها علي يَدَيْ رُسُلٍ قاصدين فطلبوها عندهم فلم يَجِدوها فارسلوا الي افسس رجلَيْن فلمّا وصلوا قاموا بالليل فصعوا (read يَضَعوا) البخور لوالدة سيّدنا يسوع المسيح [قائلين يا سيّدنا يسوع المسيح] انت الذي اخترتَ يوحنّا السليح الخ

[q] *Lit.* "will give the reward of your feet, as much as ye have walked in the countries."

[r] The Arabic has (Enger, p. 14), وكان فى كنيسة يوحنّا في افسس موضعًا (موضعٌ read) يُقصَد ويُتبارَك منه ويَنبَع بَرَكةً ويُعطَي بها الشِّفاءُ لِمَن ياتيه علي اسمه. See the passages quoted by Tischendorf,

of Mār John flows; and there he found a written volume, placed upon the mouth of the spot whence the grace flows. And he took it up, and came forth before the whole people, and opened it, and found that it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. And there was written in it thus: "This Jesus the Messiah, who was born of Mary, He is God in heaven and on earth." And this volume was translated[r] from Greek into Syriac at Ephesus; and was written out and sent[t] to Mount Sinai; and from Mount Sinai it was transcribed and sent[u] to Jerusalem. May our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who came from His holy heaven and performed the obsequies of His mother with great glory, let the rods of anger pass away from the face of the world, and make concord and peace reign over all mankind, for ever and ever, Amen. End of the First Book.

Book Second.

In the year 345,[v] in the month of the latter Teshrīn, my Lady Mary came forth from her house, and went to the tomb of the Messiah; because day by day she used to go and weep there.[w] But the Jews, as soon as the Messiah was dead,[x] closed the tomb, and heaped up large stones against its door; and set watchmen over the tomb and Golgotha, and gave them orders that, if any one should go and pray by the grave or on Golgotha, he should straightway die. And the Jews took the cross of our Lord, and the other two crosses, and the spear with which our Saviour had been pierced, and the nails which they had fixed in his hands and feet, and the robes of mockery which he had worn, and hid them; because they were afraid lest perchance one of the kings or princes should come and ask con-

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Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, proleg., p. lxxiv., from the writings of Augustine and Ephraim Theopolitanus. The latter writer, as cited by Photius, says regarding St. John: *κατατεθεὶς γάρ, φασί, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου προτροπὴν ἔν τινι τόπῳ, ζητηθεὶς αἰφνίδιον οὐχ εὑρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ ἁγίασμα βρύον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ πρὸς βραχεῖαν ῥοπὴν ἐτέθη. ἀφ' οὗ πάντες ὡς ἁγιάσμου πηγὴν τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο μύρον ἀρυόμεθα.* The word ܡܪܘܢ is explained by Assemani (in Mai's *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, tom. v., codd. Syr. Vat. Assem., p. 21) to mean "pulvis loci, ubi martyres coronati fuerunt, quem oleo et aqua dilutum ad extremam unctionem adhibent."

[r] *Lit.* "went forth." [t] *Lit.* "went." [u] *Lit.* "came."

[v] Of the Seleucian or Greek era, A.D. 33 or 34.

[w] See Enger, p. 18.

[x] B. adds on the margin, "and had risen from the grave."

cerning the slaying of the Messiah. And the watchmen came in and said to the priests: "Mary comes in the evening and the morning and prays there." And there was a commotion in Jerusalem concerning my Lady Mary; and the priests went to the judge and said to him: "My lord, send and order Mary not to go and pray at the grave and Golgotha."

Whilst they were deliberating, lo, letters came from Abgar,[y] king of the city of Urhāi (Edessa), to Sabinus the procurator (ἐπίτροπος), who had been appointed by the emperor Tiberius, and whose jurisdiction extended as far as the river Euphrates. Because Addai the apostle, one of the seventy-two apostles, had gone down and built a church at Urhāi, and healed the disease of king Abgar; for king Abgar loved Jesus the Messiah and asked at all times concerning Him; and when the Messiah was dead, and king Abgar heard that the Jews had killed Him on the cross, he was much grieved. And Abgar arose, and rode, and came to the river Euphrates, and wished to go up against Jerusalem and lay it waste. And when Abgar came and reached the river Euphrates, he reflected in his mind, "If I cross over, there will be enmity between me and the emperor Tiberius." And Abgar wrote letters and sent them to the procurator Sabinus, and Sabinus sent them to the emperor Tiberius. Thus wrote Abgar to the emperor Tiberius. "From Abgar, king of the city of Urhāi, much peace to thy Majesty, our Lord Tiberius. That thy sovereignty might not be disparaged in my sight, I have not crossed the river Euphrates; for I was wishing to go up against Jerusalem and lay it waste, because it slew the Messiah, the wise Physician. But do thou, like a great king, as thou bearest sway over the whole earth and over us, send and do me justice on the people of Jerusalem. For let thy Majesty know, that I wish thee to do me justice on the crucifiers." And Sabinus received the letters and sent them to the emperor Tiberius. And when he had read them, the emperor Tiberius was very much enraged, and was going to destroy and kill all the Jews.

And the people of Jerusalem heard (this), and were alarmed;[z] and the priests went to the Hēgemōn and said to him: "My lord, send and order Mary not to go to pray at the tomb and Golgotha." The judge said to the priests: "Go ye, and order her, and admonish her what ye please." And the priests went to my Lady Mary and said to her: "The judge orders thee not to go and pray at the tomb and Golgotha; and now, Mary, we say unto thee, Remember the sins thou hast committed before

[y] See Enger, p. 22. [z] See Enger, p. 24.

God, and do not lead people astray, and say that he who was born of thee is the Messiah. Heaven and earth testify that he is the son of Joseph the carpenter. If then thou wishest to pray, enter into the synagogue and hear the laws of Moses, and we will call unto God and He will have mercy upon thee. But if thou dost not agree to these things, depart from Jerusalem and go to thy house at Bethlehem, for we will not permit thee to pray at the tomb and Golgotha." These things the Jews said to my Lady Mary, and she did not agree to them. Afterwards my Lady Mary fell sick; and she sent and called all the women of the quarter in which she dwelt,[a] and said to them: "Fare ye well, for I am going to Bethlehem, to the house which I have there; because the Jews will not permit me to pray at the tomb and on the Golgotha of the Messiah. But whoever of you wishes, let her come with me to Bethlehem; for I place my trust in my Master[b] whom I have in heaven, who, whenever I cry to Him, hears me." And when my Lady Mary had said to the daughters of Jerusalem that whoever wished should go with her, the virgins who ministered unto her drew near and said to her: "Whoever wishes to go with thee, my Lady Mary, shall receive a blessing from God. But we will not leave thee till we die, for for thy sake we have left our parents and our brothers and all that we have, and have come with thee to minister unto thee; and with thee we wish to die, and with thee we wish to live."

These virgins were the daughters of rich men and rulers of Jerusalem. Their names were these: Callĕtha, and Neshrā, and Tābĕthā.[c] Callĕthā was the daughter of Mār Nicodemus, the friend of the Messiah; and by the name of Callĕthā (the bride) is designated the glorious Church, the betrothed of the Messiah. And the second, whose name was Neshrā, was the daughter of Gamaliel, the chief of the synagogue of the Jews; and by the likeness of Neshrā (the eagle) is symbolized the king Messiah, who on His wings carries and bears aloft the holy church, which is betrothed unto Him from before the foundations of the world. And she, whose name was Tābĕthā, was the daughter of Tobia, a man of comitian rank (*κομητιάνος*). This Tobia was one of the people of the house of king Archelaus; and Archelaus was of the family of Nero Caesar, he who crucified Simon the

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[a] See Enger, p. 26 and p. 29.

[b] ܪܒܘܠܝ, *Rabbūlī*, a corruption of ܪܒܘܢܝ, *Rabbūnī*, רִבּוֹנִי.

[c] See Enger, p. 30, where the names are ܟܠܬܐ, ܕܘ ܪܦܥܐ, and ܢܥܡܐ. Of these the first is a corruption of ܟܠܠܬ, and the third a translation of the Syriac name. The second seems to be corrupt.

chief of the apostles. The interpretation of these names is this. Callĕthā is the Catholic (Church), which is in the heavenly Jerusalem; and this church, that we have on earth, is the likeness of that which is in heaven, and on it is established the throne of the glorious God. And Neshrā is the Messiah, who sits at the right hand of His Father on the throne of the Seraphim. And Tābĕthā is the Holy Spirit, by whom life is given to all men. These were the names of the virgins who ministered unto my Lady Mary. And these virgins arose along with my Lady Mary, and went forth to Bethlehem on Thursday, and passed the night at Bethlehem.

And on that Friday my Lady Mary was distressed,[d] and said to them: "Bring nigh unto me the censer of incense, for I wish to pray to my Master whom I have in heaven." And they brought nigh unto her the censer of incense; and she prayed and said: "My Master, the Messiah, whom I have in heaven, hear the voice of Thy parent, and send to me Mār John the young, whose blessing is great, that I may see him and rejoice; and send to me the apostles his fellows, that I may see them and praise Thy grace which aids me; and Thou hearest me as soon as I pray unto Thee."

And when the blessed one prayed thus, John was in Ephesus, alive.[e] And he went forth to go to the church of Ephesus, and the Holy Spirit said to him: "The time draws nigh that the mother of thy Lord should depart from the world. Go to Bethlehem to salute her." These things spake the Holy Spirit to John; and John went out from Ephesus to go to Bethlehem, and prostrated himself to pray, and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, give strength to my feet that I may go quickly to Bethlehem, on account of what the Holy Spirit made known to me." Thus prayed John, and a cloud of light snatched him away, and brought him to the door of the upper chamber in Bethlehem. And John opened the door of the upper chamber, and entered, and found the blessed one lying on the bed; and he kissed her on her breast and on her knees, and cried out and said to her: "Peace be unto thee, thou mother of my Lord! peace be unto thee, thou mother of God! Be not grieved that with great glory thou are departing from this world." And my Lady Mary rejoiced much that Mār John had come to her. My Lady Mary says to him: "Set forth the censer of incense, and pray." And Mār John set forth the censer of incense and prayed; and there was a voice from heaven saying: "Amen; be assembled, all of ye." And John listened and heard this

[d] See Enger, p. 30. [e] Ibid., p. 32.

voice, that cried out in heaven; and the Holy Spirit said to John: "Hast thou heard this voice, which cried out in heaven?" John said: "I have heard it." The Holy Spirit said: "This voice is a messenger to the apostles thy fellows, who are coming here to-day." And John continued praying, and the Holy Spirit made known to the apostles, wherever they were, that they should sit upon decorated steeds and on clouds of light, and go to Bethlehem to the blessed one.

To Simon Cephas[f] It made this known in Rome, as he was going in to offer the oblation in the church where was the oblation of strangers; and he was lying prostrate and praying before the altar; and the Holy Spirit said to him: "The time draws nigh that the mother of thy Lord should depart from this world; go to Bethlehem to salute her."

And the Holy Spirit informed Paul in the city called Tiberias. It found Paul as he was contending with the Jews, who were striving with him, and reviling him, and saying to him: "Thy words are not received, which thou utterest concerning the Messiah. Because thou art from Tarsus, and the son of a harness-maker,[g] and the child of poor people, thou takest the name of the Messiah (in thy mouth), and goest about with it!" And the Holy Spirit said to him: "The time draws nigh that the mother of thy Lord should depart from this world; go to Bethlehem to greet her."

And the Holy Spirit informed Thomas in India, who had gone in to visit the nephew of Lūdān,[h] the king of India. And he was sitting by his bed and talking to him; and the Holy Spirit said to him: "The time draws nigh for the mother of thy Lord to leave this world; go to Bethlehem to greet her."

And the Holy Spirit informed Matthew, (saying:) "The time draws nigh for the mother of thy Lord to leave this world; go to Bethlehem to greet her." And Matthew was at Yābūs.[i]

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[f] See Enger, p. 38.

[g] Thomas à Novaria (or rather Elias of Nisibis), *Thesaurus Arabico-Syro-Latinus*, p. 106, Ephippiarius, سرّاج, كمكا; MS. dictionary, Add. 7203, سراج, كمكا *i. e.*, سرّاج, *a maker of saddles*. The word seems to be derived from the Latin *lorarius*.

[h] *Or* Laudān, Gr. τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματι Λαβδανούς (var. Κλαυδανούς).

[i] Farther on, Matthew is said to have been on board of a ship (Gr. ἐν πλοίῳ). As the writer makes use of other Scriptural names without much judgment (*e. g. Jochébed* and *Jephunneh*), it is possible that he has here employed the name of *Jebūs*, יְבוּס, without any regard to geographical propriety.

And the Holy Spirit informed James in Jerusalem, (saying:) "The time draws nigh for the mother of your Lord to leave this world; go to Bethlehem to greet her."

And the Holy Spirit informed Bartholomew[j] in the Thebais, (saying:) "The time draws nigh for the mother of your Lord to depart from this world; go to Bethlehem to greet her."

Now none of the disciples were dead as yet, except Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, and Philip, and Luke, and Simon the Cananite; these were dead.[k] And on that day the Holy Spirit informed them in their graves, (saying:) "Rise from Sheōl." And the Holy Spirit said unto them: "Do not suppose that the resurrection is come; but your rising to-day from your graves is wholly that ye may go to greet the mother of your Lord, for the time draws nigh for her to leave the world."

And the Holy Spirit informed Mark, (saying:) "The time draws nigh for the mother of your Lord to leave the world; go to Bethlehem to greet her."

These things did the Holy Spirit make known to the holy apostles. And while the apostles were wondering in the countries where they were, how they should get to Bethlehem to my Lady Mary, their Lord sent to them chariots; and a cloud of light descended and snatched away Peter, and he was standing between heaven and earth, and waiting for the apostles his fellows to come to him. And straightway the Holy Spirit snatched away all the apostles on chariots, and they came to Peter. And terrible winds blew,[l] and heaven and earth shone with a strong light. And the disciples set upon eleven[m] thrones, and the thrones were placed on chariots, and the Holy Spirit guided these chariots, and they came between heaven and earth; and the apostles arrived at Bethlehem.

And the Holy Spirit informed John, (saying:) "Go out and receive the apostles thy fellows, who are come." And John went out and bowed down to them. Peter said to him: "Is the mother of our Lord dead, my brother John?" John said: "She is not yet dead." And the apostles went in to the upper chamber to my Lady Mary, and kissed her on her breast and on her knees, and stood up before her and said to her: "Fear not, thou blessed one, and be not grieved. The Lord God who was born of thee, He removes thee from this world with glory to the glorious mansions of the blessed God, over which thy Son rules, and in which He gladdens the just who love Him." And my Lady Mary raised herself and sat up on the bed, and said to the

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[j] The MSS. have here merely *Tolmai* instead of *Bar Tolmai*.
[k] See Enger, p. 38. [l] Ibid., p. 40. [m] B. "twelve."

apostles:* "Now I am certain that my Master will come from heaven, and I shall see Him, and afterwards I shall die, as ye are come and I have seen you. And now I wish you to tell me, who informed you that I was dying, and from what regions ye are come to me, that your coming was so quick. Reveal to me and inform me, because I know of a truth that He who was born of me is the Son of the living God, and I worship Him, because, according to the lowliness of His handmaid, so hath He dealt with me." Peter said to the apostles his fellows: "Let every one of you tell the blessed one how the Holy Spirit spoke to him, and whence he came."

John said: "To me in Ephesus the Holy Spirit announced it and said: 'The time draws nigh for the mother of your Lord to leave the world; go to Bethlehem to greet her.' And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to the door of the upper chamber."

Peter said: "To me in Rome the Holy Spirit announced it on the morning of Thursday, and said to me: 'The time draws nigh for the mother of your Lord to leave the world; go to Bethlehem to greet her.' And a cloud of light snatched me away, and I stood between heaven and earth, and saw the chariots of all the apostles, which were flying and coming to me."

Paul said: "I was in the city called Tiberias, and the Jews were disputing with me there. And the Holy Spirit said to me: "The time draws nigh for the mother of your Lord to leave this world; go to Bethlehem to greet her.' And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Thomas said: "I was informed in India, when I had gone in to visit the nephew of Lūdān, the king of India; and as I was talking to him, the Holy Spirit said to me: 'The time draws nigh for the mother of thy Lord to leave this world.' And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Mark said: "I was performing the service of the third hour, and as I was praying, a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

James said: "I was in Jerusalem, and was sitting in the church of Sion, and we were gathering together some of the vessels of the Lord's house.° And a little before, I had gone

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* See Enger, p. 40.

° I am doubtful about the meaning of this passage, but have followed Bar Bahlūl, who explains كُفّا by كُنَف and صُنَف. The words may, however, be also translated: "were wrapping up some of the vessels of the Lord's house," viz., after they had been used at divine service.

out from Jerusalem towards Bethlehem, and the Holy Spirit came in unto me and said to me: 'The time draws nigh for the mother of thy Lord to leave the world; go to Bethlehem to greet her.' And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me unto you."

Matthew said: "I have given and am giving glory to God; for when I was sitting in a ship, storms arose against me to destroy the ship; and a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Philip said: "I was dead and laid in the grave; and I heard a voice, which called me, (saying:) 'Philip, rise thence.' And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Simon the Cananite said: "I too am risen from the grave. I saw a right hand which laid hold of me, and it raised me up from the abode of the dead, where I was lying among them; and a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Luke said: "I too am risen from the grave. There struck on my ears as it were the sound of a seraph's trumpet, and a light shone through the whole grave in which I was lying, and I thought that the resurrection had arrived. And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Andrew answered and said: "I too am risen from the grave. The voice of the Son of God struck on my ears and said to me: 'Andrew, arise, go with thy fellows to Bethlehem, and I will come to you with the bands of the angels; for the time is come in which the holy Mary shall be crowned (and depart) from the world.' And a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

Bartholomew said: "I was in Thebais, and was preaching of the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus the Messiah; and I saw the Holy Spirit coming like lightning from heaven; and a cloud of light snatched me away and brought me to you."

So spake the holy apostles before my Lady Mary, and each of them told how he had come to her. And when my Lady Mary heard these things from the holy apostles, she stretched out her hands to heaven and prayed, and answered and said:[p] "I worship and praise and glorify (God), that I am not a mockery to the nations of the Gentiles, and that the words of the Jews have not turned out true, who said that they would burn me when I was dead. But I believe that He who was born of me is the ruler of heaven and earth." And after the blessed one prayed, the apostles set forth the censer of incense and

[p] See Enger, p. 42.

prayed there. And it thundered like the sound of wheels rolling over the surface of the sky, and a voice like that of a man was heard in the midst of the chariot of seraphs who were standing over the chamber of the blessed one. And the people of Bethlehem went in and told the judge and the priests of Jerusalem all that they saw and all that they heard. End of the second book.

Book Third.

And certain men of Bethlehem, when they saw the signs which were done, came to the house of the blessed one.[q] And the people of Bethlehem saw the disciples when they came and were ministering in the upper chamber; and they saw the clouds coming and dropping down a gentle dew on all Bethlehem; and they saw the sun and moon, which came and worshipped before the upper chamber; and they saw the stammering, and dumb, and blind, and deaf, and sick, and afflicted, and those who had evil spirits, and every one who had a pain, going to her and being healed. And women were coming to her[r] from the cities and regions and from Rome and Athens, the daughters of kings and procurators and prefects, and bringing presents and offerings, and they were coming and worshipping my Lady Mary, and every one who had a pain, and she was curing them.

There came to my Lady Mary a woman from Bērȳtus (Beirūt), who had a devil, that at all times was strangling her; and the blessed one prayed over her and cursed these devils in the name of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and straightway the devils came out of her.

And there came to her Yūchabar (Jochébed) from Alexandria, the daughter of Nonnus the hyparch, who was completely covered with[s] leprosy. And she came and prostrated herself before my Lady Mary, and she took water and made the sign of the cross over it, and sprinkled it on her, and she was healed.

And there came to her Abigáil from Egypt, who had the affliction of strangury; and she prayed over her and she was healed.

And there came to her Flavia from Thessalonīca, whose right eye Satan had destroyed, and she made the sign of the cross over it, and she was cured.

And there came to her Malchū, the daughter of Sabinus,

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[q] See Enger, p. 44. [r] Ibid., p. 46. [s] *Lit.* "swimming in."

who had two devils, one that tormented her by night and another that came upon her by day; and she prayed over her, and she was healed.

And there was a great festival in Jerusalem, and there came to it many people. And the sick and afflicted, who came to Jerusalem, asked, "Where is my Lady Mary?" And they said, "At Bethlehem." And persons without number went forth and came to Bethlehem. And those who were afflicted were crying and saying: "My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy upon us." And my Lady Mary heard the voice of the persons who were crying to her, and she prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, do Thou hear the voice of the souls that cry to Thee." And the virtue of help went forth from my Lady Mary upon the afflicted, and straightway two thousand six hundred[t] souls were healed, men and women and children. And there was great thanksgiving on that day, because, as soon as they were cured, these sick went to the praetorium, and told to the judge and the priests all that my Lady Mary did by her prayers. And they disturbed the priests and the Hēgemōn, and they (*i. e.*, the priests) said to him: "Order this woman not to remain either at Bethlehem or in the jurisdiction of Jerusalem." The judge said: "I have no power to send and drive a woman out of her house." They said to him: "Send men with staves, and let them bring to us the disciples and Mary." And after they cried saying: "By the life of Tiberius, if thou dost not do our pleasure, we will make it known to him," the judge ordered a captain of a thousand to go, he and thirty men with him,[u] to Bethlehem, and to bring Mary and the disciples. And they set out and went. And the Holy Spirit revealed it to the apostles, (saying:) "Lo, men are coming against you from Jerusalem. Rise, go hence, and fear not; I will carry you and make you pass through the air of heaven over the heads of the men who are coming against you; for the power of the adored Son is with you." And the apostles arose, and carried the bed of my Lady Mary, and went forth from the upper chamber, and passed over the heads of the men who were coming against them, and they did not see them. When these men arrived at Bethlehem, and opened the door of the upper chamber and entered, and found nothing in it,—neither the disciples nor my Lady Mary,—they were very angry, and seized the people of Bethlehem and said to them: "Will ye

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[t] See Enger, p. 50, where the Arabic text has 2800. By an oversight Enger has written on p. 51, "duo millia et *octoginta*."

[u] See Enger, p. 52, where the Arabic text has "30,000 horse and foot"! The Greek has merely *ἀποστέλλει χιλίαρχον*.

not come in and say to the judge and the priests, 'We have found nothing there'?" And the people of Bethlehem went in along with these men and said: "We have found nothing there." And the priests said: "These disciples of the seducer have made some incantations and blinded your eyes, and ye have not seen them." The judge said to the people of Bethlehem: "If ye hear any news of them again anywhere, seize them and bring to us."

And after five days, the angels of the Lord were seen, entering into and going out of Jerusalem to my Lady Mary.[v] And people assembled from many quarters (of the city), and cried out and said: "Holy virgin, mother of God, beseech the Messiah, whom thou hast in heaven, to send us healing, for we are afflicted." And the priests assembled and stood up and cried at the praetorium: "Illustrious judge, there will be a great uproar concerning this woman." The judge said to them: "What shall I do for you?" They said to him: "Let us take fire, and go and burn the house in which she dwells." The Hēgemōn said: "Do what you please." And the people of Jerusalem came and took fire and wood, and went to the house in which the blessed one dwelt; and the judge was standing at a distance and looking on. And when they came to the house, the doors were closed. And when they laid hands on them to break them down, straightway an angel dashed his wings in their faces, and fire blazed forth from the doors without any one casting it; and the faces and hair of the persons who came up to the door of the house were burned, and many people died there. And there was great fear upon all Jerusalem. But the judge, when he saw this sight, that fire blazed forth from the door without any one casting it, stretched out his hands to heaven and cried and said: "Of a truth this deed which I have seen is (that) of the Son of the living God, who was born of the Virgin Mary and is worshipped and glorified by the angels and archangels, and in it he is worshipped and glorified." And when the judge had done speaking these words, he gave orders that next day he should send and bring the people of Jerusalem, the priests and elders and Sadducees. And the judge said to them: "Ye wicked nation, nation that crucified God, I know that ye are men bitter of soul and stiff of neck, doers of the wish of your own heart. But I thank God that I am not of your country nor one of your communion. And now, people of Jerusalem, I give orders that not one of you is to go near the house of this holy (woman)." Then drew near Caleb, the chief of the Sadducees,[w] who believed

[v] See Enger, p. 54, at the foot.

[w] Ibid., p. 58.

in the Messiah and in my Lady Mary the blessed; and he drew near to the judge, and whispered to him saying: "My Lord, let thy Highness make them swear by this oath which I tell thee, for to this oath they cannot play false. Make them swear thus: 'By God who brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and by the holy books of the law, (so and so will I do unto you,) if ye do not tell me how ye call the child of Mary. Do ye call him a prophet? Do ye account him a righteous man? Is he the Messiah, the Son of God? Is he a man of the sons of men?'" And when the judge had called the people of Jerusalem and the priests and elders, and made them swear by the God of Israel, and by the holy books of the law, (he said:) "Let every man who believes on my Lady Mary and on the child who was born of her, that he is the Messiah, the Son of God, separate himself and stand by himself; and let him who does not believe, shew himself as an unbeliever." Then the people were divided into two parties, and those who believed separated themselves on one side.[x] The Hēgemōn said to those who believed in the Messiah, "What say ye? Do ye believe in this child, who was born of Mary?" They said to him: "We believe in him, that he is the Messiah, the Son of the living God, and He it is who by His command rules heaven and earth." The unbelievers said to the Hēgemōn: "My Lord, according to our books, the Messiah is not yet come." The judge said to them: "Tell me; this one who is come, what reckon ye him?" They said to him: "He is a seducer, who is not good like one of the righteous." But the judge was praying in his mind to God, that those who believed in the Messiah might gain the victory.

The lovers of the Messiah said to the unbelievers: "Do ye show the miracles and signs which the ancient and the middle and the latter (prophets) have done, and we will show the signs which the Messiah did, that they are more than all created things."

The unbelievers said: "Whence show ye to us that the son of Mary is the Messiah?"

The lovers of the Messiah: "We are showing it."

The Hēgemōn said to them: "Not with clamour nor uproar are ye to utter your words against one another; but speak to one another with a gentle voice according to your books, for I too wish to see and know what are your doctrines."

The lovers of the Messiah said to the unbelievers: "Our father Adam, when dying, commanded in his testament his son Seth and said to him: 'My son Seth, lo, offerings are laid by

[x] See Enger, p. 60.

me in the cave of treasures, gold and myrrh and frankincense; because God is about to come into the world, and to be seized by evil and wicked men, and to die and make by his death a resurrection for all the children of Adam.' And lo, the Magi, the sons of kings, came carrying these offerings, and went and conveyed them to the Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary in Bethlehem. We are not ashamed of anything we say. What say ye?"

The unbelievers said: "Is the Messiah, pray, more excellent than Abraham in the sight of God, who opened heaven and spake to him as we speak to one another?"

The lovers of the Messiah said to the unbelievers: "Ye see that ye know nothing. For we, who are lovers of the Messiah, know that it is the Son of Mary who created Adam; and whilst Abraham was not yet formed in his mother's womb, the Messiah was before all created things. And as for what ye say, that God spake with Abraham from heaven, it was the Messiah who spake with him."

The unbelievers said: "Is the Messiah, pray, of whom ye are so proud, better than Isaac, who became an offering, and the savour of his offering went up and pleased God above in the supernal heights, and heaven and earth were delighted with it?"

The lovers of the Messiah said: "That Isaac was not slain on the altar, when Abraham offered him, was entirely because the Messiah, who was to be born of Mary, was about to come and die for all creatures, and by his death the whole world was to be delivered from error. Isaac, if he had died, would have been called a single victim; but when the Messiah died, an offering of all created things was offered in Him to God."

The unbelievers said: "Is the Messiah, pray, more excellent than Jacob, who went up and slept on the mount of Gilead; and God opened the heavens and spake with him, and stretched a ladder from heaven to earth, and the angels too descended to salute him?"

The lovers of the Messiah said: "Jacob, and the angels, and the ladder which he saw, pointed to the coming of the Messiah and the mystery of His death."

The unbelievers said: "The ascent of Elias to heaven puts you to shame, for all that he says in heaven is heard, and all that he wills on earth is done."

The lovers of the Messiah said to the unbelievers: "Elias went up in a whirlwind to this heaven, in which are fixed the sun and moon, and no man worshipped him in his ascent, except Elisha his disciple. But the Messiah, who went up to heaven, went up not to one heaven, but above all the heavens; and when the Messiah went up to heaven, all creatures above

and below bowed their heads and worshipped him, and lo, they worship and glorify him for ever."

The unbelievers said: "Let Moses come and his signs, by which he tormented the Egyptians and delivered Israel. And notwithstanding that Pharaoh wish to restrain us from reaching the sea, Moses took the dry staff that was in his hand and piled up with it the waves of the sea in heaps."

The lovers of the Messiah said: "Jesus too, who was born of Mary, rebuked devils and they were scattered before Him. And to Simon Peter, when the sea was going to swallow him up, He stretched out His hand, and raised him up, and he did not sink. And if the Messiah had not power over sea and land and all created things, whence would all these created things obey Him when He orders them?"

Then the judge commanded, and four[y] men of the unbelievers were severely scourged. And the day declined, and the Hēgemōn passed the night in his prætorium in great wrath. And when the cock crew, the judge went forth, he and his two young men and his son with him, who had a disease of the stomach and the strangury. And he knocked at the door of the blessed one, and her damsel came out and answered him. The Hēgemōn said to her: "Go in and tell thy mistress that the judge of the city of Jerusalem wishes to worship her." And my Lady Mary ordered that the door should be opened for him; and he entered and knelt down and worshipped her, and cried aloud and said to her: "Hail to thee, mother of God! and hail to the Messiah, who was born of thee! Hail to the heavens, that bear the throne of the Godhead of thy Son! The Son, the Messiah, who arose from thee,—mouth and tongue are too feeble to narrate the glories of thee and of thy Son, the holy child. The earth on which thou walkest shall become a heaven; the heaven that beholds thee shall give a blessing to the human beings that believe in thee; the whole that see thee shall be gladdened; the sick that come unto thee, thou shalt give them healing. I worship thee, my Lady Mary. Stretch out thy right hand and bless me, me and this the only child which God has given me; and pray for the souls whom I have in the city of Rome, that I may go in peace and see them, and carry presents and offerings, and come and worship thee." Now my Lady Mary was standing and praying, and the censer of incense was set before her. And when she heard the words of the Hēgemōn, she turned round and prayed, and stretched out her hands and blessed him

[y] A later hand has altered *four* into *forty*, and such too is the reading of the Arabic text. See Enger, p. 63.

and his son, and said to him, "Sit down." Now the twelve disciples of our Lord were there with my Lady Mary. And when she said to the judge, "Sit down," he did not wish to sit, but ran and fell straightway at the feet of the apostles, and said to them: "Peace be with you, ye chosen ones, who have been chosen of God before all creatures! and hail to the Messiah, who chose you to be his Heralds in the world!" The apostles said to him: "We have heard what thou hast done to the crucifiers, and have prayed much for thee." The judge said to them: "Enough for them is the scorn they are become before God and men." The apostles said to him; "What have they done, that they should not be a scorn?" So spake the apostles to the Hēgemōn, when he went and worshipped them. And he was dismissed, and went forth from Jerusalem, and came to the city of Rome to his house, on account of what had happened. And when he went to Rome,[z] he went in to the emperors and the great, and narrated the miracles and wonders which my Lady Mary was doing in the world. And the disciples of Paul and Peter too, whom they had in the city of Rome, went and wrote these holy words which they heard from the Hēgemōn.

And their disciples wrote to the apostles, (saying:)[a] "When ye have performed the obsequies of the blessed one, bring with you to the city of Rome the book of her decease, how she departed from this world; for lo, all places are full of the praises of the blessed one, and since we have believed in her here, she has often appeared to the human beings who believe in her prayers. For she appeared here on the sea, when it was agitated and swollen and going to destroy the ships that were sailing on it. And the sailors called on her name and said, 'My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy on us;' and she rose upon them like the sun, and delivered these ships, which were ninety-two in number, and saved them from destruction, and not one of them was lost. And she appeared by day, at the moment[b] when robbers had fallen upon certain men and were going to slay them; and these men cried and said, 'My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy on us;' and she rose upon them like (a flash of) lightning, and rescued these men, and they suffered no harm. And she appeared to a widow woman, whose son went to look into a well of water, and fell into it; and there was no one near to bring him up. And the woman cried out at the mouth of the well and said, 'My Lady Mary, mother of God, have

[z] See Enger, p. 68.

[a] Ibid., p. 96.

[b] I have translated as if the reading were ܒܛܘܪܐ; but the text has ܒܛܘܪܐ, "on a mountain."

mercy on me.' And my Lady Mary appeared to her, and snatched up the child, and he was not drowned; and she gave him to his mother alive. And she appeared to a man who was sick for sixteen years, and the physicians were not able to give him any help all this length of years. Then he brought a censer, and cast into it incense, and bethought him of my Lady Mary and said, 'My Lady Mary, mother of God, heal me.' And straightway she came to him and healed him, and sent him to the church of Rome before all the people. And she appeared to a merchant, who borrowed a thousand dīnārs *(aurei)*, and went to trade with them in another place. And he was going along the road, and the purse dropped from him and was lost. And after he had journeyed a long time, he sat down to eat bread, and turned over his clothes and sought for the purse and could not find it. And he was weeping and crying, and coming along the road and praying, 'My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy on me.' Then my Lady Mary had mercy on him, and took him and made him stand over the purse of dīnārs, and he took what was his and missed nothing. And she appeared on the way to Egypt to two women, against whom there came out a large snake and ran after them to devour them. And they called on her name and said: 'My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy on us.' And my Lady Mary appeared to them, and smote the snake on its mouth, and it was split in two; and these women were delivered and did not perish."

Whilst my Lady Mary was doing these miracles at Rome and in all countries, the apostles were beside her. And whilst the apostles and my Lady Mary were at Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit said to them:[c] "To morrow morning take my Lady Mary and go out from Jerusalem by the road that leads to the head of the valley. Lo, there are there three caves and a raised seat[d] of clay. Take in and place the blessed one on that seat, and minister unto her until I tell ye." And at the time of morning the apostles arose, and took up the blessed one, and went forth from Jerusalem; and the Jews were standing and mocking and saying to one another: "Lo, the disciples of the seducer are bearing Mary and going;" and the blessed one was looking upon them. And there was there a powerful[e] Jew,

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[c] See Enger, p. 70.

[d] مصطبة=مصطبة or دكّة, which latter Enger has wrongly translated by "locus arenosus."

[e] For جبّان in the Arabic text read جَبَّار, גבור. The word for "timid, cowardly," is جَبَان, without *teshdīd*.

whose name was Yūphanyā[f] (Jephunneh), who was tall and of a fine figure and immense strength. To him the scribes of Israel said: "Come near, Yūphanyā, and (only) blow upon Mary, and she will fall from her bed (*or* litter); for lo, the disciples of the seducer think that they have prevailed over Jerusalem." And Yūphanyā went and cast his two arms upon the two poles (*or* handles)[g] of the bed, and hung on by them, in order that the bed might be broken and fall down, and that the Jews might carry it off and burn it with fire. Yūphanyā had laid his hands upon the bed, and the angel of the Lord smote him with a sword of fire and cut off his two arms from his shoulders, and they hung like ropes on the bed. And he was weeping and coming after the apostles who were carrying it; and he cried and said: "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, have mercy on me! Ye disciples of Jesus, have mercy on me!" The disciples said to him: "Why callest thou on us? Call on my Lady Mary,—on her whose bed thou wast wishing to break,—and she will answer thee." Yūphanyā said: "My Lady Mary, mother of God, have mercy on me!" And my Lady Mary said to Peter: "Give to Yūphanyā his arms, which are hanging on the bed." And when Peter had spat on one of them, he said: "In the name of my Lady Mary, the mother of God, cleave to thy place." Then Peter made these arms cleave to their places; and Peter took up a dry stick and gave it to him, and said to him: "Go thou too and show the power of the Son of God to all the Jews, and tell of my Lady Mary, what she hath done for thee by her prayers;" because the Jews greatly hated my Lady Mary, and were also saying: "If, now that she is alive, she prevails over us, when she is dead and we see where she is buried, we will go and take her corpse and burn it with fire." But the Messiah, who was born of the Virgin Mary, gathered His mother out of this world from before the race of crucifiers, who were thirsting after her like destroying wolves to devour her, the blessed sheep. Let no one who loves God and my Lady Mary, who bore Him, be a companion and friend of the Jews; for if he is so, the love of the Messiah is severed from him. Here ends the third book.

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[f] The Arabic text has يوفيا, "Yūphiyā," a corruption of يوفنيا, Gr. Ἰεφωνίας (var. Ἰωφονίας).

[g] I do not remember to have met with the word أقصلا elsewhere, but the meaning is evidently that which I have given, viz. the two "poles" or "handles," by means of which the litter was carried (rad. صلا).

Book Fourth.

And when the apostles were ministering unto my Lady Mary in the cave, the Holy Spirit informed them, (saying:)[h] "In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent to the mother of your Lord, my Lady Mary, and saluted her, and announced to her concerning the Holy Child that was to be born of her for the salvation of the world, [and the sixth month is Nīsān,] on the first of Nīsān, as my Lady Mary was sitting, and there were lying before her dyed curtains[i] for the front of the door, which she was making for the house of the Lord." And again the Holy Spirit said to the apostles: "Thus believe and thus confess; that on a Sunday your Lord was announced and came to the world; and on a Sunday He was born in Bethlehem; and on a Sunday the people of Jerusalem went forth unwillingly and glorified Him with hosannas heavenly and earthly; and on a Sunday He rose from the grave, and put to shame all His crucifiers. And to-morrow again, which is a Sunday, He will come from heaven, with all created things, that are above and below, before Him, and will glorify the mother who bore Him, and those who did not believe in His coming to the world shall be put to shame."

And the Sabbath day (Saturday) declined, and the apostles and angels were ministering before her.[j] And the morning of the holy Sunday arose, and there came Eve, the mother of all human beings, and the mother of my Lady Mary, and Elisabeth the mother of St. John the Baptist. And the mother of my Lady Mary drew near, and placed her mouth on her breast, and kissed her and said to her: "Blessed be God, who chose thee for Himself, that thou mightest be a dwelling-place for His glory; for from the time thou wast formed in my womb, I knew that the God of heaven would come and dwell in thee." And Peter drew near and moved aside these women, and they stood at the head of the bed[k] of my Lady Mary, because chariots were seen coming. And there came our father Adam, and Seth his son, and Shem and Noah, who was leaven to this world; and they worshipped before the blessed one. And the chariots of the fathers appeared coming, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,

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[h] See Enger, p. 74.

[i] Add. 7203. ܙܒܥܢܐ الصوف المصبوغ, *i.e. ṣub'ānā* means *dyed wool.*

[j] See Enger, p. 76.

[k] Add. 7203. ܐܦܣܘܣ عند راسه مخدّة; Heb. מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו.

and of Mār David the singer; and they worshipped before the glorious one. And there appeared coming the chariots of the prophets, with censers in their hands, and they worshipped before the holy one. And created beings without number came forth from the gate of heaven to descend to earth. Then appeared the person of the Great King, coming and holding the sign of the cross in His hand; and He descended and stood beside her. And all the created beings blessed and worshipped Him. And our Lord called to His mother and said to her: "Mary." And she said to Him, "Here I am, my Lord Rabbūlī;" which is, being interpreted, Teacher. And my Lady Mary said to her Son: "Stretch out Thy hands and place them on my eyes, and bless me." And the Messiah stretched out His hands and laid them on the eyes of His mother; and she took them and kissed them and said: "I worship these holy hands, which made heaven and earth."

Then the apostles drew near and said to the blessed one:[l] "Leave a blessing, my Lady Mary, to the world which thou art quitting, that those who make unto thee commemorations and offerings may be delivered from grievous afflictions." Then my Lady Mary prayed and said: "May God, who willed of His own will and sent His Son, and He put on a body and dwelt in the palace of my members, have mercy upon the people[m] who call upon Him." And again she prayed and said: "Our Lord Jesus, do Thou receive the prayers of the people who call upon Thee; and make bad times cease from the earth; and give a crown to old age, and bringing up to youth; and aid the souls that call upon Thee: and make bad times cease from the earth, when mankind, Lord, hold a commemoration to my body and spirit, which have quitted the earth; and make death and captivity and the sword and famine, and all calamities that befal mankind, pass away from the land in which offerings are offered to me; and make the pestilence cease from the land in which offerings are offered to me; and bless the garland of the year; and let these lands be preserved from locusts, that they may not devour them, and from blight and mildew and hailstones; and let every one who is sick, be healed; and who is afflicted, be relieved; and who is hungry, be satisfied; and whoever is captive through violence, let his bonds be loosed; and if any are sailing on the sea, and storms arise against them, and they call on the name of the Lord, let them be preserved from injury; and let those too who are in distant lands, and call upon my name, come (home) in safety. Let the fields too, from which

[l] See Enger, p. 78, at the foot.

[m] *Lit.* "world."

offerings are offered in honour of me, be blessed and bring forth the seeds which are concealed in the furrows; and let the vines, from which wine is pressed in my name, bear good bunches (of grapes); and let there be concord and peace on all created beings that call on Thee. And let, O Lord, the garland of the years and the months be blessed before thee. And when the priests offer my offerings, receive their tithes with gladness; and make their churches thunder with thanksgiving, and let the Holy Spirit sing along with them. And on the kings be concord; and on the judges peace; and blessings and joys be on the face of the earth for ever and ever, Amen."

Then our Lord Jesus said to His mother: "Everything thou hast said to me, Mary, will I do to please thee; and I will show mercy to every one who calls upon thy name."

Then our Lord commanded Peter,[n] and he drew near to Him, and He said to him: "Now is the time; raise a psalm, and let all created beings sing with the voice of Halleluia." And when the created beings had sung with the voice of Halleluia, our Lord Jesus the Messiah prayed, and the holy angels gave glory. And straightway the soul of the blessed one departed from her, and He sent it to the mansions of the Father's house. And my Lady Mary said to her Son, as she was dying: "Fare Thee well, Rabbūlī! for lo, I am looking to Thy coming which is at hand." And Simon Cephas ran, and John the young, and Paul and Thomas; and straightway John laid his hands upon her eyes and closed them. And our Lord commanded them to place the blessed one in a chariot of light; and the twelve apostles bore it as it went to the Paradise of Eden.

And the apostles commanded[o] that there should be a commemoration of the blessed one three times in the year. On the twenty-fourth of the first Kānūn; "and because it is not possible that there should be a commemoration of her on the Nativity, we order that the commemoration of her shall take place two days after; and that with her pure offerings shall be blessed the seeds of the husbandmen, which they have borrowed and sown." And the disciples said that there should be a commemoration of the blessed one in the month of Iyār, on account of the seeds that were sown, and on account of the flying and creeping locusts, that they might not come forth and destroy the crops,[p] and so there be a famine and the people perish. And the Holy Spirit said to them: "They are[q] buried in the earth till the day appointed for them, which shall bring them forth, and

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[n] See Enger, p. 82. [o] Ibid., p. 100. [p] *Lit.* "the world."
[q] *i.e.* the locusts, singular in Syriac.

they shall fulfil the will of their Lord. And when they are created, in a single hour shall they be created; and whithersoever they go to destroy, in one hour shall they desolate the earth." And the apostles ordered also that, on the Wednesday and Friday and Sunday of all the months of the year,[r] there should be prayers, and that these three days should be observed, and no work should be done on them. And the apostles ordered also that there should be a commemoration of the blessed one on the thirteenth of the month of Ab, [or on the fifteenth,] on account of the vines bearing bunches (of grapes), and on account of the trees bearing fruit, that clouds of hail, bearing stones of wrath, might not come, and the trees be broken, and their fruits, and the vines with their clusters. And the apostles also ordered[s] that any offering offered in the name of my Lady Mary should not remain over the night, but that at midnight of the night immediately preceding her commemoration, it should be kneaded and baked; and in the morning let it go up on the altar, whilst the people stand before the altar with psalms of David, and let the New and Old Testaments be read, and the volume of the decease of the blessed one; and let every one be before the altar in the church, and let the priests celebrate (the holy Eucharist)[t] and set forth the censer of incense and kindle the lights, and let the whole service be concerning these offerings; and when the whole service is finished, let every one take his offerings to his house. And let the priest speak thus: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, we celebrate the commemoration of my Lady Mary." Thus let the priest speak three times; and (simultaneously) with the word of the priest who speaks, the Holy Spirit shall come and bless these offerings; and when every one takes away his offering, and goes to his house, great help and the benison of the blessed one shall enter his dwelling and stablish it for ever.

And the apostles arose and set forth the censer of incense, and drew near to our Lord to beg of Him that the years with their months might be blessed. And they prayed, (saying:) "Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, hear the voice of our prayers, and bless the garland of the years and the months that are coming to the world, and bless the twelve months. Let *Nīsān* come, bearing the buds of good blossoms, that it may gladden the altars of the Lord with flowers. Let *Iyār* come, bearing the spikes of ears (of corn) that are blessed, that of them there

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[r] The meaning of this is not quite clear to me. Perhaps something may have been omitted.

[s] Compare Enger, p. 102. [t] *Lit.* "offer."

may be an offering to the Lord. Let *Hazīrān* come, bearing tables of rubbed out (ears),[t] and carrying dishes full of new bread. Let *Tāmūz* come, giving thanks because of men, who are singing in the threshing-floors, which are full of thanksgivings and rejoicings. Let *Ab* come, giving worship to God, who has blessed and given it unripe and ripe (fruits). Let *Ilūl* come, worshipping and praising the Messiah, who has blessed the months and the years. Let (the first) *Teshrīn* come, praising and glorifying Him who has heard the voice of the husbandman, who has sown with the plough[u] of the cross. Let (the second) *Teshrīn* come, and its good things with it, which cometh rejoicing from heaven, fattening and blessing the earth and its inhabitants. Let (the first) *Kānūn* come, and its good things with it, thick clouds, and lightnings, and rain, which is diffused over the face of the earth. Let (the second) *Kānūn* come, and with it snow and ice, which gladdens the earth. Let *Shĕbāt* come, bearing on its shoulders good things that give birth to joys. Let *Adār* come, carrying presents to the Lord, choice lambs and sheep, giving thanks."

Thus prayed the apostles and said: "Yea, Lord God, who didst send Thy son to the world to restore it to life out of error, let Thy blessing be upon the earth and its inhabitants; and let Thy grace come unto us and manifest itself to us at this time." Then our Lord Jesus came unto them and said to them:[w] "Fear not, ye blessed; everything that ye ask shall be given to you, and at all times your wish shall be with your Father who is in heaven." Then the apostles bowed their heads and asked a blessing from our Lord Jesus.

And the apostles rose from the place in which they were praying, and said: "Come, let us go down from the Mount of

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[t] See Lev. ii. 14, 16; xxiii. 14; Ruth ii. 14.

[u] ܡܚܪܬܐ or ܡܚܪܬܐ, *ἄροτρον*, *e.g.* in the *Gospel of Thomas*, cap. xiii., *καὶ ἐποίει ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς*, Syr. ܡܚܪܬܐ ܘܢܝܪܐ. So also Mār Jacob of Serūg in his discourse on the city of Antioch (Add. 14,590, fol. 34 *a*, ܐܝܟ ܡܚܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ ܡܚܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ; and again fol. 36 *b*, ܡܚܪܬܐ ܘܡܚܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ ܡܚܪܬܐ ܘܡܚܪܬܐ. Add. 7203, المِحْرَثَة النير الخَشَبَة التي فوق القَدّان المشان (*sic*) ويسمّي بالعربيّة القيقن وهي آلة الفَلّاح.

[w] Compare Enger, p. 102.

Olives to the cave at the head of the valley, and let us write there how my Lady Mary was crowned in the cloud of light." And the apostles went down from the Mount of Olives to the cave at the head of the valley, and set forth incense, and commanded that a book should be written as follows: "We all of us, the apostles, testify before God, and before our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and before the Holy Spirit, that our Lord Jesus the Messiah did these miracles before His mother, when she was departing from the world." And there were written concerning her six books, each book by two of the apostles, all the signs and all the miracles which my Lady Mary did. This book was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin; and the apostles deposited it with Mār John, whose blessing is great.

And the apostles prayed and called on our Lord Jesus to come and bless them,[z] that each of them might go to the country whence he had come. And they prayed a long while, and our Lord came to them, and blessed them, and ascended to heaven.

And the twelve apostles asked of Paul and of Peter, and said: "Because we apostles are twelve, it is fitting that twelve copies should be written of this book of my Lady Mary, and that a copy should go along with each of us." Peter said to the apostles his fellows: "These others of us who are dead,—who, behold, are going to their graves,—shall we write for them the book of my Lady Mary?" The apostles said to Peter: "What dost thou order us to do?" Peter said: "Let each of us, when he has gone to the place whence he came, write and teach the people, to whom he has gone, whatever the Holy Spirit puts into his mouth; and let him teach these things, that there may be a commemoration of my Lady Mary three times in the year."

And John, whose blessing is great, took the book of the departure of the blessed one. And Paul and Peter called, and spoke to John between themselves; the apostles Paul, Peter and John spoke to one another, wishing to divide the volume. And as they were going to have a dispute about it, a voice came to them from heaven, which said: "Go in peace, ye blessed, to the places whence ye came, and your Lord will do your pleasure, whatever it be that ye want." Then there appeared to them lightnings and thunderings from heaven, singing before the disciples and going to the places whence they came. And those too who were dead and had arisen, went back to their graves; and the blessed ones slept and were at rest.

Through the prayer of the prophets and apostles, martyrs and confessors, may every one who believes in the Father and in

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[z] Compare Enger, p. 86.

the Son and in the Holy Spirit, and in my Lady Mary, the mother of God, and in the Church, the bride of the Messiah, and in the convents, the dwellings of the just, receive a blessing from our Lord Jesus the Messiah, who was born of Mary the Virgin. And may every one, who commemorates her, be remembered in heaven. And may our Lord Jesus the Messiah show mercy and compassion upon all our congregation, which has heard these holy words, for ever and ever, Amen. Here ends the fourth book.

Book Fifth.

When the blessed one was placed in the Paradise of Eden[y] and was crowned with this great glory, and the apostles had departed in all directions, our Lord Jesus came to his mother into the Paradise of Eden. And the chariots of the angels descended from heaven in infinite numbers, and the Paradise of Eden was covered, and all the mountains that were around it. And the sound of nothing was heard save the voice of those saying, Holy! holy! holy! And when our Lord came to my Lady Mary, he called to her and said: "Mary, rise." And straightway she was restored to life and worshipped Him. And our Lord Jesus said to her: "To show thee the glory of my Father's house I am come to thee." The blessed Mary said to Him: "'Tis well, Rabbūlī." And Elias the prophet came to our Lord and to my Lady Mary, and Enoch and Moses and Simon Cephas: these came at the beck of our Saviour to the Paradise of Eden. And our Lord said to His mother: "Mary, examine and see what I have prepared for the just who love me." And the blessed one saw the mansions of the just, how they were built and decorated and beautified; and she saw the banquet-halls of the martyrs; and she looked on the glorious mansion in which the righteous abode; and she saw the lovely trees of Paradise, how beautiful they were in appearance and how pleasant was the smell of their branches; and how perfumes were diffused from tree to tree, and a sweet fragrance was wafted from branch to branch. And our Lord Jesus plucked some of the delicious fruit of these trees and gave it to her, that she might taste of these fruits that were reared by the Holy Spirit.

These things my Lady Mary saw in the Paradise of Eden. And straightway the cherub of the sword cried out and spake; and our Lord said to His mother: "Come, ascend and see the heaven in which is the glory of my Father; and thou shalt

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[y] See Enger, p. 88.

enter and see the heaven of heavens and the waters which are above the heaven; and thou shalt ascend on above the waters, and see the decorated Jerusalem, the palace of my Father in which He dwells." And our Lord Jesus the Messiah was sitting in a chariot of light, he and my Lady Mary his mother; and one cloud carried Elias the prophet, and another Enoch, and another Simon Cephas, and another John the young; and they ascended on wheels of fire that overpowered the sun, and entered this lowest heaven. And my Lady Mary saw there that all the store-houses of God were there; the house of ice and snow and frost; the house of rain and dew and heat; the house of winds and lightnings and blasts; the house of clouds and whirlwinds, the servants of God that proclaim his commands. And she saw the place in which Elias the prophet used to dwell and pray. These things my Lady Mary saw in this lower heaven.

And she ascended and saw the heaven of heavens and the waters above the heavens. And on above the waters she ascended, and saw Jerusalem that is in heaven,[s] which has twelve walls and twelve gates, named after the twelve apostles; and at each door stands an apostle, with angels and archangels, who are standing and glorifying. And at the outer gate of Jerusalem there are spiritual beings without number, glorifying with their trumpets, along with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Mār David the singer. And they drew near and worshipped before the king the Messiah and before His mother, as she entered and saw the heavenly Jerusalem. She entered the *first* gate, and was worshipped by the angels. And she entered the *second* gate, and the prayer of the cherubim was offered to her. She entered the *third* gate, and the prayer of the seraphim was offered to her. She entered the *fourth* gate, and was worshipped by the family of the archangels. She entered the *fifth* gate, and the lightnings and thunders uttered praises before her. She entered the *sixth* gate, and they cried before her, Holy, holy, holy! She entered the *seventh* gate, and fire and flame worshipped before her. And she entered the *eighth* gate, and the rain and dew worshipped her. And she entered the *ninth* gate, and Gabriel and Michael worshipped her. And she entered the *tenth* gate, and the sun and moon worshipped her. And she entered the *eleventh* gate, and all the apostles worshipped and praised her. And she entered the *twelfth* gate, and the Son, who was born of her, strengthened her and blessed her.

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[s] See Enger, p. 90.

Thus my Lady Mary entered the heavenly Jerusalem, and worshipped before God the Father. In that hour my Lady Mary saw the Holy Father and the beloved Son and the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, the Father being glorified by His Son and the Son by the Father, and the Holy Spirit between the two of them.

Then our Lord Jesus the Messiah drew near and took His mother and showed her hidden and terrible things; and showed her what eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and what hath not entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for them that love Him at the day of the resurrection.[a] And He showed her glories that proclaim concerning miracles, and miracles that cry out concerning glories; and hidden things that cry out concerning revealed things, and revealed things that cry out concerning hidden things. And He took her and entered within the extreme limit of all created things;[b] and He showed her and said: "Here is the place where Enoch dwells, and to here have I removed him, and this is the place in which he prays." Here ends the fifth book.

Book Sixth.

And the blessed one lifted up her eyes[c] and saw the two worlds, this one that passeth away, and that one which passeth not away. And she saw too, in a place in that world which passeth not away, many lights shining very brightly, and mansions without number; and between one mansion and another a great scent of perfumes was diffused, and there were trumpets sounding over the mansions. And she saw the tabernacles of the just, and multitudes standing on this side of these tabernacles. My Lady Mary said to the Messiah, "My Lord Rabbūlī, what are these?" The Messiah said to my Lady Mary: "These are the tabernacles of the just, and these lights are shining in their honour; and from a distance they behold their happiness, until the day of the resurrection, when they shall inherit their mansions."

And again my Lady Mary saw another place which was very dark, and an exceeding great smoke was going up from it, and a smell of sulphur was diffused around it, and a strong fire was blazing in it. And the sound of that fire was going like heavy

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[a] Compare 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[b] See Enger, p. 92, line 16, where for منتهر read منتهي.

[c] See Enger, p. 92.

thunder, when it is overhead in the heavens and is listened to with terror; so was coming the sound of that fire, which was kindled for the wicked. And men were standing on this side of that darkness, and weeping and in sorrow, as they stood at a distance. My Lady Mary said to the Messiah: "My Lord Rabbūlī, what are these?" The Messiah said to the blessed one: "This that is roaring is Gehenna, which is kindled for the wicked; and these who are standing and looking upon it are the sinners; and from a distance they are beholding their torment, and knowing for what they are reserved at the last day; for the day of judgment is not yet come, that they should receive the inheritance of darkness; and at the time of the judgment, those who have neglected my commands, which I commanded them, and have not listened to me, shall be tormented in this Gehenna." And as my Lady Mary was standing, and our Lord Jesus beside her, she heard the voice of the just, who were saying: "Glory to Thee, Thou good God, who givest a recompence to the just, who call on Thy name, at the day of judgment." And the wicked also cried out beside that darkness, by which they were standing, and said: "Have mercy on us, Son of God, righteous judge, when Thou comest to dissolve heaven and earth." Then, when my Lady Mary heard the voice of the just, she was glad; and when she heard the voice of the wicked, she was very sorry. And she besought the Messiah, and offered up a prayer for the sinners, and said: "Rabbūlī, have mercy upon the wicked when Thou judgest them at the day of judgment; for I have heard their voice and am grieved."

And our Lord Jesus took his mother,[d] and came to the Paradise of Eden, with multitudes of the supernals. And my Lady Mary called Mār John the young, and told him everything that our Lord Jesus had shown to her; and she said to John: "Guard these things which thy Lord hath shown me; for at the time when they are to be revealed and I tell thee, these words shall go forth, and the books of my glorious deeds, that there may be to me commemorations and offerings among men. Because, at times when afflictions abound among men, and there are famines and wars, and the earth quakes for the sins of wicked men, who are destroying it by nefarious deeds; at that time, abounding in affliction to mankind, the air of heaven shall be dark, and winds and whirlwinds shall blow; and the sun shall be dark at mid-day; and the times shall be hateful; and in the nights visions shall be seen; and there shall be a destruction of mankind by one another; and bitter plagues shall be sent upon

[d] See Enger, p. 96, line 1—3, and p. 102, line 17.

creation; and the Son the Messiah shall come to the world, and shall not find belief prevailing in the mouth of men."

These things, and more than these, did our Lord Jesus the Messiah reveal to my Lady Mary; and my Lady Mary revealed them to Mār John the young. And our Lord Jesus said to my Lady Mary his mother: "Blessed art thou, Mary, because of what thine eyes have seen, and what thou art about to see; because afflictions shall abound unto men, and those who call on thy name shall be delivered from destruction." And my Lady Mary said to the Messiah: "True are thy words, Rabbūlī, because they are from the holy mouth of Thy Father; and everything that Thou didst say to me, when Thou wast upon earth, is true and fulfilled; and every one who believes on Thee shall with Thee inherit the glory that is for ever, which the children of light inherit and the just look for, who praise Thee and Thy Father and Thy Holy Spirit in heaven and in earth." Here ends the sixth book. There are finished in this volume the six books of the Departure of my Lady Mary from the world. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

*** The reader is requested to correct the three following misprints in the Syriac text. Page ב, line 12, read ܕܠܐ instead of ܕܒܐ. Page כה, line 8, read ܚܕ̈ܐ. Page מי, line 12, read ܕܠܐ.

THE CODEX SINAITICUS.

UNDER this title, in April, 1863, we had an article embodying various items of information concerning this the most remarkable Biblical manuscript discovered in our generation. Since that account was written, Dr. Tischendorf has published an edition of the New Testament which we may call a *facsimile* of the Sinaitic Codex in minuscular letters, since it is page for page, column for column, line for line, and letter for letter with the original; the difference being in the printing, and not in the editorial department. To this edition are prefixed valuable prolegomena, and the numerous various readings and corrections supplied by the MS. The New Testament is followed by the Epistle of Barnabas and the remains of Hermas. A minute description of this interesting and useful volume will not be required here, as it has already been before the public for some time. We may nevertheless add, that to facilitate the understanding of it for ordinary scholars, the words have been printed separately, and not continuously as in the original MS., and the *facsimile* edition of it in large type. Dr. Tischendorf has also issued an octavo edition divided into chapters and verses. This is printed in common Greek type, and is pointed and accented throughout. It contains only the canonical books of the New Testament. At the foot of each page are inserted the numerous variations which have from time to time been written by correctors on the leaves of the MS., and a collation of the whole with the Codex Vaticanus and the Elzevir editions. The prolegomena have also been given with some slight omissions, and some additions. This commodious volume will, we doubt not, be extensively called for by Biblical students, who will now have every opportunity of considering the text of this venerable copy of Holy Scripture. Dr. Tischendorf has rendered immense service to the republic of sacred letters, by his unwearied efforts in connection with the priceless MS. which so providentially fell into his hands. We understand that he is making full use of it in a new edition of his own text of the Greek Testament. We may also mention here the admirable little volume of Mr. Scrivener, who has collated the Codex Sinaiticus throughout the New Testament, and published the results with a very excellent introduction. Professor Hansell, too, has introduced a collation of the same in his collective edition of Greek texts from ancient manuscripts. We might refer to Dean Alford and others who have shewn their appreciation of the Sinaitic manuscript in various ways. Upon the whole, we have reason to congratulate

this country on the part it has taken in connection with this document from the outset. It it quite true the Greek Simonides made an effort among us to establish the most reckless claim that was ever put forth; and true that he found some to believe him; but it is also true that none who had the least acquaintance with palæography were led away by him for a moment. His extraordinary disregard of truth has, we hope by this time, convinced even those who could not judge the case on its own merits. At present we hear nothing of him, and we are quite sure that he will never again even secure a hearing from the literary men of our nation.

On the other hand the Sinaitic Codex is coming to be better understood. The phenomena connected with it were too numerous and too peculiar to be closely investigated and carefully weighed in a short time. Scarcely any one here had seen any portion of the manuscript, not even that first discovered and called the Friderico-Augustanus. Under the circumstances men had to wait, and although fully convinced by the evidence at their disposal that the MS. was genuine, and very ancient, they were not prepared at once to express an opinion as to its true age, and the character and value of its text. Thanks, however, to the aid supplied by Dr. Tischendorf, light is gradually intensifying, and before long we expect the scholars, of this nation at least, to arrive at a generally accepted conclusion. Dr. Tischendorf's conclusion was reached long ago, but with characteristic caution, our countrymen paused in order to reflect upon the matter for themselves. Some of them thought it very probable that the manuscript was of about the time of Justinian, who founded the monastery in Mount Sinai, where the volume was discovered. Opinions not very dissimilar were formed by some of the German critics. There were some who believed that Dr. Tischendorf was right in fixing the date before the end of the first half of the fourth century. Nor can we wonder at this: that eminent scholar has had unequalled opportunities of judging of the age of ancient documents, and has almost an instinctive perception of their character. But there were some who doubted as to both the opinions referred to; and as occupying a middle ground, they merited attention. They thought it somewhat older than Justinian's time, and younger than that of Constantine. Upon the whole, nobody except the discoverer seemed very decided as to the actual date; probably because they considered—as Sir Frederick Madden observed on an occasion to be referred to again—that we have so few documents in Greek which claim to belong to the period claimed for this. They also considered that the question was critical as well as

palæographical, and required a study of the *text* of the book, as well as of its writing and other external peculiarities.

Dr. Tischendorf has himself come forward in the most liberal manner to facilitate the solution of the problem in two ways: he has brought among us the Codex Friderico-Augustanus,—the only portion at his disposal,—and he has given those who could avail themselves of it an opportunity not only to see this manuscript, but to confer with him and together upon the subject. Let us very briefly mention the circumstances.

On Feb. 15 of the present year a meeting was convened at the rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, when many gentlemen who take an interest in such matters were in attendance. The chair was occupied by the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Thirlwall, who delivered a very appropriate address, chiefly congratulatory, but exhibiting hearty sympathy with the main business. A very different feeling evidently prevailed from that which characterized a meeting in the same place exactly two years previously to meet Simonides, chiefly on the subject of the same Codex Sinaiticus. On the last occasion Dr. Tischendorf exhibited the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, which some may need to be reminded contains part of the Old Testament from the same volume as the Codex Sinaiticus, but discovered much earlier. This is a noble fragment upon large vellum, the leaves of which are thin and time-worn. The ink is of a pale iron-brown colour, except the frequent corrections, which are darker. There are four columns of writing upon a page, so that at each opening eight columns are visible. The characters are ancient uncials of an excellent type, and doubtless of a pure and well-developed period of caligraphic art. The pages are ruled with parallel and horizontal lines by a blunt instrument which has left the marks indented in the skin. We may suppose that, in accordance with common custom, these lines were drawn and the sheets written before the book was bound. The corrections have been made since, and would seem, from a too brief inspection, to be some centuries later than the text, as may be inferred not only from the colour of the ink, but from the different type of uncial represented by them. It was but natural that we should look rather anxiously for the celebrated note at the end of the Book of Esther. The shorter one at the end of Esdras we barely saw. The longer one has been frequently copied and translated, but it will bear to be referred to again. It will not be necessary, we suppose, to copy the Greek, but we will give our rendering of it, and say a word or two about the original. Was this note penned by the scribe who wrote the manuscript or part of it; or by a later reviser, corrector, or collator? If it is

a prima manu, it is impossible to believe that the manuscript is so ancient as its discoverer supposes. If it is contemporary with the primitive writing, or only a little later, the same conclusion is forced upon us. Now we looked at this addition in more ways than one: we compared the characters used with those in the text, and we found some marked differences, as in the case of the *upsilon*; the characters are not only some of them of a different type, but the whole is written in letters about one-third smaller than those of the text. We do not say anything depends upon the size, but we regard the difference of type as an essential element towards forming a judgment. In the next place we looked upon this inscription in relation to the colour of the ink, both of the text and of the corrections. The colour seemed a little lighter than that of the notes, but darker than that of the text; on the whole it was more like that of the notes. It is important to observe here, that the two sides of a leaf of vellum differ in their power of receiving or of retaining the ink. The side upon which the hair grew, *i. e.*, the outer side or *grain*, as we believe it is called, displays the writing in a brighter and better defined manner than the other side,—the inner or flesh side of the skin. The reason is, that the inner surface is softer and more liable to injury from various causes. If we remember correctly, the inscription now occupying our attention is on the inner side of the leaf, while the adjacent page at the same opening is on the outer side of a leaf. The result of this is that the corrections upon the left hand page, as the book lies open before us, will naturally be a little brighter than the possibly contemporary inscription upon the right hand page. The result of our inspection of this portion of the manuscript is simply that the note is not so ancient as the text by a considerable interval. Here is our rendering of the note, which we give as literally as we can:—

"It was collated with an exceedingly ancient copy which had been corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus: now, at the end of the same very ancient book, which began with the first of Kings, and terminated at Esther, there was in the margin a certain autograph intimation of the same martyr running thus:—

"It was copied and corrected after the Hexapla of Origen, which had been corrected by him. Antoninus, a confessor, collated it; I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in the prison, through the great favour and enlargement of God. And indeed it is not hard to say that it would not be easy to find a copy comparable to this copy. Now the same most ancient book differed from this volume as to the [a corrector makes it 'certain'] proper names."

The shorter and corresponding inscription at the end of Esdras has been thus translated by Mr. W. A. Wright, whose services in the Simonides controversy deserve all praise:—

"Collated with an extremely ancient copy corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus: with regard to which there was attached at the end a subscription in his own handwriting, running thus:—'Copied from, and corrected by, the Hexapla of Origen; Antoninus collated; I, Pamphilus, corrected.'"

With regard to the longer of these two notes, it is worth remarking in passing, that its punctuation is more full than is the case with the text. It also teaches most certainly, that in the estimation of the writer the Codex of Pamphilus was considerably more ancient than this. We cannot see our way to avoid this conclusion; and, if it is correct, it is of much importance. The martyrdom of Pamphilus is assigned to A.D. 309. Now he does not say that he copied the volume in his possession, but only that he corrected it;—the volume was therefore written earlier. But it was subsequent to Origen; because it was copied from his work. We may therefore believe that the book which Pamphilus corrected in prison belonged to the latter half of the third century. Therefore the question is, how to reconcile the language of the note with the supposition, that the volume there called exceedingly ancient, if not unique, was but a few years older than the one which it was used to revise. That was a most ancient book: this has no such designation. It may be thought that the book of Pamphilus was a papyrus, and shewed much greater signs of antiquity than this on vellum. This may be true; but the date of the older one was known, and we can hardly suppose that the corrector of the later had no true knowledge of its age. In his opinion then, the Codex Pamphili was much more ancient than the Codex Sinaiticus; and, in the absence of other evidence, we should be disposed to coincide with him. The scribe who wrote the inscription seems to have made a thorough collation and revision of the portion over which the Codex Pamphili extended; and the readings he has inserted are among the most ancient verified ones we know: hence a particular interest attaches to them. But now we know very well that manuscripts were often collated either by their writers or soon after, and it is difficult to believe that this had lain uncollated from the reign of Constantine, or shortly subsequently, until the beginning of the seventh century, when this note is thought by Dr. Tischendorf to have been inserted. We must therefore venture to doubt still whether the Sinaitic MS. is not rather of the very end of the fourth century, or the commencement of the fifth. An inspection of the large fragments, kindly

shewn us by Dr. Tischendorf, convinces us that the MS. may be referred to the year 400 as a medium, not much earlier, nor much later. We cannot give in detail all our reasons for this opinion, which is offered with diffidence, and open to correction; but there are some other points which must be mentioned.

In the somewhat particular account of the Codex, which we gave in April, 1863, we called attention to the peculiar arrangement and features of the Song of Solomon, and we expressed the hope that we should give a version of it. On reconsideration, it has seemed unnecessary to translate the whole of the text. In lieu of this, therefore, we will insert on this occasion a version of the rubrics, which divide the text into parts, indicate the speakers, and explain a variety of circumstances. We only render so much of the Greek text as is necessary to shew the precise position of the headings, and the arrangement of the whole. The portions in italics are in the original in red ink, and occupy a place in the columns of the MS.

"SONG OF SONGS.

A. (Chap. i. 1—14.)

I. 1. 'THE SONG OF SONGS, WHICH IS SOLOMON'S.'

2. *The Bride.* 'Let him kiss me with the kisses—draw me, we will run after thee.'

4. *To the damsels the Bride narrates what pertains to the Bridegroom; what he has vouchsafed to her.* 'The king has brought me into his chamber.'

— *While the Bride was telling the damsels, they said,* 'We will be glad—more than wine.'

— *The damsels to the Bridegroom proclaim the name of the Bride,—Uprightness loved thee.* 'Uprightness loved thee.'

5. *The Bride.* 'I am black—Vineyard have not kept.'

7. *To Christ the Bridegroom.* 'Tell me thou whom—by the flocks of thy companions.'

8. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'If thou know not—My near one.'

10. *The Damsels to the Bride.* 'How thy cheeks are beautiful—the king at his repose.'

12. *The Bride to herself, and to the Bridegroom.* 'My spikenard has yielded its odour—vineyards of En-Gaddi.'

B. (Chap. i. 15—iii. 5.)

15. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'Behold thou art fair—thine eyes are doves.'

16. *The Bride to the Bridegroom.* 'Behold thou art fair, my brother—of cypress.'

II. 1. *The Bridegroom to himself.* 'I am the flower of the plain, a lily of the valleys.'

2. *And to the Bride.* 'As a lily amid thorns—among the daughters.'

3. *The Bride to the Bridegroom.* 'As an apple—sweet to my palate.'

4. *To the damsels the Bride saith,* 'Bring me into the house of wine—I am wounded of love.'

6. *To the Bridegroom, the Bride.* 'His left hand is under my head—will embrace me.'

7. *To the damsels, the Bride.* 'I adjure you—until he will.'

8. *The Bride has heard the Bridegroom.* 'The voice of my nephew—on the mountains of Bethel.'

9. *The Bride to the damsels, pointing out the Bridegroom to them.* 'Behold, he stands—and thy countenance comely.'

15. *To the young men, the Bridegroom thus.* 'Take for us the foxes—the vines are flourishing.'

16. *The Bridegroom thus.* 'My nephew is mine—who go round in the city.'

III. 3. *The Bride to the watchmen said,* 'See ye him—I found him whom my soul loveth.'

4. *Finding the Bridegroom, she says,* 'I have taken hold of him—of her that conceived me.'

5. *The Bride adjures the damsels this second time.* 'I have adjured you—until he will.'

Γ. (Chap. iii. 6—vi. 3).

6. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'Who is this that is coming—and let my spices flow out.'

IV. 16. *The Bride asketh the Father that his Bridegroom may come down.* 'Let my nephew come down—eat the fruit of his nuts.'

V. 1. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'I am come into my garden, my sister Bride—my wine with my milk.'

— *The Bridegroom to his friends.* 'Eat, O friends—my heart waketh.'

2. *The Bride perceives the Bridegroom knocking at the door.* 'The voice of—at the door.'

— *The Bride thus: The Bridegroom.* 'Open to me, my sister—drops of the night.'

3. *The Bride thus.* 'I have taken off—I am wounded of love.'

V. 9. *The daughters of Jerusalem and the watchmen of the walls enquire of the Bride,* 'What is thy nephew—so adjurest us.

10. *The Bride describes her nephew; what he is like.* 'My nephew is—daughters of Jerusalem.'

17. *The daughters of Jerusalem enquire of the Bride whither her nephew is gone.* 'Whither is thy nephew gone—we will seek for him with thee.'

VI. 1. *And the Bride answers.* 'My nephew is gone down—who feeds among the lilies.'

Δ. (Chap. vi. 3—viii. 13).

3. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'Thou art beautiful—they will praise her.'

9. *Daughters and queens saw the Bride and pronounced her happy.* 'Who is this—drawn up in array.'

10. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'Into a garden—the pomegranates bloomed.'

— *The Bride thus to the Bridegroom.* 'There will I give—Aminadab.

12. *The Bridegroom to the Bride.* 'Return, return—will look on thee.'

— *To the queens and the daughters the Bridegroom thus.* 'Why will ye look ye on—as the good wine.'

VII. 9. *The Bride.* 'Going with my—love until he will.'

VIII. 5. *The daughters and the queens, and the (friends) of the Bridegroom said.* 'Who is this that cometh up—upon her nephew.'

— *The Bridegroom thus to the Bride.* 'Under the apple tree—a cedar tablet.'

10. *The Bride speaks exultingly.* 'I am a wall—to those who keep its fruit.'

13. *The Bride.* 'He that sitteth—of the valleys.'

Song of Songs."

We shall not justify or explain any of the previous renderings, because our object is less a precise translation, than an exhibition of the plan and structure of the Canticles. The arrangement will strike every one as elaborate and highly artificial, wrought out with care, and probably due to some eminent divine or expositor. Was this in the copy of the Scriptures used by the scribe? Did he himself draw it out in accordance with recognized principles of expounding the book? Has he borrowed it from some commentary on the Song of Songs, now lost? To these questions an answer may not be easy. But it

may be possible to ascertain, what stage in the growth of Christian exegesis and interpretation is represented by this epitome. We have too little of the undoubted commentaries upon Canticles written by Origen, to compare it with them. We may say that other early commentaries on the same book are lost. But towards the latter part of the fourth century we come upon Gregory of Nyssa, and in the fifth century we have Theodoret. From all we are able to gather out of these two, and especially the latter, we are strongly tempted to suspect that the anatomy of Canticles here shewn, belongs to the period between the two. To the same period, or some part of it, we naturally enough refer the MS., because it may be supposed to represent the latest or the most generally accepted. arrangement and explanation of the Canticles. An analysis so minute and circumstantial scarcely belongs to the times before Constantine; it reminds us rather of an age which had realized the labours of great expositors like Chrysostom or a Jerome. It required a firm and practised hand to allot the Song of Solomon as it is here allotted; and we know of nothing which should lead us to think that such a process finds any parallel so early as the date to which Dr. Tischendorf assigns the Codex. We would not insist so much on the negative side,—that we have no similar example, as upon the positive one,—that it savours of an age when labours like those of Chrysostom had been accomplished. Here again, however, we are open to correction, and rather intend to lay down a problem than definitely to solve it. We only add that we suspect the scribe was not the author of these divisions and subdivisions, but a simple copyist of them for the reason we are about to mention.

Considerable weight has been attached to the circumstance that the caligraphy of this book is remarkably good and pure. The forms of the letters generally indicate an acquaintance with the best types. This is true, whether the volume was the work of one scribe or of four. The process is performed in a workmanlike, not to say artistic manner. The alphabet may be fairly regarded as a model. This indicates a time when it had arrived at full development. The alphabet had not only reached this point of time, it had passed it; because the writers not merely introduce connected letters and monograms of different kinds, but especially near the end of a line they vary the forms of *mu* and *omega*, for example. This shews that development proper had been succeeded by incipient tendencies to ornamentation. There are many other things which point in the same direction. Such are the contractions which occur; the ingenious device which almost invariably excludes certain letters from the end of

a line; the division of the text into paragraphs, and a limited punctuation. It may be fairly said that in these things it leaves very far behind the caligraphy of the Herculaneum Greek MSS. We may be reminded that this MS. has no capital letters like the Alexandrian Codex. This is true, and we think the Codex Sinaiticus is rather older than that. But it is also true that this MS. has what are equivalent to capitals,—it has outstanding letters at the commencement of paragraphs. Codex A has outstanding letters also, but twice the size of the rest, whereas in the Sinaitic they are the same size. But again, if Codex A has large capitals to denote the sections, or paragraphs, the scheme adopted in Codex Sinaiticus denotes the sections with still greater significance. The reason is this; that while in A it is the merest accident if the large letter begins a paragraph, in the other the paragraph regularly begins a line, and so the outstanding letter actually and regularly begins the paragraph. It is for more experienced palæographers to say which device is the older. Codex B seems in this particular to have an advantage even over both the Sinaitic and A, because, although it has paragraphs, their initials are in no sense capitals, for they do not project and are not larger in size.

And now, admitting the decidedly antique cast of the letters in this MS., and the wonderful excellence of the general execution, it must be observed that the scribe was far more apt at fashioning the letters, than at accurate transcription. His undoubted blunders of omission and of commission are very numerous. This suggests that he was a professional scribe whose ambition was to excel in his penmanship, of which he thought far more than of the sacred text. A like worldly feeling appears to have influenced the writer of Codex B; and we think that whatever the relative value of the texts, the writer of A left much less work for the correctors, than either B or Aleph (the Codex Sinaiticus). It is this absence of critical and literary qualities, which leads us to think that the divisions of Solomon's Song were found by the scribe in his copy, and not his invention.

Another reflection must be made upon the character of the caligraphy, and it is that it points to a time when copying the Bible had become a profession, consequently when the church was widely spread, living in the enjoyment of liberty, if not of influence, and—looking at this book—certainly not destitute of wealth. The conditions required in the East for producing so sumptuous a copy of the Scriptures as this, do not seem to have existed until much later than the reign of Constantine. It is quite true that under his patronage some splendid copies were

written, but we cannot for a moment associate this with them, for sundry reasons, including that which we shall next mention.

Dr. Tischendorf reckons among the signs of antiquity of this book, the presence of Barnabas and Hermas, which he thinks were attended by one or two more. He relies for his support upon a few facts, one of which is evidence afforded by Eusebius, and the other the so-called Laodicean canon. Now if the books of Barnabas, Hermas, etc., were allowed in the time of Eusebius, but excluded by the canon of Laodicea, we may infer that the Sinaitic Codex was not written after about A.D. 364. But in our opinion the Laodicean canon is spurious, and is certainly not found in the oldest MSS., containing the decrees of the council; it is, for example, quite absent from the Syrian copy in the British Museum, which bears the date of A.D. 501. Upon this canon then, we can place no reliance. With regard to Eusebius the case is still clearer. His language is such that it is simply impossible for him to have superintended the execution of MSS. of the Bible containing the Apocrypha in question. In his enumeration of the books of the New Testament, he first mentions those which all received; he then enumerates the Antilegomena, viz., James and Jude, 2 Peter, and 2 and 3 John. After this he goes on to say: "Let there be ranged among the spurious the writing of the Acts of Paul, and that which is called the Pastor, and the Apocalypse of Peter; and in addition to these the alleged Epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Doctrines of the Apostles." He next speaks doubtfully of the Apocalypse of John; and adds that some receive the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This is sufficient for our purpose. We cannot think that with such opinions he would have admitted the two or more spurious books into copies prepared under his superintendence. Other men might have done this, but not he. As a matter of fact, we have appended to the Alexandrian Codex books which are not canonical. Another known Greek MS. formerly contained something similar, and two Syriac MSS. of later date contain writings ascribed to Clement: after the Biblical texts in all cases. One of these is at Cambridge, and the other at Amsterdam. Such examples prove that the addition of apocryphal and uncanonical books is not conclusive as to the date of a MS.

Another argument for the early date of Codex Sinaiticus is, that in the prose portions, it contains four columns upon a page. This is an unparalleled circumstance, and on various accounts we regard it as very important.

The rarity of the punctuation is also relied upon; and not without reason, because it would appear that the introduc-

tion of points and stops was slow and gradual. All the older uncials are or were originally very defective in this respect.

The Eusebian canons and Ammonian sections, as here exhibited, cannot properly be estimated, except by those who have access to the original. If they were inserted, as we suspect they may have been, when the MS. was written, we should regard them as suggestive of a later date than A.D. 325—350. But if they were added subsequently, their evidence is of an indirect character, but on the side of antiquity.

The titles and subscriptions to the various books are remarkably brief, as we shewed in the former essay already referred to. They either prove the MS. to be of very early date, or to be copied from one of very early date. We must not attach too much importance to them, however, because those in A and B are frequently the same; in A they have sometimes been omitted altogether: but in both A and B we have longer forms than any here. The only question is how far Codex Sinaiticus stands alone in the uniform brevity of titles, etc., as left by the original scribe.

We are not inclined to rest much upon the orthography of the MS., except as assimilating it to a class which has been traced to Egypt and the East. Irregular and anomalous spelling is known to have prevailed among Greek copyists for a number of centuries. As in the case of A and B, however, the extent to which these irregularities extend may be fairly regarded as pointing to a time when the Greek language had lost its purity, but had not attained the fixity of a dead language in the cradle of these MSS.

The large number of corrections borne by the Codex Sinaiticus bears in two directions. In the first place, the characters in which these corrections appear shew that the MS. is considerably older than most of them; and some of them go back a long way. In the next place, the corrections shew that, as already intimated, the scribe was more careful about his penmanship than about the accuracy of the text. There is not the shadow of a doubt that very many of the corrections supply oversights and blunders of various kinds due to faulty copying. In this respect, especially in regard to omissions, the writer of B also seems to have failed continually. Actual omissions are probably less frequent in A than in either of the other two; and for general purposes it seems best to confine our comparisons to these three manuscripts.

The general brevity of the paragraphs in Codex Sinaiticus, and the peculiar arrangement of some portions, merit attention in connection with the question of date, because they indicate

what we may call a highly artificial distribution of the text. It will be sufficient for illustration of our meaning, to refer to the page of the quarto edition containing 1 Cor. xii. 15—xiv. 5.

The number and order of the canonical books, or books clearly admitted to a canonical place—for we demur to that claim on behalf of Barnabas and Hermas—involves considerations upon which we cannot now enter. That all the books of our New Testament are here, offers no real difficulty to us, inasmuch as we find them all in A, and to all intents and purposes in B. This fact then is no objection to a high antiquity. As for their order, it is in some respects peculiar, but we are unable to discover that any rule upon this subject prevailed in the earliest ages, beyond this—the Gospels were placed first, and the Apocalypse last. The Acts and Catholic epistles came together, and so did the Pauline epistles, the order of which was not invariable, inasmuch as Hebrews sometimes came before 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, which happens in A, B, and Codex Sinaiticus. In B there is evidence that Hebrews was originally intended to follow Galatians. The canon and arrangement of the Old Testament is more remarkable. So far as it is represented in what remains of the MS., it appears in the facsimile edition in the following order:—

1 Chronicles; *Tobit*; *Judith*; 1 *Maccabees*; 4 *Maccabees*; Isaiah; Jeremiah; Joel; Obadiah; Jonah; Nahum; Habakkuk; Zephaniah; Haggai; Zechariah; Malachi. Psalms; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; Song of Songs; *Wisdom of Solomon*; *Wisdom of Sirach*. Job.

The preceding arrangement is curious;—and another illustration of the artificial construction of the Codex. The canonical historical books occupy the first place; to these are appended the apocryphal historical books; afterwards come the prophets; next follow the Psalms, and preceptive or poetical books of the Canon; then we have the Apocryphal books of the same class; and, last of all, as one who stood alone, the venerable Job concludes the procession. Thus the classification is systematic and admirable. From a theological point of view we should regard this as savouring of a decidedly early date. The interjection of the Apocryphal books shews admirably the position which they assumed in the ancient church,—as the companions and *asseclæ* of the divinely inspired in a higher sense. On comparing the Codex Sinaiticus with A and B,—in regard to this arrangement we think Dr. Tischendorf may fairly claim the pre-eminence for his own.

Closely allied to the previous enquiry is that of various readings. This again is too wide a field for us to enter upon. We

have paid some attention to this matter, and feel that it is one requiring more extensive knowledge and delicacy of treatment than we can claim. All we dare venture to say is, that the MS. unquestionably answers to, and embodies, some of the oldest phases of the text with which we are acquainted; and that where we may be sure of its readings, we may be sure that we have evidence from very remote antiquity. But whether the MS. is itself so ancient, or a transcript from another which was so, we must not decide. Our impression is, that it is very ancient, and represents one yet older. We regard the evidence of peculiar readings as to some extent negative; but in this case, under all the circumstances, we think it favourable to an age at least equal to that above suggested.[a]

Neither our space nor our time will allow us to say more now. We have in a somewhat superficial and cursory, but we hope, intelligible and candid manner, indicated the chief points which occur to us; very much to help the inquiries of others. Additional points could have been advanced, but let these now suffice. Our own impression, from all the evidence or phenomena, is that the Sinaitic MS. was written most likely in Egypt, for it has a very Coptic look, and that it is fairly assignable to somewhere about A.D. 400. Some circumstances point to an earlier date, but others compel us to regard this as not far either way from the truth.

B. H. C.

[a] At the meeting on Feb. 15th, Dr. Tischendorf stated and expounded several of the reasons which induce him to refer Codex Sinaiticus to an earlier date than A.D. 350. These will be found in a better form than we can reproduce them, in the different editions which Dr. Tischendorf has published. The remarks of Sir Frederick Madden on the same occasion were very worthy of his palæographical reputation. He concluded the MS. to be as old as the Vatican Codex, or possibly a little older, but apparently not so old as Dr. Tischendorf believes it. Without claiming any unusual sagacity, we are glad to find that our reserve in admitting Dr. Tischendorf's date, whenever we have touched on the question, is favoured by the utterance of so eminent an authority as Sir Frederick Madden. Our impressions that the MS. is not coeval with Constantine, but later, are rather confirmed now we have seen a part of it.

CURETON'S ANCIENT DOCUMENTS.*

A VERY unpretending but appropriate preface to this book, by the actual editor, informs us of the circumstances of its history. The documents included were long since prepared for the press, and the printing of the Syriac text, English translation, and notes, was accomplished before the unhappy event which took from us our most distinguished Syriac scholar. The prolegomena remained unwritten, and we are therefore deprived of what would have been a most interesting feature of the work. Dr. Wright does not undertake to supply this *lacuna*, but he furnishes us with a variety of details for which we duly tender him our best thanks. He gives us a brief outline of the life of Dr. Cureton whose labours were most abundant and honourable, and concludes with a remark which we desire most sincerely and respectfully to endorse: "Verily, Cureton's life was one of unremitting and well-directed labour, and the bread which he has cast upon the waters will doubtless be found after many days." We must also record our hearty acknowledgments of the service which Dr. Wright has performed by collating the whole of the Syriac text with the original documents, a work which Dr. Cureton was unable to accomplish.

The contents of this singularly curious volume are as follows:—

From the History of the Church [by Eusebius of Cæsarea].

The Doctrine of Addæus, the Apostle.

The Doctrine of the Apostles.

Doctrine of Simon Cephas, in the city of Rome.

The Acts of Sharbil, who had been the high-priest of idols, and was converted to the confession of the Christian religion in Christ.

Martyrdom of Barsamya, the Bishop of the blessed city Edessa.

Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon.

Oration on Habib the martyr, composed by Mar Jacob.

An Oration on Shamuna and Guria, composed by Mar Jacob.

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* *Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries, from the year after our Lord's ascension to the beginning of the fourth century.* Discovered, edited, translated, and annotated by the late W. Cureton, D.D., F.R.S., Canon of Westminster, Member of the Imperial Institute of France, etc., etc. With a Preface by W. Wright, Ph.D., LL.D., Assistant in the department of MSS., British Museum. Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London; and 20 South Frederick Street, Edinburgh. 1864. 4to: pp. xix, 196, and 112 of Syriac text.

Canticle of Mar Jacob the Doctor, upon Edessa, when she sent to our Lord to come to her.

Extracts from various books relating to Abgar the king and Addæus the apostle:—

(1.) Of the blessed Addæus the Apostle. From his Doctrine which he delivered in Edessa before Abgar the king and the assembly of the city.

(2.) From the Doctrine of Addæus the Apostle, which was spoken in the city Edessa.

(3.) From the Epistle of Addæus the Apostle, which he spake in the city of Edessa.

(4.) [An historical note].

(5.) [An allusion to Addæus].

(6.) From the Exit of my Lady Mary from the world, and the birth and childhood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(7.) From the Oration composed by my Lord Jacob, the Doctor, on the fall of Idols.

(8.) From the Oration about the city of Antioch.

To the foregoing in Syriac and English are appended:—

Martyrium sanctorum Confessorum Samonæ, Guriæ, et Abibi, ex Simeone Metaphraste.—[In Latin].

Moïse de Khorène Histoire d'Arménie.—[Liv. ii. 26, 36; in Freuch].

The notes upon the various documents occupy pp. 140—196.

We have been thus explicit in giving a list of the contents of the volume, because we wished to shew what they really are. To render the enumeration still more complete, we add the numbers of the MSS. from which the Syriac extracts have been taken, following the order in which they are referred to:—14,639; 14,654; 14,644; 14,531; 14,173; 14,609; 14,645; 17,158; 14,535; 12,155; 14,532; 14,612; 17,193; 17,194; 14,601; 14,484; 14,624; 14,590. Some of these MSS. are used for actual quotation, and others contain duplicates of passages quoted. We are not aware that Dr. Cureton has overlooked any of the extracts from Addi, but we observe that one of them also occurs in MS. 14,533. Those who are not intimately acquainted with these MSS., can with difficulty realize the amount of research implied by the eighteen numbers referred to above.

In the present article we propose to make a few brief observations bearing more or less directly upon the principal section of Dr. Cureton's volume. Before doing this, however, we have another duty to discharge. It will scarcely be expected that we should repeat the praise which on various occasions we have pronounced over one who was *facile princeps* in this country among

Syriac students, and who has merits which in some respects cannot be participated in by his successors. The mass of documents from the Nitrian deserts was an unwrought mine when it fell into his hands: the harvest was his and the gleanings were for others. Those who have explored the same manuscripts are well aware how completely Canon Cureton must have gone over the ground, leaving, in fact, only "the corners of the field" and scattered items for others to say they had discovered. His accuracy in describing and transcribing, his carefully literal principles of translation, and his extensive and copious resources for literary illustration, as well as unusual attainments in Shemitic scholarship, are known to the world, and combine to form for him a monument *ære perennius*. Those who knew him speak in glowing terms of his urbanity and personal worth, and we desire to mention this because we did not enjoy the favour of his acquaintance. A literary passage at arms is recorded, but only remembered here because, long before Dr. Cureton was called away, it was looked upon as a thing gone by, and the learned Canon took the only steps which he could be expected to take to shew that it was so. This interchange of civilities was sufficiently spontaneous to justify the present writer in recording it with satisfaction in the pages of a Journal which has already perpetuated the memory of a temporary difference; and should therefore record a reconciliation which is eternal.

Some of our friends may possibly wish the foregoing episode had been omitted, but it seemed well to introduce it in justice to the editor of the *Spicilegium Syriacum* on the one hand, and on the other to the Syriac student who was at that time labouring under peculiarly trying circumstances to know and to make known "the treasures of the desert," which so few seemed to take an interest in. We are happy to believe that the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of the volume just named have witnessed a great and most auspicious change.[b]

The first article in the volume now to be considered, is the concluding portion of the first book of the Church History of Eusebius of Cæsarea, of which history one part only exists in

[b] At the time of the publication of the *Spicilegium Syriacum*, the writer of this paper had lying in his desk a MS. translation and copy of the treatise ascribed to Bardesanes. They lie there still; as it was not thought necessary to give them to the public just then. Now, however, that so long an interval has elapsed since the book of Dr. Cureton was published, we do not think it incumbent upon us further to suppress at least the translation, and we intend at not a distant period to print it in the pages of this Journal, because it may afford some pleasure to those who have not access to the Canon's version. We may add that since 1855 the Bardesanes has been translated and commented upon by continental critics, among whom we may name Drs. Merx and Hilgenfeld, the former in 1863, the latter in 1864.

Syriac in the British Museum; the other is said by Dr. Cureton to be to the best of his belief at St. Petersburg. The character and contents of this fragment are well known and have been many times discussed. In *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 12, Eusebius says, when speaking of the Seventy, "And they say that Thaddeus who was sent by Thomas according to the command of Jesus to Abgar to heal him, was one of them; concerning whom also I shall very soon give a history which has come to us." The narrative which follows informs us that the fame of our Lord's miracles reached distant countries, from which afflicted persons came in hope to be healed. Abgar, king of Edessa, who was suffering from an incurable disease, heard the report, and sent a letter to Christ entreating him to come and heal him. Jesus did not comply, but promised to send some one who should heal the king and give him salvation. After the ascension Thomas fulfilled the Saviour's purpose by sending Thaddæus to Edessa. The authority for this statement, Eusebius tells us, was contained in the archives of that city, from which he translates two letters, one by Abgar to Christ, and another by Christ to Abgar. He then informs us that the records go on to narrate the circumstances which followed the visit of Thaddæus, who had an interview with the king and healed him, and made known the Gospel. Abgar desired a full and public declaration of the facts concerning Christ, for which arrangements were made. The date of these last occurrences is said to be the year 340, or about thirty-one years after the birth of Christ.

There is no reason to doubt the fidelity of Eusebius. The second fragment obtained by Dr. Cureton from another Syriac MS. is manifestly from a copy of the account which Eusebius used. Its beginning is lost, but after saying some things which Eusebius quotes, it gives additional details concerning the address of Thaddæus, here called Addæus or Addi. Other portions of the same narrative are added from other MSS., so that enough remains to shew its general character and contents. Towards the end it mentions Serapion of Antioch and Zephyrinus of Rome, but in the opinion of Dr. Cureton this part has been interpolated. Be that as it may, we think it contains sufficient evidence of having been written long after the time to which the chief part of it relates.

With regard to the document in general, we quite believe that it rests upon a substratum of true history; that in fact it records the successful mission of one of Christ's early disciples to Edessa, by whose ministry Abgar was converted and the Church established in that region. With regard to the correspondence between Christ and Abgar we have no doubt that it is

a forgery. It is utterly incredible that a pagan king should have written such a pious and generally scriptural letter as that ascribed to Abgar. Its conclusion is peculiarly feeble: "But I have a city, small and beautiful, which is enough for two." The tone and phraseology shew that it is the work of some one who failed because he could not throw himself into the true position of a heathen. The other letter is equally questionable upon the face of it. It embodies a Scripture phrase at the outset: "Blessed is he that hath believed in me, not having seen me." It then goes on to quote as Scripture what only bears a very distant resemblance to any portion of Scripture: "For it is written concerning me; that those who see me will not believe in me, and those who have not seen me they will believe and be saved." When did Christ ever quote Scripture so inaccurately? The letter proceeds: "But touching what thou hast written to me, that I should come to thee, it is meet that I should fulfil here everything for the sake of which I have been sent; and after I have fulfilled *it*, then I shall be taken up to Him that sent me; and when I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thy disease, and give salvation to thee and to those who are with thee." The words, "it is meet that I should fulfil here everything for which I have been sent," are as clear a reminiscence of Matt. iii. 15, as the opening words are of John xx. 29. That Jesus should defer Abgar's cure till some one could be sent after the ascension is a peculiarly infelicitous idea, and not in accordance with the practice or the character of Christ. If these letters had actually passed it is hard to conceive that they should have been unknown to the world or to the Church till Eusebius discovered them. Abgar must have kept a copy of his, and the one from the Saviour must have been entered with it upon the Edessene records, and both must then have been forgotten. What would not be given for one genuine fragment written by the Son of God? We literally see no internal evidence for these missives; and the external evidence is worthless. Eusebius made a great mistake in thinking his Syriac original ancient. In all probability it is a production of the third century; and as such belongs to the veritable apocrypha which sprang up then and earlier in such numbers.

Besides the letters above named, there are two others; one professing to be from Abgar to Tiberius, and the other from Tiberius to Abgar. These also are spurious. They are alike inconsistent with probability and with the known facts of history.

With respect to the composition of these fragments as a whole; it is not possible for them to stand the test of critical scrutiny. Two points are particularly observable; first, the

frequent anticipation of texts of Scripture supposed to be written long after; and, secondly, the numerous allusions which indicate or imply the lapse of a considerable period. Statements of doctrine are more developed and complete than was possible before the Epistles of the New Testament were written. As for reminiscences of texts, here is one, although wrongly applied: Christ "broke through the wall of partition which had never been broken through" (compare Ephes. ii. 14). There are many such. Anachronisms are fatal to such documents. Addi is made to say: "For, behold, even some of the children of those who crucified *him*, are become at this day preachers and evangelists." "Children!" why this was almost immediately after the death of Christ. Again, Addi is made to speak of them as "baptized in the triple and glorious names." Further on, Abgar grants permission to them "to build a church;" and a little after we read that "when Addæus had built a church, they offered in it vows and oblations, they and the people of the city, and there they offered praises all the days of their life." The Gospel is recorded to have been carried into surrounding countries, after which, we are informed, that "a large multitude of people assembled day by day, and came to the prayers of the service, and to (the reading of) the Old Testament and the New of Ditonron." So then they had both the old and new Scriptures. Dr. Cureton has no satisfactory explanation of the word *Ditonron*, but we have little doubt that it is the word *Tettaron* (a Greek genitive plural), which is sometimes employed to denote the *four* Evangelists;[c] John's Gospel was therefore in existence, and the Gospels were known as a whole, which brings us to the close of the first century. More than this; "they kept also the festivals of the Church at their proper seasons, and continued every day in the vigils of the Church." All these things and more come before Abgar's letter to Tiberius. In course of time Addi dies and Aggi becomes his successor, before the death of Abgar, which occurred in A.D. 45. As if this were not enough we are told that there was an annual commemoration of Addi's death. The remainder is soon said.

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[c] In the form *Tettara* we have a note of this word as occurring in the title of a handsome but imperfect Syriac MS., containing proper lessons from the Gospels for Sundays and festivals. The MS. in question belongs to Dr. John Lee, of Hartwell, and has the peculiar feature that *all* the lessons are from the Harklensian recension, so at least it seems to us, for this is the case with all we have examined. The MS. is possibly of the ninth or tenth century. Dr. Land saw this volume at Hartwell, and mentions it in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, p. 87, in these words, "Codicem 6, Evangeliarium Jacobiticum, a catalogi qui ineditus exstat auctore recte in saeculum ix relatum esse animadverteris." He also gives a facsimile of the writing opposite his title-page, but overlooks the character of the version.

The concluding paragraphs relate subsequent events. Aggi is put to death by one of Abgar's "rebellious sons." Palut who had been a deacon under Addi and a presbyter under Aggi, was intended to succeed Aggi, but had to journey to Antioch to receive imposition of hands. The bishop who ordained him was Serapion (A.D. 189—211 according to Moreri), who had himself been ordained by Zephyrinus of Rome (A.D. 197—217). This unparalleled piece of history is authenticated by the official attestations of those who had the compilation and care of the royal records. Dr. Cureton himself, although apparently favourable to the general truthfulness of what goes before, as we have intimated, sees interpolation here.

It may be useful to observe, that the "Chronicle of Edessa" printed by Assemani, and in an English translation in this Journal (April, 1864), passes over the whole of the transactions detailed in the Acts of Addi. Bayer in his *Historia Osrhoëna* gives the following list of kings of Edessa from A.D. 2.

A.D. 2, Maanu Bar Maanu, 6 years.
„ 8, Abgar Uchomo, 37 years and 1 month.
„ 45, Maanu Bar Abgar, 7 years.
„ 52, Maanu Bar Abgar, 14 years.
„ 66, Abgar Bar Maanu, 20 years.
„ 86, Abgar Bar Aiazet, 6 years and 9 months.
„ 93, Interregnum of 2 years.
„ 95, Parnataspates, 2 years and 10 months.
„ 98, Parnataspates Junior, 10 months.
„ 99, Maanu Bar Aiazet, 16 years and 8 months.
„ 116, Maanu Bar Maanu, 23 years,—deposed.
„ 139, Val Bar Saharu, 2 years.
„ 141, Maanu Bar Maanu, 12 years,—restored.
„ 153, Abgar Bar Maanu, 35 years.
„ 188, Abgar Severus, 1 year and 7 months.
„ 190, Maanu Bar Abgar, 11 years.
„ 200, Abgar Bar Maanu *(Postremus regum)*.

It will be apparent from the previous list that the Abgar, to whom reference is chiefly made in the Acts of Addi, is Abgar Uchomo (*i.e.*, Niger or the Black). Bayer, as already referred to, gives us a long and carefully written account of this prince, and other authorities are mentioned by Dr. Cureton. In the pages of these two will be found the names of most of those who have anything important to say upon the subject. Some account of the Syriac Acts of Addi appeared in this Journal a few years since (July, 1858).

We must deal more briefly with the rest of the book of Dr. Cureton. "The Doctrine of the Apostles" is a veritable Apo-

crypha. A copy of it was published from a Paris MS. by Dr. Delagarde in 1856, with a somewhat different heading, and with sundry variations.[d] In Delagarde the title is "from the book of the Doctrine of Addi the Apostle, which he preached and taught to the Edessenes and to all that are in the country of the Mesopotamia." We prefer the title "Doctrine of the Apostles," because it contains very little about Edessa, and very much about the apostles generally. It professes to record an assembly of the apostles after the resurrection, to deliberate respecting the future. A series of twenty-seven canons are set down as of apostolic origin, after which come other historical details, and the whole concludes with an account of the countries which were evangelized by the apostles and their disciples. It is very curious, and doubtless embodies some very early traditions.

"The Doctrine of Simon Cephas in the city of Rome" is very much in the style of some portions of the Clementine Recognitions. It professes to record Peter's preaching at Rome, and his victory over Simon the Sorcerer. It concludes with a notice of Peter's subsequent labours, and of what followed in the time of Linus.

"The Acts of Sharbil" is a graphic and tragical history of the persecution and sufferings of Sharbil. There is strong internal evidence that much of it is genuine; and it is on all accounts worthy of a place among the best of the early martyrologies. It belongs to the reign of Trajan.

The "Martyrdom of Barsamya" is another document of considerable interest. It also belongs to the reign of Trajan, and, like the "Acts of Sharbil," is probably in the main a correct record. Among its noticeable features is an edict from Trajan putting a stop to the persecution. This is of historical value; for if genuine, as it appears to be, it justifies the opinion of those who hold that some such edict emanated from Trajan. It will be found at p. 70 of Dr. Cureton's volume. The conclusion of the record, is like some other portions of these extracts, grossly at variance with historic truth, but Dr. Cureton treats such passages as interpolations. In this case there seems no doubt of it, for the passage follows the official attestations.

The "Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon" belongs to the time of Constantine and Licinius. It is a striking narrative of Christian suffering and constancy. It is followed by a remarkable oration concerning the martyr, by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Serug or Batnæ, who was born A.D. 452, and died A.D. 521. This oration is succeeded by another, by the same Jacob, on the

[d] See *J. S. L.*, in the article last referred to.

martyrs Shamuna and Guria. The Acts of these martyrs are copied in Latin from Surius, further on in the work. Jacob also contributes a Canticle upon Edessa in commemoration of her sending for Christ.

Of the remaining extracts, enumerated above, it is not needful for us to speak. The longest of them, from "The Exit of my Lady Mary," appears in the translation of that document in the present number of this Journal.

The volume which we have thus rapidly surveyed is beautifully printed; the Syriac text especially is an elegant specimen of typography. Dr. Cureton's notes abound in curious and useful references. Of his translation it is unnecessary to say anything. There is only one place in the notes to which we would append a suggestion. At p. 191 a Syriac word is given, and left untranslated: "And these same things which the bridegroom has prepared for the .... of his wedding feast, make thou for thyself a bridal gift, and prepare thyself to meet him." Dr. Wright observes that the same Syriac word occurs in two MSS. of the same passage, and can hardly, therefore, be incorrect. We are inclined to think that the word is written in a shortened form for "young men." It is actually ܬܠܝܐ, whereas regularly it would be ܬܠܝܡܐ. As the form is masculine, it must refer rather to the "friends of the Bridegroom" than to the virgins as we should have expected.

We have had a mournful satisfaction in noticing this work, because it has enabled us to add our humble tribute of respect to the leader of that small band of Syriac scholars upon whom we have now for some years attended. The volume is one of peculiar interest and of considerable value, and doubtless many will be anxious to possess it as the last fruits of its honoured editor's labours in this department. It merits a place by the side of the Church History of John of Asia, the Curetonian recension of the Gospels, the Corpus Ignatianum, the Spicilegium Syriacum, the Martyrs of Palestine, and the Festal Letters of Athanasius.

B. H. C.

VERBAL INSPIRATION DEFENDED.

THE inspiration of the Word of God, is one of the most momentous subjects which can engage the attention of man. It is the *foundation* of that mighty structure, and with it the Word of God itself stands, or falls. If it is the duty of every humble-minded Christian believer earnestly and uncompromisingly to contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints, it is such an one's duty, first duty, chief duty, to contend for the inspiration, the *full inspiration* of the Word of God, which enshrines "*the faith:*" which contains all those mysteries, and glorious objective truths, which subjective faith grasps, realizes, and lives upon.

There are very many professing Christians who have no defined views, at all, upon the subject of inspiration. There are vast numbers again, who have most inadequate views of the subject; views so erroneous, that they are almost equivalent to an absolute denial of it altogether. And there are those who profess to hold orthodox views upon this important subject; and yet they differ so much, the one from the other, when they compare their respective theories, that it embarrasses many who are lookers on, and who wish to be taught what the real orthodox view of inspiration is, as applied to the Holy Scriptures.

Ought these things so to be? Is it a matter of necessity that they should be thus? Is "inspiration" a subject of that mysterious, dark, and undefined nature, that no one can lay down any fixed rules, by which it shall be measured out, and defined, so that every one, who is *willing* to understand it, in all its dimensions, and whose judgment is not warped by heterodox opinions, *may* understand it?

The difficulties of understanding clearly, and fully divine inspiration, as applied to the scriptures, lies not in the subject itself, but in the individuals who bring their understandings to bear upon it. The vail is not upon the *subject*, but upon the *eyes* of those who endeavour to look into it. It is remarkable how great minds ofttimes mistify subjects which are so plain to simple understandings. We believe there are those who could not condescend to look at a plain simple thing in a plain simple way. No! They must surround it first with difficulty and obstruseness, before they deem it worthy their attention, or worth exercising their powerful minds upon.

We would not say that the subject of inspiration is a subject of the plainest, and the simplest kind: but it is a subject which,

persons who are inclined to do so, may make a vast deal more difficult than it is.

Objectors, clever objectors, will be always able to start objections to every subject; and to envelop *that* in clouds and mist which is in itself clear and intelligible enough to plain common sence; and to honest minds, which are not predisposed to cavil and object.

Verbal inspiration is the subject we wish to offer a few remarks upon in this paper. We conceive that scarcely anything new can be written, or spoken, upon this subject. Probably almost everything has been said which can be said upon it, and much has been said over again. Nevertheless, when objections are started afresh against the theory, *old* as many of them are, those who sincerely hold it, cannot be blamed for attempting to reply to those objections, lest, by their silence, some should be led to imagine that they are unanswerable.

We are aware that *verbal inspiration* is the rock upon which so many orthodox men split from each other. It is a theory which they reject. The very term grates exceedingly on their ears; and if they do not indulge wrath towards those who are persuaded that it is the only correct view of inspiration, they look down upon such with pity savouring of contempt.

Well! granted that we are a weak, silly folk, who believe in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and that the arguments by which we essay to defend our position, are as weak and silly as we are ourselves; yet, we will speak our thoughts when occasion calls for it, and it may be that, whilst the learned and the self-sufficient ones despise us, there may be some plain, simple individuals, like ourselves, who may approve our arguments, and consider them more sound, and more in consonance with the mind of God, than those of our mighty opponents.

The definition of verbal inspiration, which many of the opponents of the theory have given to it is rigidly extreme, and in excess of the meaning which some of those who hold it attach to the term. It is easy to give a strained meaning to a particular term, which it *may* involve, for the purpose of trying to overthrow the arguments of an opponent. But the fair question to ask is, does the particular term employed reasonably bear a more limited meaning than the one some would attach to it: and does this more limited meaning adequately explain the sense of the term? If it does, *that* is sufficient for those who use and understand the term in this more limited sense. Their opponents may, by a system of reasoning, prove that the term *does* mean what they assert that it does, and cannot mean less; but the former need not regard *that*, if the

meaning of the term is fully and fairly conveyed in the sense which they attach to it.

In a highly talented and deeply argumentative work recently published by the Rev. C. A. Row, M.A., the author, who is strongly opposed to the theory of verbal inspiration, again and again, sets forth his view of the meaning of the term. We give extracts from his work upon this head :—

"If one single mark of human agency be admitted, the theory of verbal inspiration is subverted. If such a theory must be assumed as an explanation of the mode of the inspiration of the Scriptures, it must not be used, only so far as it is convenient, and then be abandoned: it must be fully carried out to its legitimate consequences. Its correct statement requires that the style, no less than the substance of the Scriptures, should be the work of God. . . . Dictations of the Spirit, free from every species of human element."

The same learned author, also, in different parts of his volume, lays down what he conceives to be the full extent of the inspiration which the Apostles possessed; and, at the same time, declares how Christianity is endangered by the theory of verbal inspiration. We quote the following from his work :—

"Consequently, if God determined in himself the extent of truth which He had resolved to communicate, those who believe in the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, while they deny their verbal inspiration, maintain that the inspiration would be strictly limited to the special subject matter which God intended to disclose, and to the faculties through the agency of which He purposed to make the disclosure. If, therefore, the revelation was made in a form which either admitted, or required the intermixture of other subject matter with its contents, besides the special truths which it was the divine purpose to disclose, they consider that divine inspiration would only be afforded to the truths forming the proper subject of the divine communication. Consequently, if it is assumed that the Christian Scriptures contain a revelation from God, and that, for special reasons, those Scriptures have been composed in an *historical* form, many subjects may be introduced into them external to the proper subject matter of a revelation, *for the recording of which the assistance of supernatural inspiration may not have been afforded. The necessity for inspiration* would only extend *to that portion of them in which the truths*, which it was the special purpose of God to *reveal*, were *contained*. . . . It is frequently asserted by those, who maintain the theory of verbal inspiration, that we must accept this theory or deny the inspiration of the New Testament. Nothing can be more dangerous than such assertions. Those who make them imitate the Church of Rome in the manner we have stated; and instead of supporting the evidence of divine revelation, are putting a stumbling block in the way of multitudes to reject it. Before such assertions are made, it is worth while to ascertain that they at least possess some evidence of truth. But when it is con-

sidered that the assertion is made without any claim of authority from the New Testament itself, on mere grounds of antecedent probability, it is not only dangerous, but presumptuous, and essentially rationalistic. We have already shewn that it is devoid of scriptural evidence. . . . The theory of verbal inspiration enormously enlarges the line of defence without increasing the means or the number of the defenders; it exposes Christianity to attacks at every point. . . . The theory of verbal inspiration has proved the fruitful source of scepticism, just as the miracles of the Church of Rome have hurried multitudes into infidelity. Large numbers of the objections of unbelievers against the New Testament are founded on the belief that the theory truly represents the influence under which the Scriptures, if inspired, must have been written; and the objections fall to the ground the moment that the theory is abandoned."

If these things are so, we, who not only hold the theory, but derive the greatest possible comfort from it as individuals, and as expounders of God's Holy Word to others, have grave cause to take heed to ourselves, lest we not only destroy our own souls, but the souls of them that hear us.

But we may ask, are not sceptics rather stumbled by the definition which our opponents put upon the term? If such persons viewed the term in the modified sense, which *some* at least of the supporters of the theory attach to it, would this produce in their minds the unhappy results spoken of; or would it enlarge the line of defence of Christianity? Would it not rather tend to *prevent* the former and *contract* the latter?

The theory of verbal inspiration, set forth and argued out in various parts of the learned publication from which the foregoing extracts are taken, falls far short, in our opinion, of that higher kind of inspiration which we claim for the Word of God, reasoning from antecedent probabilities, and from its own internal statements.

We believe the Bible to be the Word of God, as a whole, from the beginning of the Book of Genesis to the end of the Revelation; can we, then, accept such statements as the foregoing extracts contain; and such expressions as the following, as giving us an orthodox view of its inspiration?

"Inspiration, therefore, would not be a general influence exerted over the whole powers of the mind, etc., etc., etc., but it would be *strictly limited* to the communication of the *special truths* forming the subject matter of divine revelation. . . . The assertion, that the Scriptures are the Word of God, *cannot honestly be forced to mean more than that they contain the mind and intention of God.* . . . The attempt to argue because, in a popular sense of the expression, they are designated as the Word of God, that therefore the modes of the expression and the style must be equally divine, as the substance is disingenuous and sophistical. . . .

Where is there the promise of our Lord to be found which asserts that He would make the Apostles adepts in the knowledge of *Chronology?* . . . Whatever number of years may have elapsed between the call of Abraham, and the deliverance from Egypt, may be a *curious question, interesting to chronologists,* but does not affect one truth of Christianity recorded in the Gospel. It is a low view to take of the purpose of revelation to think that Christ came, or the supernatural gifts of the Spirit were imparted to teach us truths of this description. . . . What right have we to assume that, because St. Paul was put in trust with the Gospel, and supernaturally assisted in the discharge of that trust, so that, when he treated of gospel truth, his assertions were to be received, not as 'the word of men, but of God,' etc., etc., etc., that he was inspired with a supernatural knowledge of *chronology*, or *history*, without the smallest support for such an assumption, in one single assertion in the New Testament. . . . It has been asked, If St. Paul gives a *false chronology*, how can we know that any of his assertions, or any of the great subjects of the Christian revelation are to be relied on? The answer is very simple, Because the *one subject lies within the functions of the supernatural gifts with which he was endowed, and the other beyond their limits.* . . . St. John must have been possessed of a higher form of inspiration than was possessed by the authors of the synoptic Gospels. . . . It is one thing to prove that Christianity has been revealed by God for the purpose of throwing light on the spiritual path of man, and making the humble and the teachable wise unto salvation; it is quite another thing to endeavour to prove that every *reference* made by the sacred writers to philosophy, *history*, or *chronology*, was dictated to them by the omniscient Spirit; or that every *event* of the *Gospel history* has been recorded with minute accuracy by each of the Evangelists. . . . An Apostle was not even inspired on points of conduct, which had a direct bearing on questions of Christian truth; *who then shall venture to assert that he possessed a supernatural guidance* on questions of physical truth, or philosophy, or *history*, or poetry, or *chronology*."

It would appear that the opponents of the verbal inspiration theory consider that the orthodox manner of viewing inspiration is the following:—that the divine and human elements in the Word of God are to be kept perfectly distinct; that the Apostles were supernaturally inspired to inculcate "*the truth,*" and to declare God's will; but, as regards *history, chronology, quotations* from *other books, salutations,* and matters of *minor detail* in the Scriptures, and also as regards the *words* used by the different writers of the Sacred Volume (certain instances, perhaps, excepted), that they were left to themselves, and there was no supernatural aid afforded them. "Where human faculties," observes the author we have so often quoted, "were sufficient to effect the work, supernatural assistance was not given."

If it be looked upon as a weakness our not being able to accept such a theory of inspiration as this, we are willing to incur the contempt in which more logical and philosophical (but, it may be, not more enlightened) minds will hold us. Our confidence, and our comfort in, and our appreciation of, the Word of God, would be materially lessened if we held such views. We should be at a loss to know how much of the sacred volume was really to be accounted the Word of God, in the most particular and fullest sense of that expression; and how much was man's, without having anything of the divine element in it. We would go further, and say that we should be rendered essentially unhappy, and should go on our way weeping, if we were impressed with the idea that *this*, and *this*, and *that* portion of the sacred volume (every word of which we had been hitherto accustomed to view as the veritable Word of God) was simply *man's:* that the Eternal Spirit had nothing to do with it; and that it was no more inspired than any book written by fallible man in the present day.

But, it may be replied, This may be your feeling; and what has that to do with it, if, after all, the theory which you have hitherto been clinging to is all wrong, and the opposite theory is the correct one?

Let us state, then, in a very simple manner and in a very concise form—not with deep reasonings and long and elaborate argument—what our view of the verbal inspiration theory is. It is, of course, to be understood (as it has been often observed), when arguing in defence of this theory, that we do so in reference to the original manuscripts of the Scriptures, as they came forth from the pens of the inspired authors; and by no means taking into consideration the various readings of manuscripts now. "Inspiration," says Haldane, "belongs to the original writings."

We believe, then, as we have already stated, that the *whole* Bible, from the beginning of the first chapter of Genesis to the last verse of the concluding chapter of the Revelation, is the Word of God. We believe that the *whole* is divinely inspired; not the *matter* only, but the *words* in which that matter is set forth. We believe that the holy men, who were chosen of God to write the different parts of the Bible, were inspired by the Holy Spirit to effect this work. We believe that the Holy Spirit so took *possession of*, so *used*, these men, that when, in any sense, they were engaged in the Lord's work, *they did all under Him.* We believe that the Holy Spirit did *not supersede*, but *made use of*, their respective *faculties, gifts, individualities*, and *peculiarities of style;* and that, whilst they each wrote with

the same feeling of unrestrained ease as uninspired persons would, the Holy Ghost was so acting *in* them, and *with* them, that what *they* wrote, the *Holy Spirit* wrote.

If our opponents say that the theory of verbal inspiration has been constructed for the purpose of eliminating every conceivable *human* element in the structure of the Scriptures; and that, if the theory be correct, "every declaration in the Scriptures has nothing in it *human*, but is wholly divine," we ask, on the other hand, can the *words* of Scripture be said to be *simply* and *only* the words of *men*, if the Holy Spirit had wholly taken *possession of*, and *used* the men inspired by Him?

We affirm that there is a *human* element in the Scriptures; but it is so mixed up with, so made *one with*, the *spiritual*, that you cannot separate the two; consequently, what *men* wrote, the *Holy Spirit* wrote; and the *words* are the Holy Spirit's, as as well as the *facts*, the *truths*, the *doctrines*, and the *precepts* which those words express.

As regards the point of there being *higher* and *lower* degrees of inspiration; or of inspired men receiving supernatural aid, in writing down truths which could not have been written by their own unaided natural faculties; but, in cases where natural faculties were sufficient, that in those no supernatural aid was imparted—these are points we have nothing to do with. How can we judge when a writer of Holy Scripture had a higher degree of inspiration, or a lower degree, or was not inspired at all?

This is a subject far above our poor finite powers of discrimination or perception. We have to do simply with *inspired men*. Did the Holy Spirit inspire certain persons to write the Scriptures? As inspired men, then, they were fully equipped, fully prepared, to write whatever it was the Holy Spirit's will they should write. If it was some great truth specially revealed to them, they wrote that truth. If it was a simple narrative of facts, they wrote that narrative. If it was a quotation from another book, they wrote that also. Whatever they wrote, they wrote all as *inspired men*—men whom the Holy Spirit had taken possession of; and whether different degrees of inspiration were imparted to them, according to the matter or nature of the subject, is a point which we have nothing to do with.

The learned author, from whose work I have quoted before, takes the directly opposite view:—

"Nothing," he says, "is more contrary to our notions of wisdom, than an undue expenditure of power. In human things, when we see

a power applied, out of all proportion to the effect intended to be produced, we consider it a deep reflection upon the skill of the designer. No engineer would employ an engine of 200-horse power to lift a weight which required only the exertion of fifty. No one would think of employing a man with the powers of Isaac Newton to discharge the duties of a copying clerk. The divine operations in nature are all founded on similar principles—the proportion of means to ends. The same principle may even be traced clearly enough in the Book of Revelation itself. The Christian Scriptures never represent God as doing for man what man can do for himself."

He then illustrates his argument thus:—

"In the eighth chapter to the Romans, St. Paul confessedly treats of some of the most profound truths of religion. In part of the sixteenth chapter, he is occupied in simply sending salutations to Christian friends. It is hardly possible to conceive of subject-matter more widely differing in character. Are we to assume that that God who carefully proportions means to ends, in nature and *providence*, has afforded the same amount of supernatural guidance to discover to an apostle the deepest truths of revelation, and to enable him to write, 'Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household;' or 'The salutation of me Paul with my own hand?' To assume that both passages have received an equal degree of supernatural assistance in their composition, is to make a deep reflection on the divine wisdom. We may infer, therefore, that it is antecedently probable that the degree of inspiration afforded would vary according to the subject-matter."

It seems to us presumptuous to assume anything at all upon the point. Paul, as an inspired man, was fully prepared by the Divine Spirit to write whatever he was inwardly prompted to write; and we have not to exercise our puny judgment, as to whether he was more highly inspired to write one chapter, or any portion of such chapter, or less highly inspired to write another. Much less is it becoming in us, to express an opinion as to whether the Almighty would use an apostle, under the highest kind of inspiration, to write a simple salutation, and, at the same time, to write down some profound Christian truth.

As this distinguished writer reasons from analogy, with all reverence, we would submit the following.

When it pleases God, he may use the *double-first classman*, in a country parish, at one time in the day, to instruct young men in the highest branches of classical literature and mathematical science; and, at another, to teach lads in the village night-school to read words of one syllable, and to cast up an addition sum.

But the question again arises, can we support the theory

of verbal inspiration, which we hold, from Scripture? We believe we can. Let us examine one or two of those passages which bear upon this point.

2 Timothy iii. 15, 16. "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures." "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God:" or, whether it be translated, "Every Scripture given by inspiration of God is," etc., etc., it is the same thing for our purpose. What is here declared? That the Scripture is inbreathed of God—God-inspired. What is? All Scripture. Not simply the *matter* of Scripture, but the *Scripture itself*, as it has been observed again and again. And what is the *Scripture?* The writing. And what is the *writing?* The *words.*

Robert Haldane observes, upon this passage:—

"Paul does not say the *meaning* of all Scripture, or the *ideas* contained in it, but all *Scripture;* all *writing*, or all that is *written* (taking Scripture in the appropriated sense in which he uses it), is given by inspiration of God. Here, then, we have a most unequivocal testimony to the inspiration of the *words* of Scripture, for neither a meaning nor an idea can be expressed in writing, except by words. If any writing is inspired, the *words* of necessity must be inspired, because the *words* are the *writing;* for what is a writing, but words written? The thoughts and sentiments are the meaning of the words. To say that a writing is inspired, while the *words* are *uninspired*, is a contradiction in terms. . . . It is here of the *writing* that the inspiration is asserted. While it is very proper to speak of the *writers* as inspired, it must be borne in mind that this passage speaks of inspiration solely as it concerns what is *written*. Inspiration, then, is here ascribed to the Scriptures, and is not predicated of the *writers*. It is by overlooking this, and treating of inspiration, as it respects the *sacred writers*, that false theories of the subject have originated."

This is very true, but the one involves the other. If the *writing* is inspired (*θεόπνευστος*), then the *writers* must have been *inspired* (*θεόπνευστοι*) also.

2 Peter i. 21. "For prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost:" or, "Men spoke from God, being borne along by the Holy Ghost."

Now it may be argued thus. If in prophecy, which is a part of Scripture, men spake from God, being borne along by the Holy Ghost; and *all* Scripture is *God-inspired;* then all Scripture is written by men borne along by the Holy Ghost: and, as the *words* of *prophecy* are *inspired*, so *all the words* of *all Scripture* are inspired.

"The Spirit of God spake *in* me," says David, "and his word was in my tongue" (2 Sam. xxiii. 2).

"God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, *spake* in time past, unto the fathers, *in* the prophets" (Heb. i. 1).

If, when these inspired men spake, the Holy Ghost *spake in* them, then the words they uttered must be inspired.

The Scripture, again, is called the Word of God. "Blessed are they that hear the Word of God, and keep it" (Luke xi. 28). "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the Word of God with boldness" (Acts iv. 31). "Making the Word of God of none effect by your traditions, which ye have delivered" (Mark vii. 13).

Can we accept such reasoning as the following, and such an explanation of the term "the Word of God?" We quote from the same learned work we have quoted from before:—"To suppose that the great and infinite Spirit expresses himself through a faculty of language, is to represent Him as none other than ourselves. We might as well invest Him, at once, with bodily organs."

This is an extraordinary utterance, when we contemplate it in connection with many declarations in Scripture. Instance the following:—"God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God," etc., etc. (Exodus xx. 1, etc.).

But we pass on to the following observation:—"When it is asserted that the Christian Scriptures are God's Word, the only correct sense which such an assertion can convey is, that they *contain the general revelation of the divine truth and will.* They are God's Word, because they *contain* His message to man."

We believe that the Scriptures are called the Word of God, because the men who wrote them were *inspired*; and, therefore, the *words*, as well as what those words express, were the Holy Spirit's words.

How can we make the words written by those men, who were *θεόπνευστοι*, and who were *ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*, purely *human* words?

But, not to dwell further upon this point, it has been stated that insurmountable difficulties rise up in the way of the verbal inspiration theory, when it is brought to bear upon large portions of the Word of God—difficulties which are subversive of it altogether.

We confess we cannot see this; indeed we feel that the theory *removes* difficulties, and most satisfactorily explains what the divine will is in the construction of the Scriptures.

We would just touch upon some of those difficulties, which our opponent brings forward to prove its utter untenableness.

The Book of Job.

The following, and all subsequent quotations, are from the work of the forementioned author:—

"We have direct proof that by the expression, πᾶσα γραφή, the Apostle did not intend to assert that each of the books of Scripture was composed by the aid of inspiration at all analagous to verbal inspiration. It is evident that these words were written of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The peculiar phenomena presented by the Book of Job renders it utterly impossible that the Apostle could have attached this meaning to them. To ascribe such a kind of inspiration to the various portions of the Book of Job is directly to contradict the assertions of the book itself. In this book, God is introduced as directly asserting that Job's friends had not spoken of him that which was right. Although Job's general view of God's providence was correct, he had given utterance to many expressions respecting the Almighty highly presumptuous. The things, therefore, which the several speakers uttered in this book, according to its own assertions, were not dictated to them by the omniscient Spirit of God."

Who could possibly think otherwise? I mean as regards the latter part of this quotation. Job and his friends were not inspired to give utterance to the language which they did; but Job *was* inspired to *commit to writing* all which was said by himself and his friends; and thus the *words he wrote* were *inspired words,* as having been *written by an inspired man.*

Mr. Haldane notices this old objection. I quote his remarks upon it:—

"This objection is so absurd, that, unless it had been sometimes gravely urged, it would be too trifling to be noticed. Is it not sufficiently plain, that while God dictated to the sacred penman the words of those referred to, he dictated them to be inserted not as *his* words, but as *their* words. Everything contained in the Bible, whether the words of the penman, that contain the mind of God, or the words of others, that are inserted for the purpose of giving such information as he is pleased to impart, is equally, according to the express declarations of Scripture, *dictated* by God. It should, however, be observed, that it is not at all implied in the assertion of verbal inspiration, that every example recorded in Scripture, without any judgment expressed with regard to the conduct of good, or even inspired men, is held forth for imitation. When the Word of God records human conduct without pronouncing on its morality, whether it is sin or duty must be ascertained by an appeal to the general principles of Scripture."

We would select two other cases from the Word of God, which we consider in point.

Jeremiah was *not inspired* to speak unadvisedly with his lips, when he cursed the day wherein he was born; but he *was*

inspired to *write down* what he had wickedly uttered, and thus even these words were inspired, because written by a man under the special possession of the Holy Spirit when so employed.

Pharaoh, again, was not inspired to speak blasphemously against God; but *Moses* was inspired, when he wrote down the words which proceeded from his lips: and thus even Pharaoh's wicked utterances, having been written by a man in whom the Holy Spirit was, and whom the Holy Spirit was using, were inspired.

Let us notice a few instances, selected by our opponent, from the New Testament, to prove, as he asserts, the impossibility of the Scriptures being verbally inspired.

I. The institution of the Lord's Supper.

The Four Evangelists and St. Paul, each give an account of its institution; but they each differ, the one from the other, in some trifling particulars, in the mode, and in the words, in which it is given; and it is remarked, upon this variation:—

"Our Lord could not have used all these formularies; and if he did, the natural construction of the words used by the Evangelists requires, on the theory that they recorded them under the influence of verbal inspiration, that each account should be the account of the very words used at the institution. When the words used are, 'he *said*,' '*saying*,' in so short a formula and on so solemn an occasion, we should expect that those recorded would have been neither more nor less than the exact words actually used; but by no possible contrivance can the words which St. Paul asserts our Lord to have used, in the institution of the cup, be reconciled with those reported to have been used by Him in Matthew and Mark, etc., etc. It will hardly be pretended by the most zealous harmonizer, that our Lord repeated all these varieties of expression in the course of the distribution of the elements."

We ask, who would, for one moment, think of asserting that he did. The question is, do these inspired men contradict each other in their varied statements? or, do they accord in giving the meaning and spirit of our Lord's words?

We reply, to the latter question, in the affirmative. What is there here, then, to subvert the verbal inspiration theory? If neither one of them gave the exact words which our Lord spoke, yet as they gave the spirit of his words, and the words they have written were written by them when they were *God-inspired, specially used* by the Holy Spirit, to write down each the very words which each has written, the words they have written are the *Holy Spirit's words*, though they may not be our *Lord's exact words:* and what is this but verbal inspiration?

Take another case—the Parable of the Vineyard (Matt. xxi.

39; Mark xii. 8; Luke xx. 15). There is a small
the accounts which the three Evangelists give, in r
treatment which the householder's son received
says:—"They caught him, and cast him out of
and slew him." Mark says:—"And they took hi
him, and cast him out of the vineyard." St. Lu
"So they cast him out of the vineyard, and killed h

The remarks made upon this variation in the s
the three Evangelists are the following:—

"Though the variation is a small one, it is a variati
concilable, on the assumption that the Gospels were com
influence of verbal inspiration. No conceivable ingenuity
Lord to have uttered both expressions. He either repre
as killed *inside* the vineyard or *outside* it; but he could
both forms of words. He must either have said that he
the was body cast out; or that he was cast out, and then

Of course he must, we reply, and what of
asserted that every word employed by each eva
exact word our Lord used, and not one more n
should be asserting that which is contrary to fa
defending the theory of verbal inspiration; tha
Scripture are the *Holy Spirit's* words, because
of whom He took special possession, and who
write down our Lord's sayings and doings. The
is, was the man killed? Was he *cast out* of
He was. There is, then, no contradiction here.
a transposition of words. Is the cogency of ou
ing in this parable lessened by this transpositi
Then here we have three independent witnesse
Lord's parable, under the miraculous inspirati
Spirit; and though the one, or the other, o
Evangelists have not written down all the e
our Lord used, and there is a variety of ex
them, especially between two of them; altho
are not our *Lord's* exact words, they are t
words. The Holy Spirit was acting upon ea
independently of the other, and whatever eac
Spirit wrote, and, consequently, the words of e
inspired.

Take another case — Stephen's speech (
objected that one statem Stephen's d
15, 16:—"So Jacob we into Egypt,
our fath nd were i into Syche
sepulc Abral for a sum

sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem:) does not accord with the statement in Genesis; and that this at once, subverts the theory of verbal inspiration.

We say it does not.

First: If the words (Acts vi. 5), "Stephen, a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost," imply that he was inspired, at the moment he made his defence, *in the same way* and *to the same extent*, as those holy men were whom the Holy Spirit employed to write the Scriptures, then we assert that he could not have made such a mistake as that alluded to; and that the error in the statement has crept in at some period of time since his day, and in some way which we cannot now discover; and that, if we knew the circumstances, the discrepancy could be easily harmonized; and, as an inspired man, every word he uttered must be inspired. On the other hand, if Stephen were *not* so inspired, but only helped by the Holy Spirit, *in an ordinary manner*, and really did make a mistake, how does this, in any way, affect our argument in favour of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures?

The author of the Acts of the Apostles, *St. Luke, was* an *inspired man;* whatever, therefore, he wrote in that book, he wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit—consequently, the words he wrote were inspired.

The distinguished author, I have so often alluded to, considers that the use of hyperbole is destructive of the theory of verbal inspiration. He gives an instance (John xxi. 25):—"And there are also many other things, which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." Upon this hyperbole of St. John's, he makes the following observations.—

> "This last assertion is, of course, an hyperbole of no ordinary character. *We leave the discussion of such hyperboles to those who maintain that the Christian Scriptures are dictated by verbal inspiration. An hyperbole can hardly be referred to the Spirit of God,* but must *owe its origin* to a *human element*, existing in the writer's mind."

After what has been said in the preceding part of this paper, we need scarcely say, that we cannot see how hyperbolical expressions militate against the verbal inspiration theory: and we only notice the writer's remarks, in order to ask, whether the following hyperbole is not as strong, and as striking, as St. John's:—Gen. xiii. 16. "I will make thy seed as the *dust* of the *earth:* so that, if a man can number the *dust* of the *earth*, then shall *thy seed* also be numbered."

May we not leave the author to explain how his remark, "*An hyperbole can hardly be referred to the Spirit of God, but must owe its origin to a human element existing in the writer's mind,*" applies to this hyperbole? See, also, Gen. xxii. 17; xxxii. 12; Is. xlviii. 19, etc., etc., etc.

The mode of quoting from the *Old Testament* is said to be adverse to the theory of verbal inspiration:—"Now, if the theory of verbal inspiration be correct, it is evident that, whenever the Old Testament is cited in the *New*, the quotations must have been made, *not by man*, but by *the Spirit of God*: the citations, therefore, must be *the exact words* used by the writers of the *Old Testament.*"

Now this appears to us to be quite an erroneous way of viewing the subject. It is putting aside the *human element* altogether. We believe that the quotations were not made by the Holy Spirit *alone*, using men as mere machines; nor by men *alone*, without the miraculous aid of the Holy Ghost: *but* that they were made by *inspired men.* Again:—

"The writers of the New Testament were *not aided by supernatural powers to enable them to determine what was the true text of the Old Testament: nor were they endowed with supernatural powers of memory to enable them to quote it: nor were they possessed of such a power for the purpose of enabling them to quote the sense only, without referring to the words.* The phenomena presented by the *Old* and *New* Testaments *negative* either supposition. The quotations, as we find them in the New Testament, imply that they were *not unfrequently made from memory*, and from such copies as they were in the habit of reading. Not unfrequently they appear to have cited the mere general sense of a passage: and, at times, their quotations seem to have been *of the nature of accommodations.* . . . But, if the quotations of the Old Testament in the New Testament are not strictly *accurate citations* of the genuine text, it follows that the writers of the New Testament *were not endowed with a supernatural power to enable them to distinguish which was the genuine text.* They must have quoted from such copies of the Old Testament as they were in the habit of using, or from *memory. The citations, therefore, must have been liable to the defects to which such quotations are incident.*"

Surely these are anything but orthodox views of inspiration. According to this statement the Apostles did not know whether the text which they quoted from was correct in its reading or not. And sometimes, not having any copy by them, and being compelled to set down what they did from *unaided memory*, they made *mistakes* and *blunders.*

Of course any one who is opposed to verbal inspiration has a right to make what remarks he pleases in arguing against that theory. But these are so sweeping and demolishing that, before

they were brought forward, ought not the author to have been quite certain that they could be sustained against all arguments to the contrary? If the Apostles were inspired men, supernaturally endued by the Holy Ghost, they could not make *mistakes* when occupied in doing the Spirit's *special work*. If they could not make a mistake in quoting from the Old Testament, *then* the text of the Old Testament, from which they quoted, must have been a correct text, and they must have known it to have been so. If *theirs*, then, was a correct text, and our text now in many passages differs from *theirs*, surely we must account for the discrepancies between *their quotations* and *our present text*, not on the ground of their having made *mistakes*, but on the ground of *our text* not being correct in its readings.

As inspired men, they were supernaturally enabled to quote the exact words of the portions which they quoted, either from the Hebrew or the Septuaguit text, or the general sense of the passages they cited: or to put a sense upon passages which those passages might not on the surface bear. In whatever way they quoted, they quoted, as "inspired men," men miraculously employed by the Holy Ghost: and therefore empowered to do as they have done, without subjecting themselves to the charge of being *fallible men*, and liable, like other ordinary persons, to make mistakes. The words they wrote down from the Old Testament, whether the *exact words* of the original, or only expressing the sense of the passages, were the words of the Holy Spirit, written by his agents, in whom He dwelt, and whom He supernaturally used, and, therefore, were inspired words.

Let us select as an instance one passage quoted by St. Paul from the Old Testament:—*Hebrews* x. 5. "Wherefore, when He cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not: *but a body hast thou prepared me.*" Psalm xl. 6, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire: *mine ears hast thou opened.*"

The Apostle has quoted the exact words of the Septuagint translator, "a body hast thou prepared me:" which wholly differ from our Hebrew texts, "mine ears hast thou opened."

Now, we ask, what is the most reasonable way of accounting for this striking and marked discrepancy? Is it by saying, that the Septuagint translators made their translation from an erroneous text; and that the Apostle (not being supernaturally endowed to discover that the text, which they translated from, was in error, and that their translation was consequently in error too) has also fallen into the same error himself; and has not

only made a grave mistake, but actually, as it has been observed, based an argument upon this very mistake? Is it not rather reasonable to account for the discrepancy in this way:—

1. That the text of which our vernacular version is a translation is incorrect in this passage.

2. That the Septuagint translators made their translation from a pure and correct text; and, as Dr. Kennicott has suggested, "that the change has taken place in the copies of the present Hebrew text through the error of transcribers."

3. That the balance preponderates in favour of the Septuagint translators' texts, being the more correct ones, for the two following reasons.

1. Such a body of men were likely to procure the most approved and perfect manuscripts for their purpose; and that some of the manuscripts at that date were more likely to be free from the errors of copyists than the manuscripts we possess now.[a]

2. Their version being *used* by an inspired apostle, and receiving his endorsement, is a corroborative proof that they have given in their translation the correct statement of the original Hebrew.

If our opponents object to this mode of meeting the difficulty by saying that this is only conjectural at the best, are they prepared to say that the discrepancy is *incapable* of being explained and harmonized if we knew all the circumstances of the case? How then does this instance of a quotation from the Old Testament (which we give as a sample), differing in so marked a manner from the original text, subvert the theory of verbal inspiration?

We would now offer a few remarks upon the four Gospels, as the dissimilarities between the writers of them; the variations in *style;* in choice of events in our Lord's life, which are described, and the manner of describing them; *one* omitting what the *other* has inserted; *one* giving a *fuller* description of the *same event,* and another a more *curtailed* account; each, at times, professing to give our Lord's divine sayings on particular occasions, and then *varying,* the *one* from the *other,* in the *words* which He is said to have uttered: these and such like dissimilarities, which we find in the Gospels, are said to present such difficulties in the way of any such theory as that of verbal inspiration that they cannot be got over.

We, on the other hand, feel persuaded that all such difficul-

[a] The writer is fully aware of the opinions of some learned men upon this point.

ties are imaginary; that they disappear altogether when the view which we take of the verbal inspiration theory is taken into account. We believe then that the four evangelists were four independent witnesses of our Lord's sayings and doings, each under the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit. We believe that the Holy Spirit taking possession of them, in miraculous power, did not destroy the individuality, the particular style, the natural powers and acquirements of each, but *made use of them.* We believe that each wrote (to repeat our former observations) with the same perfect freedom and facility to himself, as any uninspired man would; but that whilst so writing the Spirit of God was dwelling *in* and acting *with* the writer, so that what such an one wrote, the Holy *Spirit wrote;* and that the *words,* therefore, as well as the sentiments, the doctrines, and the facts, which those words set forth, received the Holy Spirit's impress. Viewed in this way, if there had been four times four evangelists, all differing, the one from the other, as much as the four differ (but never *contradicting* each other), and each one had been thus taken possession of in this miraculous manner by the Spirit, and had been *used* by Him; then each one's *words,* as well as what the words expressed, would have been *inspired.*

If the four evangelists were inspired at all, their words must be inspired. If the Holy Spirit, as we have remarked again and again, so took possession of them, so identified Himself with them, so made Himself one with them, in a miraculous manner, and so made use of the *style,* the *ability,* and the acquirements of each, as that *they could not separate themselves from Him,* can it be reasonably asserted that *some* of the truths and facts, which they set forth in writing, *were inspired;* but that others were *not inspired;* and that the *words* they used to express those truths and facts were not inspired at all? Is it reasonable to suppose that when *inspired men* sat down to *write,* each his portion of the Word of God, that the Holy Spirit, *dwelling in them supernaturally* and *using* them for this express purpose, would guide and control them when writing *one* short portion, then *desert* them when writing *another*; and as regards the *words,* leave them to themselves altogether? As *inspired men,* whatever they *wrote,* when the Holy Spirit was *inspiring* them, must be the Holy Spirit's. The *writing* must be *His,* and consequently the *words,* as well as what the words *express.*

The inscription upon the cross. As regards this inscription Mr. Row makes the following assertion: "The statements of the evangelists, as to the inscription over the cross, *are obviously subversive of the theory of verbal inspiration.* The degree in which they are adverse to that theory may be estimated by the

shifts, to which its supporters are driven, to evade the plain meaning of language." We do not know how far this rather severe language may apply to *some* supporters of verbal inspiration. We are not ourselves conscious of having recourse to ***shifts*** and ***evasions*** in attempting to defend the theory. Such conduct would be highly unbecoming, and wrong, when speaking or writing in support of any subject under discussion; especially a scriptural subject. We are only actuated by a sincere and conscientious desire to defend the theory, because we believe it to be the only true theory. And what is more, we believe the discrepancies between the four evangelists, as regards the inscription upon the cross, *do not* overthrow the theory of verbal inspiration; and that, in proving this to be the case, we have no need to have recourse to "***shifts and evasions of the plain meaning of language.***"

The writer of this paper need not, he feels, apologize for transcribing a part of a short paper of his own upon this point, which he contributed to *The Journal of Sacred Literature* a short time since.

"That the evangelists all differ, the one from the other, in their mode of giving the inscription upon the cross, is quite clear. Are then their differences reconcileable? Most assuredly they are.

"1. John gives Pilate's 'TITLE.'—'And Pilate wrote a *title*.' Two other of the evangelists give '*the accusation*' against Jesus, as *written* over His head. *Matthew*,—'And set up over his head his accusation written.' *Mark*,—'And the superscription of his accusation was written over.' *Luke* simply says, 'A superscription was written over him.' But a superscription (ἐπιγραφή) of *what?* It is most reasonable to answer, '*of his accusation*' (αἰτίας). Surely it is allowable to supply the ellipsis from *St. Mark*, whose words have been cited, 'The superscription of his accusation.'

"2. What then was the written TITLE?—'*Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews*.' What was the *accusation written and set up over His head*?—'*The King of the Jews*.' See Luke xxiii. 2; Mark xv. 18; John xviii. 33, 37; xix. 12, 14, 15. Thus *Matthew*,—'This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.' *Mark*,—'The King of the Jews.' *Luke*,—'This is the King of the Jews.'

"There is no inconsistency, no want of agreement, no irreconcilable difference here. Each evangelist *does* what he *professes* to do. *John* professes to give Pilate's *title*, and he gives it. *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* do *not* profess to give Pilate's *title*, but the *accusation* against Jesus, which was *written* and *set up over his head*, and they each of them give it. If *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, or either of them, had used the word '*title*' (in other words, had professed to give *Pilate's title*) there would have been a discrepancy between all, or either of *them*, and *St. John*, which it would perhaps have been difficult if not impossible to have harmonized. But, each *professes* to give the '*accusation*' (*written* and set up over his head),

and the *accusation only:* and as long as they each give the '*accusation*' (it matters not, whether it be simply given, as by *St. Mark*, '*The King of the Jews*,' or with an additional remark, as by *St. Matthew*, '*This is Jesus*,' *etc.*; and by *St. Luke*, '*This is*,' *etc.*), they each do what they profess to do; there is perfect consistency in their statements, and no semblance of irreconcilable differences between them."

We affirm then, that "the statements of the Evangelists as to the inscription over the cross, are *not* subversive of the theory of verbal inspiration, but perfectly in accordance with it.

The miracle at Jericho.—It is remarked, "No less impossible is it to reconcile the different accounts of the miracle at Jericho, with any theory of verbal inspiration." We notice in this, as in so many other instances in the gospel narratives, differences between the three Evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, in their mode of relating this miracle. But there is only one discrepancy in this particular case, which claims our attention, as all the others are easily harmonized; and if the one we allude to can be satisfactorily explained, then we affirm, that "it *is possible* to reconcile the different accounts of the miracle at Jericho with the theory of verbal inspiration."

The discrepancy we allude to is the following:—Matthew and Mark both affirm that the miracle was performed when our Lord was leaving Jericho: "as they *departed* from Jericho:" "and as they *went out* from Jericho." St. Luke on the other hand, states, according to our version, "And it came to pass, that as he *came nigh* to Jericho." The question then arises, is "as he was come nigh," the correct translation of the words, *ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτον*, in this passage? If the verb *ἐγγίζω always* signifies "to *come nigh*," then we have nought more to say. But if it frequently means simply "to *be nigh*" a person, or a place, then no one can affirm that this is not the sense, in which the word is used in this Scripture; and so far then, from there being an irreconcilable discrepancy between St. Luke, and the other two Evangelists, there is complete harmony between them.

We quote the following from Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon on the verb *ἐγγίζω*:—

"2. Spec. as in Septuagint usage, "To *be near*;" "To *be nigh*;" So Septuagint often for נִגַּשׁ *near*, nigh, *e.g.*, 1 Kings xxi. 2, of Naboth's vineyard, *ὅτι ἐγγίζων οὗτος τῷ οἴκῳ μου*. Deut. xxi. 3, *ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐγγιζουσα τῷ τραυματιᾳ*, v. 6. Also trop. Jer. xxiii. 23; Ruth ii. 20= 2 Sam. xix. 42. *Hence*, in New Testament, Luke xviii. 35, '*ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ*, while he *was nigh* Jericho.'"

If St. Luke states that our Lord performed the miracle when he *was near* Jéricho, without specifying whether it was when He

entered the city, or *departed from* the city, the apparent contradiction is at once removed. *We* are perfectly satisfied with this mode of clearing away the difficulty, but if any are dissatisfied with it we would ask them, merely for the sake of argument, whether they are prepared to say that it is "*impossible* to reconcile the different accounts?" If so, then one of the Evangelists, at least, has made a *mistake*. And if that Evangelist has made a mistake, then he is a fallible and uninspired man; and, as we have asked before, how can we place any confidence in the writings of an uninspired man who has made *one mistake*, and therefore may have made many? On the other hand, if the Evangelist was an *inspired man* he *could not* make a mistake; and we may be sure that he *has not* made a mistake, and that the apparent discrepancy is capable of being harmonized, though at present, we know not how to harmonize it. And if it is capable of being harmonized, because "the writing is inspired," and is the writing of a man miraculously taken possession of and used by the Holy Spirit, then the *words*, as well as the subject matter, are inspired.

But it would far exceed the limits of a paper of this description to particularize, and to answer all the objections brought against the verbal inspiration theory. Suffice it to say, that viewing the theory as we do, we believe that there is not a single instance of any Scripture incident, narrative, or declaration of doctrine, which is brought forward from the Holy Scriptures which is subversive of such a theory. The theory of verbal inspiration is perfectly consistent with Scripture; and every part of Scripture is perfectly consistent with the theory of verbal inspiration.

And here we must pause and bring these remarks to a close. A great cause and a good cause may suffer from having been feebly handled. Such may be the case in the present instance. The writer has committed these few observations to paper in the midst of parochial calls, and he may in the eyes of his readers have failed in doing justice to a subject of the deepest importance. Had his mental ability been equal to his desire, to support a theory which so many reject, opponents mouths would be closed. If any learned men who are opponents of the theory of verbal inspiration should read this paper, and as they read on, should have the thought frequently passing through their minds, "how easily we could crush all his arguments," let them not think, that by doing so, they would annihilate the theory of verbal inspiration. Though they might crush the writer's arguments, they cannot annihilate the theory. The best cause may be marred by a feeble advocate; and the

writer is aware that he has the best of all causes, but his advocacy is of a feeble description. He has only offered these few observations because he is earnest in the cause, and has felt it a duty to come forward.

Sometimes *failure*, in successfully carrying out an object which we have taken in hand, is overlooked or excused, because of the sincerity of the motive which prompted us to action. If the writer's attempt in the present case is a failure, it will, he feels assured, be viewed in a kindly spirit, and excused; and if it should be the means of inducing some better fitted and more able advocate to take the subject up, and support the theory of verbal inspiration, in a paper contributed to *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, he will rejoice to think that what he has done has, after all, resulted in good, namely, in calling forth an additional defender of a doctrine which some Christians hold dear, and steadily, and pertinaciously adhere to.

W. R. Coxwell Rogers.

Geographical.—Jan. 9.—Sir R. I. Murchison, President, in the chair.—"Notes of a Visit to the Sources of the Tigris, with an Account of the Ancient Remains found in their Neighbourhood," by Mr. J. G. Taylor. The author commenced by describing the boundaries of the Turkish province of Kurdistan, within which lies the district which he had lately explored in search of monuments, inscriptions and other ancient remains. The whole of it, with the exception of the portion which comprises part of the Northern Mesopotamia, is diversified by high mountains, undulating uplands and fertile thickly-wooded valleys, abounding in ruins of castles famous in mediæval history. One of the most interesting places visited was the ruins of Kurkh, situated about fourteen miles to the south-east of Diarbekr, on the right bank of the Tigris. The large mound here seen is the remnant of an old Parthian fort, built of large blocks of neatly cut basalt; while the smaller mounds, from the remains of mosaics found in them, seem to indicate the site of a palace connected with it. At the north-western corner of the large mound, the author discovered a large slab bearing the effigy of an Assyrian king; it was covered on both sides with lengthy inscriptions in the cuneiform character, except near the base which had been left bare to admit of its being sunk erect in the ground as a monument commemorating some deed of conquest. Sir Henry Rawlinson considers that the site of Kurkh answers to that of "Tooskan," alluded to in the inscription on the great monolith exhumed by Mr. Layard, where distinct reference is made to one of these, then undiscovered, tablets, commemmorating the Assyrian king's campaigns and successes. At Eggil (the Inghilon of the ancients), a picturesque old town on the slopes of a mountain north of Diarbekr, with streets like flights of stone steps, another Assyrian figure and inscription were found on the face of a projecting rock, and within a few miles of the main source of the Tigris two other similar remains, one of them in an excellent state of preservation. Numerous Parthian remains, including a spirited representation in high-relief of a warrior on horseback, and also the ruins of a primitive Christian Church were also met with amongst many other remains, and carefully examined by Mr. Taylor.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[*We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.*]

THE MEMORIAL NAME.

ALTHOUGH, on some grounds, it might be desirable to refrain from replying to such a letter as that of Mr. Alexander Mac Whorter, of Newhaven, Connecticut, which appears in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, yet I cannot pass over entirely without notice the misstatements—to use no harsher word—which it contains. Silence on my part might be construed into an admission of the truth of what Mr. Mac Whorter has said. The passage in my Preface,* which has given occasion to that gentleman's complaint, runs thus:—

"This course was rendered desirable both by the importance of the subject, and in order that certain objections might be met, which had been urged against the view of the Divine name given in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, as modified by Mr. Alexander Mac Whorter, and reproduced by him in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1857, in an article entitled, 'Jehovah considered as a Memorial Name,' and in a volume entitled, *Yahveh Christ, or the Memorial Name*, Boston, 1857 (but with the omission, in both of these productions, of an acknowledgment of the source whence the ideas on which they were based were derived). The volume contains no reference to the paper in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* mentioned above; and, in the article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, it is only with regard to the grammatical construction of the words recorded in Gen. iv. 1, as uttered by Eve after the birth of Cain, that 'those curious to ascertain the opinions of English critics' are referred to Dr. Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony*, and the article by T. T., in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan., 1854."

It will be seen from this quotation that the word "suitable" is not employed, although Mr. Mac Whorter places it within marks of quotation. My Preface states, not that Mr. Mac Whorter had failed to make "*suitable* acknowledgment," but that, neither in his article,

* It may be necessary to state, in order to prevent mistake, that I have published two treatises on the subject of the divine name "Jehovah;" one having reference chiefly to the Old, and the other to the New Testament—*Jehovah the Redeemer God: the Scriptural Interpretation of the divine name "Jehovah."* London: Ward and Co. And *Christ the Lord, the Revealer of God, and the Fulfilment of the Prophetic name "Jehovah."* London; Hamilton, Adams, and Co. It was in the Preface to the first of these works that the statement of which Mr. Mac Whorter complains, was made.

nor his volume, did he make *any* acknowledgment *at all* of the fact that the basis of these productions was derived from my article in the *J. S. L.* And this statement I here repeat.

I am quite willing to admit that what is stated in my Preface "might perhaps have been expected," and also that it "savours somewhat of the old English prejudice against the Picts and Scots." It is quite possible that, in saying what I did, I may have been influenced by a "prejudice" not entirely unlike that which the Britons of the south formerly manifested with regard to the visits of the Picts and Scots to their farms and corn-fields; and certainly it is not for me to deny that Mr. Mac Whorter may have a right to claim some sort of connection with these worthies of historical fame, whose predatory tendencies neither the wall of Hadrian, nor that of Severus, sufficed at last to restrain.

Mr. Mac Whorter, however, virtually denies the truth of my statement with respect to the basis of his article and book, by alleging that "the whole argument" rests on an "analysis of the Book of Genesis," and that "to develop a Christology based upon the documentary construction, was the purpose both of the article in the *Bib. Sac.* and of the volume entitled *The Memorial Name.*" If this were their purpose, it appears to me, after a renewed examination, that it was never realized. And if what Mr. Mac Whorter says with respect to the situation of a "Christological argument," and "Messianic views" destitute of the foundation which he mentions, be true, I should apprehend that his article and book are still without a "proper framework," and that their "Messianic views" remain "purely in the air." In neither of these productions have I found an "analysis of the Book of Genesis," the result of "careful study." In both, it is true, it is affirmed that there is in Genesis evidence of the work of more than one writer, and in the volume there is a discussion relating to this matter which extends over several pages; but a "thorough assumption of the documentary construction of the Book of Genesis," is neither the basis of the article nor the volume. So far indeed was Mr. Mac Whorter, when he wrote the article, from regarding an "analysis of the book of Genesis" as the basis of his argument, that, after referring to the "subject of the 'Mosaic documents' in Genesis," he says, "To expand upon this point would be irrelevant."[b] And, in the volume, the composition of Genesis appears to be discussed in order that the use of the two names "Jehovah" and "Elohim" may be accounted for by a reference to the history of the name Jehovah. "The history of the name 'Jehovah,'" says Mr. Mac Whorter, "is the key to the interpretation of these documents."[c] What view, then, of the history of the name Jehovah, in relation to the Pentateuch, does Mr. Mac Whorter give? Here we may discover the basis of his article and book.

(1.) With respect to the origin of the name, Mr. Mac Whorter maintains that it is to be ascribed to the prediction of Gen. iii. 15;

[b] *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan. 1857, p. 104. [c] *Yahveh Christ*, p. 63.

that at first it expressed the hope of a *human* deliverer,—"He who will be;" and that, as having this significance, it was used by Eve in the words recorded in Gen. iv. 1; "The expectation of a Deliverer, to which the records of every ancient people bear abundant testimony, finds its source in the first great promise or prediction that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head: "He shall crush thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." It was natural that Eve should expect in her lifetime the realization of this prophecy. Filled with this expectation, it was natural that, looking upon her first-born, she should exclaim, "I have received Him, even YAHVEH (even He who will be)!" and that she should have believed him the promised Deliverer."[d] "Eve's use of the term YAHVEH is not *as the name of God.*"[e]

(2.) Mr. Mac Whorter maintains that before the days of Enos the name was used of the expected human deliverer, and that evidence in support of this position is furnished by the fact that when in Gen. iii. Eve and the serpent speak, the designation which had been previously employed is changed to Elohim, as it is also when Eve speaks in Gen. iv. 25: "Eve never, under any circumstances, uses other than אֱלֹהִים (ELOHIM,) as the name of God, either in the narrative document of the third chapter, or in her remarks as adduced by the compiler in the fourth."[f] "'Jehovah Elohim' or 'Lord God' indeed appears in the second chapter of the narrative; but this will be seen to be the use of the name by the compiler or writer of the account, —Eve making use invariably of 'Elohim' as the name of God."[g] 3. Mr. Mac Whorter considers also that Gen. iv. 26 marks the time when the name Jehovah, which had previously expressed the hope of a human deliverer, was transferred to God;—"'Jehovah' or 'YAHVEH' not appearing until the time of Enos, in connection with whose birth it is recorded, "Then began men to call upon the name of YAHVEH, or 'Jehovah,' *literally* 'began to invoke with the name YAHVEH.'" "The hope of a human Deliverer was given up. God was invoked as YAHVEH, The DELIVERER."[h] 4. With respect to the post-diluvian patriarchal period, Mr. Mac Whorter says that the original prophetic meaning of the name "Jehovah" was no longer so fully realized as it had been before the flood:—"The original prophetic meaning of this term, therefore, and its associated idea, deliverance, must have been but vaguely retained by the world after the flood. In the history of the name YAHVEH, the period of the patriarchs intervenes as a kind of transition era between its association with the first general promise and its assumption by God under a more specific relation to the race. . . . God appeared to them rather as EL SHADDAI, a mighty promiser of blessings; the name EL SHADDAI, God Almighty, being a pledge of their fulfilment. In this view is seen the explanation of Exod. vi. 3, where God declares to Moses, that by his name YAHVEH, or Jehovah, he was not 'known' to

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[d] *Bib. Sac.*, p. 106. [e] *Yahveh Christ*, p. 64. [f] *Idem.*, p. 105. [g] *Idem.* [h] *Idem.*, 63-65.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."[i] 5. Mr. Mac Whorter considers further, that the name "'Jehovah,' in accordance with its original signification, as prophetic of deliverance, was solemnly re-assumed by God before the deliverance of Israel from Egypt:"—the promises contained in the name YAHVEH, or Jehovah, is now, in a subordinate sense, to be fulfilled. He who had been invoked in the Adamic dispensation as the author of an undeveloped hope, originating in the promise to Eve; by the patriarchs, as a mighty promiser of blessings, more specific yet still remote, enters upon the work of fulfilment. He is now to become the actual deliverer and theocratic head of the nation of Israel. In this deliverance also, being inaugurated that greater deliverance to be wrought in the world, He now affirms his ancient name YAHVEH (Jehovah), "He who will be;" and by the connection in which it is proclaimed, takes upon himself for ever, under this memorial name, the character of deliverer. He sets forth this name with the most solemn and emphatic formality, under three divine affirmations, and adopts it as his own,—his great and standing memorial, from generation to generation."[j] These three affirmations are, according to Mr. Mac Whorter, אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, "I will be who I will be;" אֶהְיֶה, "I who will be;" and יִהְיֶה, "He who will be." See Exod. iii. 14, 15.

It is now desirable to shew whether these positions of Mr. Mac Whorter coincide with what had been previously proposed in my article in the *J. S. L.*, Jan., 1854, and, as it is probable that, after the lapse of eleven years, this article may not be easily accessible to some at least of the present readers of the Journal, I am induced to give extracts rather than mere references.

(1.) With respect to the origin and first employment of the name "Jehovah," the following extract may be given:—"The announcement that the seed of the woman should attack the serpent's head—which we may reasonably regard as made before the expulsion—could hardly fail to produce a deep impression on the minds of our first parents. . . . Now if our first parents most fondly cherished hopes thus centred in the promised seed, and if, in consequence his advent was the theme on which they delighted to converse, it seems probable that they would endeavour to designate him by some appropriate appellation. This may be regarded as almost *certain*, if they often spoke together respecting him. Supposing, then, that the subject of their conversation was, *He that shall be*, it is easy to see how יִהְיֶה *Yahve*, *He who shall be*, might acquire the force of a proper name, designating the coming deliverer. This may enable us to understand the words ascribed to Eve in Gen. iv. 1, 'She bare Cain, and said, I possess a man, even YAHVE!' This we regard as the expression of Eve's belief that she had given birth to the conqueror of the great SERPENT" (pp. 385, 386). (2.) With regard to the change of the Divine names in Gen iii. and iv. 1;—"The sacred writer generally employs *Jehovah Elohim*, it being probably the ordinary designation

[i] *Bib. Sac.*, pp. 108, 109. [j] *Idem.*, p. 109.

of the Deity at the time when the narrative was composed, yet uses *Elohim* in the account of the temptation, since to represent Eve as employing *Jehovah Elohim* might have been regarded as an anachronism, if the Divine Being was not called by the name *Jehovah* before the time of Enos. In the same way we may account for the occurrence of Elohim in Gen. iv. 25, without supposing that there has been any interpolation, even though the passage occurs in a portion characterized by the use of *Jehovah*" (p. 391). (3). On the name "Jehovah" becoming a Divine name in the days of Enos:—"What reason can be assigned for the invocation of Jehovah being commenced in the days of Enos? The most probable cause appears to be, that God was then graciously pleased to appropriate to himself the name by which the coming deliverer had been previously known, revealing at the same time the fact that the conqueror of the serpent would be a Divine personage, and no ordinary descendant of Adam. God would then be known not only as Elohim, but as *Jehovah* Elohim, THE REDEEMER GOD: then would men 'begin to call on the name of 'Jehovah" (p. 392). (4.) With respect to the post-diluvian patriarchs, and Exod. vi. 3:—"We would rather regard the passage as teaching that, during the patriarchal period, the name *Jehovah* was not suggestive of those associations which were, at an earlier period, connected with it" (p. 395). "God was, after the flood, the universal Lord, EL SHADDAI. . . . Neither Abraham 'the friend of God,' nor Isaac, nor Jacob, was permitted to behold the rescue from Egypt and the establishment of the theocracy: God appeared not in their days as *Jehovah*. These considerations may illustrate that much-discussed passage, Exod. vi. 3, which contains a statement made when God was about to separate *the second time*[k] a chosen people from the rest of mankind; to reveal Himself as their Deliverer, and to become their King,—to make known the meaning of His great and glorious name,—to shew that He alone was JEHOVAH, and that beside Himself there was no Saviour" (p. 405). (5.) And further, with regard to the name being assumed anew by God before the Exodus:—"We have regarded *Jehovah* as the name by which, during the earliest ages, the deliverer of man and the conqueror of the serpent, was known; and now, when God again assumes this designation, He is about to rescue His people 'with outstretched arm,' while with 'great judgments' He crushes their oppressors" (p. 394). "Their leader, from the exodus to the conquest, 'the captain of Jehovah's army, was 'the angel of the LORD,' who appeared in the flaming bush. The relation which He bore to the Israelites, as their deliverer, their king, their guide and conductor, foreshadowed that relation which he was afterwards to sustain to His Church, redeemed by His blood, governed by His laws, guided by His wisdom, and, at last, aided by His power, victorious over every foe, and possessed of that glorious

[k] There is here a reference to the position maintained by the writer in the article (and which subsequent investigations have tended to confirm)—that we have in the "sons of God," of Gen. vi., an indication of an antediluvian theocracy separated by God from the rest of men.

inheritance which Canaan, the goodly land,—the land flowing with milk and honey, only adumbrated. How appropriate, then, the words, 'I will be (to Israel *now*) what I shall be (hereafter)!'" (pp. 393, 394).

By a comparison of these extracts with those previously given, it may be seen that Mr. Mac Whorter's view of the history of the name "Jehovah" in the Pentateuch coincides, to a remarkable extent, with that given in the article on "The Antediluvian Theocracy." He maintains the directly Messianic significance of the name, that it owes its origin to the prediction of Gen. iii. 14; that, as indicating Eve's expectation of a deliverer, "He who will be," it was used in the words recorded in Gen. iv. 1; that the change of the divine names in Gen. iii. and iv. gives evidence that, prior to the time of Enos, the name "Jehovah" had not yet become, instead of a human, a divine name; that Gen. iv. 26, marks the time when the name was transferred to God; that, during the postdiluvian patriarchal period, the significance of the name was not so fully realised as it had been; that, during this period, as distinguished both from that which preceded and that which followed, God revealed Himself as El Shaddai, and that thus is afforded an explanation of Exod. vi. 3; and also that, in accordance with its original signification, this name was assumed anew by God, when about to deliver Israel from the bondage of Egypt. All these positions, it may be seen, were contained in the article in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January 1854.

But "Dr. J. Pye Smith, Luther, and many others," says Mr. Mac Whorter, "have discussed the same points and taken the same views." Now, if I pass over the "many others," and take into account Luther and Dr. Pye Smith only, I may very safely affirm that neither the view of the history of the divine name, as given above, nor even of its origin, can be found in the writings of either Luther or Dr. Pye Smith. And it may well excite surprise that Mr. Mac Whorter should venture to make such an assertion in *The Journal of Sacred Literature.* I am not unmindful of the fact that both regarded the אִישׁ and אֶת יהוה of Gen. iv. 1, as in opposition, and that both rendered the אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה of Exod. iii. 14,[1] as future. But certainly this does not justify the assertion that they "have discussed the same points and taken the same views." Palfrey, it would appear from the extract which Mr. Mac Whorter gives, considered it probable that Gen. iv. 26, teaches that God was called by the name "Jehovah" as early as the days of Enos. This, however, is by no means equivalent to my position, adopted by Mr. Mac Whorter, that the name "Jehovah," previously denoting an expected human

[1] Luther: "Ich werde seyn, der Ich seyn werde."

"But it is to be remarked that the words of that passage are in the future sense, 'I will be that which I will be;' and most probably it was not intended as a name, but as a declaration of the certain fulfilment of all the promises of God, especially those which related to the deliverence of the Israelites."—Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony*, 4th Edit., vol. i., p. 504.

deliverer, was, in the days of Enos, transferred to God.[*] The letter of Mr. Mac Whorter contains no indication of any other source than the article on the Antediluvian Theocracy, from which he derived the idea that the name "Jehovah" possessed a *directly* Messianic signification; that this name owed its origin to the impression produced by the prediction of Gen. iii. 15, and that it denoted at first an expected human deliverer. These, however, appear to me to be preeminently the ideas on which Mr. Mac Whorter's argument is based. They are at least those without which his article and book could not have been written.

Mr. Mac Whorter having, however, made no reference to my article in his book, and, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the reference made having respect, not to the view of the name "Jehovah" which I had proposed (or to the origin of the name, as he says in his letter), but simply to the grammatical construction of the words ascribed to Eve in Gen. iv. 1, and this reference, moreover, directing to my article only "those *curious to ascertain* the opinion of English critics," it was obviously necessary, as I had written anonymously, that, to avoid a charge of plagiarism, when I reproduced my view of the divine name, I should not wholly pass over the use which had been made of it by Mr. Mac Whorter.

But, though I cannot retract the statement contained in my preface, with regard to the basis of Mr. Mac Whorter's article and book, I do not by any means assert that they contained nothing original. The position that the name "Jehovah," in the Old Testament, is a distinctive designation of the second person of the Trinity, was certainly not maintained in my article. It appears to me, however, that, apart from other objections, this position is not in harmony with the history of revelation. We have certainly no reason for concluding that it had been already revealed that the Word was a divine person at the time when Jehovah became a divine name. Yet, without such a revelation, it appears impossible that

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[*] Since the publication of Mr. Mac Whorter's letter, I have referred to Palfrey's *Lectures*, and it appears to me clear that, in the view of Dr. Palfrey, Gen. iv. 26, was designed to mark the time when the name "Jehovah" *originated*. I find also that he adduced the change of the divine names in Gen. iii. as according with this conclusion. My position, however, was that Gen. iv. 26, was designed to mark the time when "Jehovah" *became* a divine name; and I regarded the change of the divine names in Gen. iii. and iv., as affording evidence of this. This position Mr. Mac Whorter adopted.

Dr. Palfrey says, with reference to Gen. iii., "The title יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים is uniformly applied to the Deity in the narrative part, that is, where the narrator speaks for himself; and there was a fitness in putting a more generic name, rather than that of יְהוָה into the mouths of those who were represented as speaking at a period nearly coeval with the creation of the world; and, accordingly, before the proper name of the Deity, יְהוָה had been made known."—Vol. ii., p. 44, note.

Dr. Palfrey certainly appears to have known nothing of what Mr. Mac Whorter calls the "historical, later growth" of the name "Jehovah" in the time of Enos.

the name "Jehovah" could distinctively designate the Word.* Afterwards some foreshadowings of the New Testament doctrine appear, yet throughout the Old Testament there appears to be as yet no sufficient basis for such a distinctive use of the name. The Son, though the Revealer of the Father, was in the Father's bosom. And it agrees with this, that in the Old Testament, the name "Jehovah" is properly a name of God. But, when the Word became flesh, and His personality was distinctly revealed, it was fitting that, together with the work of redemption, the name "Jehovah," or a name representing it, should be assigned to him. And we read accordingly that, even at the birth of the Messiah, He was proclaimed to be "Christ *the Lord* (Luke ii. 11); that the "name above every name" was granted to Him (Phil. ii. 9); and that, distinguished from the "one God, the Father," He is the ONE LORD (1 Cor. viii. 6.)

There were other things, however, brought forward by Mr. Mac Whorter, which were certainly not without value. As one of these, I may mention his suggestion that, through the influence of the Septuagint, a philosophical conception of God has been substituted for the Jehovah of Hebrew history, and that the rendering of that version in Exod. iii. 14, is to be attributed to the Old Testament coming under foreign influence at Alexandria. Probably a translator, acting under strictly Rabbinical influence, would have treated the אהיה אשר אהיה as properly future. We are not without evidence which may lead us to think this likely. If Aquila's translation so treated these words, it may seem a not altogether unreasonable conclusion that a translator, unbiassed by foreign influence, would have treated them in the same way when the Septuagint version was made.

I had thought of commenting on some other statements in Mr. Mac Whorter's letter. What I have said, however, may be sufficient to aid the reader in judging whether or not there were just grounds for the statement in my preface, of which Mr. Mac Whorter complains.

London, February 4th, 1865. THOMAS TYLER.

THE METONIC CYCLE.

IT may perhaps be expected by some of your readers that I should reply to Mr. Parker's letter and article contained in your two last numbers. I must plead want of leisure as my reason for declining controversy with him. I am desirous of extending our chronological knowledge, and think I see my way to do so. I cannot stop my progress in order to discuss elementary truths with Mr. Parker.

* Thus is afforded an answer to the objection of my reviewer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, that my view of the origin and signification of the name "Jehovah" is inconsistent with my position, that this name did not in the Old Testament distinctively designate the Second Person of the Trinity.

In his article on the Metonic cycle, he gives various extracts from papers of mine. They contain my present views, and I am inclined to think, those of an overpowering majority of the educated population of Europe. Mr. Parker says that Hipparchus and Ptolemy differ from Diodorus as to the date of the archonship of Apseudes and the introduction of the Metonic cycle. He charges me with sometimes agreeing with Hipparchus, and sometimes with Diodorus. He says he will publish tables shewing the diversity of our views. The fact is, however, that Hipparchus and Diodorus are quite consistent, and that no one before Mr. Parker—I might almost say, no one *except* Mr. Parker—ever differed on this point from either of them. From the time when the Metonic cycle was instituted to the date of Mr. Parker's first publication, not much less than twenty-three centuries, it was universally admitted that the first year of the 87th Olympiad, the first year of the first Metonic cycle and the archonship of Pythodorus, all began on the 16th July, 432 B.C. But the summer solstice of *the same Julian year* in which the Olympic games were celebrated, at which the Metonic cycle was proclaimed, which was observed by Meton on the 27th June, 432, was in the last month of the *preceding Athenian* year, in which Apseudes was archon. Mr. Parker, however, will have it that there was *no change of archons* between the solstice in the latter end of June, and the Olympic games in the latter end of July; and that as Hipparchus says that the *former* event took place in the year of Apseudes, and as Diodorus says that the *latter* event was in the year of Pythodorus, these two authorities are at variance. In his letter in your Journal for October, p. 167, Mr. Parker says, "According to Corsini (*Fast. Att.*, i., 11), the archontic year began in the month of Gamelion, that is, December or January." This is *primâ facia* strong evidence in favour of Mr. Parker's view, that Diodorus and Hipparchus are at variance. Mr. Parker, however, forgets to apprise his readers that Corsini is here speaking of the *original* commencement of the archontic year. Corsini held, as every one else has held, that Pythodorus came into office on the 16th July, 432. According to his opinion, Hipparchus and Diodorus are in complete agreement. Mr. Parker fancies, however, that he can prove his point from Thucydides, who says that the Peloponnesian war began two months before Pythodorus ceased to be archon; but, he says, the war broke out a few days before the 19th March. "Hence the archonship of Pythodorus must have ended a few days before the 19th day of May. Hence the archonship of Apseudes, his immediate predecessor, must also have ended a few days before the 19th May." Granting this, Mr. Parker will have no difficulty in establishing that contradiction between the statements of Hipparchus and Diodorus, which in his opinion should be taken as a proof that neither of them was correct. The fact is, however, that Mr. Parker stands alone in supposing any one of his propositions to be true, as well as in supposing either that the second follows from the first, or the third from the second. I wish he would study the nature of the Athenian year as described in the

nineteenth article of the Appendix to the second volume of Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*. I can assure him that no one but himself imagines, that the Athenian year was similar to the Julian year; or that a correspondence between a Julian and an Athenian date in one year implied a correspondence between them in any other year, unless the interval between the years was nineteen, or a multiple of it. Mr. Parker supposes that the Athenian year began at the summer solstice. Every one else supposes that it began in 432 B.C., on the *observed* day of the new moon, which next followed the summer solstice, that is, on the 16th July of the Julian year; but in subsequent years it began on the *computed* day of new moon, the computation being made according to the rules laid down by Meton. Mr. Parker might argue, as rationally as he does above, that because Easter-day falls on the 16th April in the present year, it fell on the same day in 1856, when on reference to the almanacks it would appear that it fell on the 23rd March. Mr. Parker writes in p. 405, immediately after that strange series of false enthymemes, of which I have extracted a portion:—"Further, the eclipse of the sun, which, according to Dr. Hincks and the advocates of the common chronology, was the eclipse mentioned by Thucydides, as having been in the beginning of the summer of the eighth year of the war, occurred 21st March, 424. *Hence* Dr. Hincks is not at liberty to contend either that the war began later than the 21st March, or that the archonship of either Pythodorus or Apseudes ended later than the 21st of May." Mr. Parker is here arguing again on that strange supposition, which he alone makes, that the Athenian months and years always began on the same day of the Julian year. Dr. Hincks, however, holds that, though the tenth month of the eighth year of the Metonic cycle, which was the first month of the summer half year and of the spring quarter, began on the 21st March, which was the day of the eclipse, the tenth month of the first year of the cycle did not begin till two hundred and sixty-six days after the 16th July, 432, when the year commenced, that is, till the 7th April, 436. This was the beginning of the first year of the war, as reckoned by Thucydides, who divides his year into the summer half and the winter half, the former beginning with the tenth month of the civil year, and the latter with the fourth. The winter half year, consequently, always consisted of six lunar months, but the summer half year had seven months in those seven years when it commenced in an embolismatic civil year, while in the remaining twelve years of the cycle it had only six months. The first three or four months of the summer half year were called the spring, which always ended on the first day of Hecatombæon, when the new archon entered on his office. Hence, the *spring*, in the nomenclature of Thucydides, was in a different Olympic year, and under a different archon from the other nine months of the year. I believe that others, as well as Mr. Parker, have been led into error by not attending to this technical meaning of the word ἦρ, as used by Thucydides, and by supposing that it meant what we in popular language call *spring*. Further, when Thucydides speaks

of the war beginning ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, "when the spring was commencing," we must understand him to mean "in the first of the spring months." This is plain, because he uses a similar expression (B. 5, C. 20) in reference to the truce, which, however, is expressly stated to have been made on the 25th of Elaphebolion, the first spring month in the eleventh year of the cycle, that is, on the 11th April, 421 B.C. When, therefore, Thucydides says that the war began "at the end of the month" (B. 2, C. 4), and further says that it began two months before Pythodorus went out of office, there can be no hesitation as to the commencement of the war being at the end of the first month of the spring quarter, or of the tenth month of the civil year, that is to say, on the 28th or 29th Munychion, that is, the 5th or 6th May, 431 B.C. This was a little more than two months before the 6th July when the successor of Pythodorus became archon, and about two months before the time when Pythodorus resigned, which was, at least, two days earlier. Dr. Hincks must, therefore, continue to hold, in common with the learned world generally, though in opposition to Mr. Parker, that the Peloponnesian war did not begin till May, 431 B.C., and that the archonships of Apseudes and Pythodorus ended in the preceding and following months of July, their successors entering on their offices on the 16th and 6th July respectively. There appears, however, to be an objection to this series of statements. Thucydides has been supposed by some to be inconsistent with himself. He says (B. 5, C. 20), that from the breaking out of the war on 29th Munychion in 1st Metonic year, to the truce on 25th Elaphebolion in 11th Metonic year, were ten years, "with a few days over or under," as the clause is correctly translated (see Göller, or Arnold). He means *here* ten years *wanting* a few days,—in fact, three or four. But it may be asked, would there not be a whole month wanting, besides the three or four days? Most certainly, *if we reckoned by archonships.* The war began *two* months before Pythodorus went out of office; and the peace was made *three* months before Alcæus went out of office. But Thucydides *expressly disclaims this mode of computation. He* reckoned by the seasons of summer and winter. The war began near the end of the first summer month of one year, and it ended near the end of the first summer month of the tenth year after this. Thucydides contends that *this* is the *proper* mode of computation, evidently admitting by implication that it was not the mode which one who was guided by the archontic years would adopt. It has surprised me very much that the drift of the latter part of his twentieth chapter should have been so completely mistaken as it has been by some of his commentators. The entire of his statements are in perfect harmony with each other, and with what I have expressed in this letter.

I was in hopes that a letter which I wrote to you in December last, on the charge of misquoting Ptolemy, would have been in time for your last publication. As it did not appear, I will add to this letter a few lines on the subject. Mr. Parker says that I represented Ptolemy as saying that Aristarchus himself said that

his observation of the solstice was one hundred and fifty-two years after that of Meton: whereas Mr. Parker finds in his copy of the *Almagest* that Ptolemy represents Hipparchus as saying so, not Aristarchus. Is it certain, however, that Ptolemy does not name *both* astronomers as having said so? He sometimes makes a statement, and repeats it after awhile with a variation. Or is it certain that the editor or printer of Mr. Parker's copy has made no mistake? The two names are not unlike. I can only say that my quotation was taken at second-hand from Dr. Young, *Astronomical and Nautical Collection*, p. 5, who quotes p. 162 of Halma's Ptolemy (Paris, 1813—16). This edition is in every respect far preferable to the old edition used by Mr. Parker, which contains many errors; and I believe Dr. Young to have been scrupulously accurate in his quotations. I can, therefore, attach very little weight to Mr. Parker's charge of inaccuracy; and the statement appears to me so immaterial that I shall take no trouble about its verification. It seems to me that no one can rationally doubt that the observation of Aristarchus was one hundred and fifty-two years, *i.e.*, two Calippic periods after that of Meton. His object was to test the accuracy of Calippus' system, so far as it related to the solstitial year. Meton had assumed the equality of 19 solstitial years, 235 lunations, and 6940 days; but the lunations fell short of the days by about nine hours. Calippus took a period of 76 years, and 940 lunations, which he made equal to 27,759 days, the error in which as to the lunations was about twelve hours, while the error on Meton's system would be about thirty-six hours. Now, what Aristarchus wanted to know, was how far the Calippic system agreed with the solstitial year; and his plan was a very good one. He tried to ascertain on what day of the Egyptian wandering year the solstice would fall one hundred and fifty-two years after it had been observed by Meton on the 21st Phamenoth. Would it be forty days earlier, or on the 11th Mechir, as it would be according to Meton? or thirty-eight days earlier, or on the 13th Mechir, as it should be according to Calippus? or would it be on some other day? If Meton and Aristarchus had both been capable of determining the exact day of the solstice by observation, this method would have given a most accurate result. It is probable, however, that neither of these astronomers observed quite correctly. At any rate, Meton did not; as all modern astronomers are agreed. Consequently, the length of the solstitial year remained to be determined; which it was with very tolerable accuracy by Hipparchus. It is evident from these statements that the interval of one hundred and fifty-two years between Meton and Aristarchus, by whomsoever stated to be such, was most certainly that exact number of years. If Mr. Parker be right in placing Meton's observation twenty-one, or any other number of years, before 432, he must place that of Aristarchus the same number of years before 280.

I have written more than I intended when I sat down: and I now take a final leave of Mr. Parker and his singular chronological notions.

EDWARD HINCKS.

THE TWO OLDEST DATED MSS. IN EXISTENCE.

In the "Catalogue of Materials for writing, early writings on tablets and stones, rolled and other manuscripts, and Oriental manuscript books, in the library of the Honourable Robert Curzon, at Parham, in the county of Sussex," the distinguished author states that he possesses two Coptic manuscripts on vellum, the one of which dates from about A.D. 390, the other from A.D. 399.

The former is thus described (p. 26). "It consists of two hundred and fifty-four leaves, on which are written in a large bold hand the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, with commentaries by St. Cyrill, St. Chrysostom, Eusebius, Gregory the Patriarch, Titus: etc. The title-pages of the two gospels are illuminated with borders of an interlaced pattern in red, yellow, and black, in the style of the ancient Greek mosaic. The name of the Scribe who wrote this manuscript is Sapita Leporos, a monk of the Monastery, or Monastic rule, of Laura under the sway of the great Abbot Macarius."

"St. Macarius of Alexandria," proceeds Mr. Curzon, "the chief Abbot of the monasteries of Nitria, died in the year 395, or according to others in the year 405. It would therefore appear that this book was written before the year 395, which would entitle it to the claim of the highest antiquity of any MS. on vellum now known to exist. The most ancient MS. with a date hitherto discovered is one of parts of the works of Eusebius in the Syriac language, with the date of 411; it was once in my possession, being ignorant of its extreme antiquity, I threw it away, but it is now in the British Museum."

It is to be regretted that Mr. Curzon has not favoured us with a fac-simile of the colophon. Does it speak of "the great Macarius," or merely of *an abbat Macarius?* Doubtless the latter.

As a general rule, and in the nature of things, a *Catena Patrum*, must be a late composition. Supposing such a compilation to have existed in Coptic towards the end of the fourth century, it could scarcely have contained extracts from the writings of *Chrysostom*, who did not die till A.D. 407; or of *Cyril* of Alexandria, who only became bishop in A.D. 412. But let the reader look at the fac-simile (facing p. 42), and he will there descry in the second rubric,

ЄРМНΝІѦ. ΠΙΠѦΤΡΙѦΡΧΗС ЄΘΟΥѦВ СЄΥΙΡΟС

(*Interpretation. The holy patriarch Severus*),

the name of *Severus*, patriarch of Antioch, who died about A.D. 538!

To speak the plain truth, it seems to me that the character of both the writing and the ornamentation, renders it unlikely that Mr. Curzon's first manuscript is much, if at all, anterior to the tenth century.

Of the second manuscript Mr. Curzon has not given a fac-simile, but he describes it (p. 27) as comprising, among other things, an encomium by *Chrysostom* on the Prophet Elias, and a sermon of

Ephraem Syrus on the Transfiguration. That portion of the colophon which contains the date is given as follows: "Christi martyrium *(sic)* anno 115 (A.D. 399) suo (sub) Patre nostro Patriarcha Abbate Joanne Archepiscopo *(sic)* Alexandrino, cum regnaret super nos Dominus noster Jesus Christus."

The year 115 of the era of the martyrs is certainly A.D. 399; but there must be some serious mistake here, for in A.D. 399 *Theophilus*, the predecessor of Cyril, was patriarch of Alexandria. The first patriarch of the name of John was John Talaïa, who, according to Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.*, t. ii., col. 417), sat for a few months in the year 482; whilst the first Monophysite of the name was some years later. But the manuscript, if it resembles the previous one in general appearance, is no doubt of a time long posterior to either of them.

It seems probable, therefore, that the two oldest *dated* manuscripts in existence are those in the British Museum, numbered Add. 12,150, and Add. 14,425.

The former is the famous codex, containing the Recognitions of Clement, the Theophania of Eusebius, the Discourses of Titus Bostrensis against the Manichees, and the History of the Martyrs in Palestine by Eusebius. It was written at Edessa, A. Gr. 723=A.D. 412.

The latter is a quarto volume, containing four books of the *Pentateuch*, viz., Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, according to the *Pĕshīttā* version. The last two books seem to be in a different hand from the first two, though of the same age; but folios 1—6, 9, 10 and 19, are later, having been inserted in the place of lost leaves. The date is distinctly recorded on fol. 115 vers: "in the year 775" (A.D. 464), "in the city of Amid, in the days of the honoured and God-loving bishop Mār Mārā." With this compare Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orient.* (t. i., p. 256), where it is shown that Maras, the second bishop of the name, was ruling at Amid in the year 457.

W. Wright.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The following paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer appears so fitting an addendum to the specimens in the *J. S. L.* for this month (January) that I here insert it.

"Our heavenly Father, hear our prayer,"
"Thy Name be hallow'd everywhere;"
Thy kingdom come; Thy perfect will
In earth, as heav'n, let all fulfil:
Give this day's bread, that we may live.
Forgive our sins, as we forgive;

Help us temptation to withstand,
From evil shield us by Thy hand;
Now and for ever unto Thee,
The kingdom, pow'r and glory be. Amen.

It was written with the signatures of J. M. and W. H., 1858, and also harmonized for four voices. Unfortunately I omitted to note down the publisher's name.

H. P.

VARIOUS VERSIONS OF 1 CHRONICLES XI. 8, 9.

THE various ancient versions of these verses are worth noticing:—

1. And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about, and Joab repaired[o] the rest of the city, so David waxed greater[p] and greater; for the Lord of hosts was with him.—*English Version and Margin.*

2. And he built the city in a circle, and David went on going and increasing, and the Lord Almighty with him.—*Vatican Septuagint, Van. Ess.*

3. And he built the city in a circuit, from the Ma'alo even unto the circle. And Joab acquired the rest of the city, and made war and took the city. And David went on going and increasing, and the Lord Almighty with him.—*Septuagint Ed.*, 1545.

4. And he built the city in a circuit. And he made war and took the city. And David went on going and increasing, and the Lord Almighty with him.—*Alexandrian Septuagint.*

5. And he built the city in a circuit from Mello to the turning, but Joab built the rest of the city. And David went on going and increasing, and the Lord of hosts was with him.—*Latin Vulgate.*

6. And David built the enclosures of the city from the ditches out; and David gave the right hand to the rest of the men that were in the cities. And David went on and grew rich, and the mighty Lord with him.—*Syriac Peshito.*

7. And David built a building about the city outside, and David gave free access to all men who were in the towns; and David was exalted and magnified, and the Lord Almighty was with him.—*Arabic* (Walton's Polyglot).

Q.

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[o] Revived. [p] Went in going and increasing.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Des Prédicateurs du 17e Siécle avant Bossuet. Par P. JACQUINET, Directeur des études Littéraires à l'Ecole Normale. 8vo. Paris: Didier.

THE history of pulpit eloquence in France is a subject well calculated to interest the general reader and to invite the attention of the critic. It seems strange, therefore, that it should never yet have been treated with the care it deserves, for we can scarcely name as contributions to this branch of literature Bail's *Sapientia feris Prædicans* (1666), Romain Joly's *Histoire de la Prédication* (1767), the Abbé Albert's *Dictionnaire des Prédicateurs* (1756), and the meagre notices scattered throughout the Benedictine *Histoire Littéraine de la France.* We are quite aware that a certain number of monographs have been published, especially during the last twenty years, on various personages who obtained some reputation for their talent as preachers, but a complete work fully discussing the subject *ab ovo*, beginning with Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, and taking as far down as Massillon, is still a desideratum, and we think it should be promptly supplied.

In the meanwhile, as M. Jacquinet remarks, "a whole era in the history of French pulpit eloquence has remained entirely forgotten. Whilst the learned and pious curiosity of some *savants* has studied the most remarkable productions of mediæval preachers, or of those who belonged to the sixteenth century, whilst their leading features have been appreciated and pointed out, oblivion still weighs upon the generation of Christian orators who flourished during the epoch comprised between the religious pacification of 1598 and the first appearance of Bossuet." Even at the present time this period of transition, marked by attempts which were far from fruitless, is scarcely better known than it was a hundred years ago, and it is to an account of it that M. Jacquinet has devoted his leisure hours. The work we are noticing does not include the Protestant pulpit, the illustrious representatives of which have already been thoroughly analyzed by M. Sayous and the late Alexander Vinet; but with that exception the gallery of portraits is complete; and if M. Jacquinet has been able to consult profitably M. Sainte Beuve for his chapter on Port Royal, all the rest of his work has necessitated original researches, the perusal of manuscript documents preserved amongst the treasures of the Sainte Geneviève library, and the study of printed authorities which are often extremely tedious. The result of this toil is a volume written in a thoroughly interesting manner, and amply proving that M. Jacquinet is better qualified than almost any one else to give us the work we want—a complete history of pulpit eloquence in France.

Our author begins by a retrospective *coup d'œil* on sermon composition during the mediæval period and the Renaissance. The faith of

Christian preachers, he observes, was sincere, and the depth of their piety cannot be questioned; but the preparation of a discourse requires other qualities besides; nor can you expect to find eloquence and taste at an epoch when the public is still deficient in intellectual refinement, and when the manners themselves are lamentably disfigured by the rust of barbarism. Now three defects must be noted which stamped pulpit eloquence at the time of the middle ages, and prevented it from occupying a prominent rank in the history of literature. In the first place, the artificial method encouraged by the schoolmen, and which was useful when applied to mere metaphysical researches, became for preachers also a condition *sine quâ non* of success, and Peter Lombard was studied by them much more, we shall not say than the Bible, but than even St. Augustine, St. Bernard, or St. Athanasius. Thus dried up under the influence of syllogism, fastened to the Procustean bed of a formal and barren system, the spirit of sacred oratory might at least have been satisfied with the sober discussion of Scripture texts, and the plain enforcing of lessons of godliness. But the popular preachers could not resist the temptation of allegorizing *per fas et nefas*, and they adopted a style of hermeneutics so extraordinary in its character, that the most insignificant passage could suggest to them inferences and conclusions assuredly little dreamt of by the apostles, prophets, or evangelists who had furnished the text. Albertus Magnus, Jacobus a Voragine, and Thomas Bonaventura, have left sermons full of these hyper-mystical elucidations (?) of the sacred volume. They, however, claim the merit of avoiding a third quicksand upon which many mediæval preachers have made shipwreck; and with all their childishness they were guiltless of the gross buffoonery, the coarse jokes, and the questionable anecdotes introduced in the pulpit by monks and clergymen who wanted to draw congregations, and to establish their own character as successful expounders of the Word of God.

After illustrating fully these characteristics of mediæval preaching, M. Jacquinet goes on to examine the style adopted during the Renaissance period, and here he finds the revival of classical literature, and the enthusiastic study of the masterpieces of antiquity, producing results almost as bad as those we have just noticed, although of a different character. If scholasticism has lost much of its power, if the facetiæ indulged in by Vincent Ferrier and Odon have disappeared, it is only to make room for abuses nearly as great. The poets, the philosophers, the orators, the historians of antiquity invade the pulpit; adorned by the erudition of the speaker, the sermon has become a kind of gallery where the most various names, the most conflicting authorities find a refuge. "Let any one," says M. Jacquinet, "fancy to himself a *farrago* of quotations and examples, where Martial and Job, Aristotle and Tertullian, Mucius Scævola and Saint Stephen, Phocio and Saint Paul are placed together!" It is no longer the popular *fabliaux* which supply the orator with allusions and images, but Ælian's histories, Ptolemy's astronomy, and Strabo's geography. The twelve signs of the zodiac typify the great Christian virtues, the seven gifts of the

Holy Ghost are represented by the seven mouths of the Nile, and the jasper stone, "because it has the virtue of keeping serpents at a distance," signifies the power of the church, fatal to heretics.

This florid and erudite style of preaching was not peculiar to the sixteenth century; we find that during the whole reign of Henry IV., and even for the first four years of that of Louis XIII., the same want of taste prevailed: our author quotes instances from the sermons of Pierre de Besse, Cospéan, and even St. François de Sales, which would be extremely amusing, if the subject were not so serious; and the fact that large congregations were edified and affected by such effusions proves, more than anything else, perhaps, how different at different epochs are the canons of taste and of literary propriety. The gradual suppression of political topics in homilies and sermons is a progress to be noted by the historian who treats of pulpit eloquence under the government of the two first Bourbon kings; unfortunately the violence of religious controversy went at the same time beyond all limits, and the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, whilst it placed freedom of conscience under the safeguard of the throne, exasperated the ultramontane party, and probably stimulated the fanaticism of Ravaillac.

M. Jacquinet has devoted a chapter to the moral reform which took place in the Roman Catholic Church after the extinction of the Valois dynasty. The civil wars of the sixteenth century, amongst many deplorable results, had had that of destroying every vestige of discipline, and of thoroughly leavening with the spirit of the world the clergy, both secular and regular. When peace had been re-established, a change for the better took place, the church seemed to wake up to a sense of its duties, and Cardinal de Bérulle, Bourdoise, Olier, and St. Vincent de Paul, from different standpoints, inaugurated the movement. The Oratoire was founded, the Benedictines revived the old traditions of their order, and Port Royal opened a new era in the annals of religious history.

A volume would not be too much to record the names of all the celebrated men who, from the days of Bérulle to those of Daunou, rendered illustrious the epithet of *Oratorian*. M. Jacquinet has naturally confined his attention to pulpit eloquence, and he gives us the history of three well-known preachers, Bourgoing, Lejeune, and Senault. If we can believe the evidence of Bossuet, the first-named of these clergymen must have been quite the model of a speaker, and it is therefore a matter of regret that none of his sermons should be now extant. We are obliged to judge of his eloquence merely from the funeral oration pronounced by the Bishop of Meaux; and, with all due respect for the prelate's sincerity, we suppose that a little allowance must be made for the circumstances amid which the *éloge* was delivered. Lejeune's sermons, on the contrary, have been preserved, and they are still much valued as good specimens of what familiar discourses should be, on the leading features of Christian life and doctrine. M. Jacquinet thinks that Lejeune's reputation has not been overrated, and certainly the quotation he gives us from the Oratorian's sermons go far to confirm

this verdict. Sénault was, in his day, preferred to Lejeune, and even described as the forerunner of Bourdaloue. Our author thinks the praise extravagant, and appeals against it, as follows:—"Uprightness and piety, solidity of doctrine, lofty and severe views of morality, precise and vigorous method, purity, decency, sustained elegance of language; all these are valuable qualities, not one of which can be denied to Sénault, and it is more than was necessary to bring him into repute: but he is deficient in what nothing can replace, especially for an orator; namely, feeling, inspiration, enthusiasm; he has not that eloquence, that genius which imparts life and soul to what would be otherwise a mere speech. Besides being cold and uniform, he is not even sufficiently natural; he endeavours too much to throw around his style that noble elegance which was then as new in the pulpit as it was everywhere else. He is formal and stiff."

M. Jacquinet finds fault with the Jesuits (chap. iv.) for want of taste and excess of imagination:—"Amongst them," he says, "taste was at first, and for a long time much below their zeal, and thus their teaching as well as their writings displayed ornaments of a questionable kind, and singular freaks of fancy. Their preachers, especially, abused of that picturesque and religious style, too fashionable then, where metaphors, flowery comparisons, descriptive parables abound; and where symbolical embellishments, instead of bringing out with greater force, as was supposed, the teaching of the divine Master, only served to spoil its simplicity and to lessen its grandeur." Defects so glaring could not, of course, escape the attention of the numerous critics which the Jesuits had both in the church and the world during the seventeenth century; but they should not prejudice us against the real merits of some of their preachers, Claude de Lingendes, for instance. M. Jacquinet has, we think, admirably brought out the qualities of that illustrious man, and the quotations he gives us of his sermons are very appropriately chosen.

The *Académie Française* (chap. v.) had its share in the reform of pulpit eloquence; but, with the "forty immortals," the question of improvement was made to bear exclusively upon style, and mere details of harmony; and as the pompous, turgid, meaningless Balzac then held the sceptre of rhetoric, the result of his influence was, first, the creation of a false standard of preaching; secondly, a strong reaction towards the trivialities and burlesque sallies so freely indulged in by the sermon-writers of the time of Henry IV. It is curious to see how the hero of *La Fronde*, the turbulent and unprincipled Cardinal de Retz, behaved on the various occasions in which he was called to occupy the pulpit, and to discharge one of the most important duties of the Christian ministry. Many people, no doubt, flocked to the cathedral out of mere curiosity; the contrast suggested to them between a seditious personage, a modern Catiline, a constructor of barricades, and the same individual now preaching "goodwill amongst men," was surely enough to draw a large audience; some, besides, expected political allusions, reminiscences of party struggles, and perhaps a real

fracas in the midst of the sermon. But no, matters went on so smoothly that, even those who best knew de Retz, began to believe that he was really a converted man; and his sermons, as M. Jacquinet remarks, may be numbered amongst the few specimens of genuine eloquence before the appearance of Bossuet.

With Port Royal and the Jansenists we are (chap. vi.) brought on a ground so familiar to all our readers that we shall not stop here to examine it afresh. Saint Cyran, Singlin, Desmarets, are well-known names, and they recall immediately to our mind a style of eloquence perfectly defined, marked by certain qualities which we grasp at once, and, in spite of a few drawbacks, realizing with much force what true preaching ought to be. The Port Royalists mark the extreme limit of M. Jacquinet's subject, and the chapter devoted to them forms the appropriate conclusion of a very useful and interesting work.

M.

Philosophy or Truth? Remarks on the First Five Lectures, by the Dean of Westminster, on the Jewish Churches; with other plain words, etc. By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, M.A. London: Joseph Masters.

Mr. MALAN is one of the most erudite scholars in England, and is also remarkable for his literary activity and his religious zeal. It is not possible to open his books, without perceiving at a glance the great and varied endowments of his mind and soul. In the volume before us he sets himself, with well-timed earnestness, to criticize the too ready concessions of Liberalism, and to vindicate the spirit of Conservatism. The work of Dean Stanley on the Jewish Church supplies the text, and Mr. Malan shews that that work contains many unguarded and inaccurate statements, admissions, and explanations. The review only extends to the first five out of the eloquent Dean's twenty lectures; but it exhibits an amount of thought, and an array of philological and general learning, which we deem very remarkable.

The volume opens with a somewhat elaborate preface, embodying numerous observations upon the phenomena of the present crisis, and the dangers and duties of the Church. This preface deserves attention as the thoughtful and, to some extent, anxious utterance of one whose words always merit respect. There is one passage which we may quote, as descriptive of what the author has done. He has spoken of philosophy, and referred to Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, and the supposed discrepancy between Philosophy and Scripture. He then proceeds:—

"I therefore bring together, as a starting point, a few principles common to all kinds of philosophy, both ancient and modern; to which my readers may turn occasionally, in order to compare them with the new teaching offered, without a constant reference to them on my part. And, having done so, I consider, in a few plain words, how much of this new doctrine our own philosophy, sense, and experience allow us either to receive or to reject, according to what we read 'in the Scripture of Truth.' My intention was to have reviewed the whole book, in answer to several enquiries from strangers as well as from

friends, who had been alarmed or startled at some of the Dean's assertions; but I found so many more things to notice than I had expected, that I have been obliged to limit myself to the first five lectures only. These, however, will suffice to shew that the Truth has nothing whatever to fear from such 'Free enquiry;' and that it requires, at all times, far less earnestness to differ from the Bible than to agree with it."

To the truth of the concluding remark, many years' observation enables us cordially to subscribe, as a general rule; but we doubt whether the words "at all times," can be taken absolutely, because there are cases in which everybody differs from the Bible, as it has come down to us. For example, we do not know how to avoid differing from either 2 Kings viii. 26, or 2 Chron. xxii. 2; for we read in the one, "Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign;" whereas, in the other, we read, "Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign." There may be reasons, therefore, for differing from every known reading of a text. There may, also, be reasons which compel us to differ from the plain grammatical meaning of a passage; as, for example, that "the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day." We admit a miraculous interposition, but we regard the outward sense of the words as not exhibiting the real character of the miracle, which appears to have consisted in the supernatural prolongation of daylight. There are a great many other cases in which we differ from the text and letter of Scripture, because we are earnest, and in proportion as we are earnest. We do not regard ignorant and unreasoning credulity and obstinacy as earnestness, but as absolute levity. Dean Alford, in his interesting *Letters from Abroad*, tells a story of an artist, who freely and profanely blasphemed in the Divine name, but not in that of the Virgin; and, when questioned upon the subject, he avowed that he was not afraid of Christ, but he was afraid of Mary. The man was sincere, no doubt, and so far earnest, but what a burlesque upon true earnestness! We remember, two years since, being on board a steamboat, where, upon the deck, we saw a respectable working man in conversation with an Irishwoman of the lower grade. The man was evidently annoyed at something the woman had said, and he remarked:—"I belong to nobody, but to God." The following are part of the observations which this remark called forth, and which we overheard:—"Oh! you belong to God, do you?—and who is God? I belong to Mary, that's who I belong to. I belong to Mary:—*who can lick her?* Hail, Mary!" etc. This disgusting compound of superstition and passionate ignorance, was accompanied by gestures as expressive as the words: it was the earnestness of credulity, prejudice, and ignorance. There are, then, different kinds of earnestness; and it is easy to perceive that, without being so gross as that of the poor benighted soul of whom we have spoken, it may keep men from the truth. Other illustrations might be added, but let these suffice. A wise, sober, and religious earnestness will never cling to known error, nor reject known truth, though the error should lie in the traditional text or interpretation of Holy Scripture, and the truth be found

elsewhere. But, again, true earnestness will always be slow to differ from plain statements in the Bible, and will not differ from them without overpowering evidence. The subject is, however, far too wide for discussion here, and we must leave it to the good sense and pious instincts of the reader.

Mr. Malan criticizes Dean Stanley's preface and introduction before proceeding to the five lectures. The criticism throughout is very searching, and often severe, but it is clear that the Dean of Westminster has often laid himself open to revision. Mr. Malan seems to be at home in all literature, ancient and modern, classic, Jewish, Mohammedan and Christian, and he quotes with rare readiness Greek and Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, German, French, and other languages. For the advantage of all he refers to his authorities, and for the benefit of less profound scholars he translates the extracts from the less known languages. There are necessarily some points amid this diversity of illustration which are not very plain, and probably occasional errata. At page 58 we see a reference to *Dissertations on the Gospels* by Mr. Rogers, who is surely no other than the Dr. Roberts whose work (second edition) was noticed by us in January last, as *Discussions on the Gospels*. We agree substantially with Mr. Malan in thinking that the value of the LXX. has been often over-estimated, and we are more than gratified to find him speaking strongly in favour of the study of the Hebrew Scriptures.

It is out of our power to specify the numerous topics discussed by Mr. Malan, but we must again express our astonishment at the versatility of his genius, and strongly advise our readers to go over his most instructive pages. We do not suppose it is necessary for us here to repeat our opinions respecting Dean Stanley's work; those who wish to know them may turn to an article in our number for July, 1863. What we then said clearly enough intimates our feeling that the brilliant and eloquent pages of the volume in question were exposed to severe adverse criticism. That opinion has been embodied by Mr. Malan in his *Philosophy or Truth*. It has been more than embodied, it has been justified; for, although Mr. Malan is sometimes more elaborate than seems necessary, he has supplied us with most valuable materials for revising Dean Stanley's lectures. About a hundred and ten pages of the work contain "Plain words on Questions of the day respecting Faith, the Bible, and the Church." We hope that these, and indeed the work in general, may subserve the cause of God and truth. We gladly welcome Mr. Malan in this field, for without professing to be so conservative as he is, we believe that earnest discussions like his are a public benefit as well as an honour to himself.

An Introduction to the Philosophy of Primary Beliefs. By Richard Lowndes. London: Williams and Norgate.

Mr. Lowndes devised and partly executed an epitome of Sir William Hamiliton's metaphysical theories; but having discovered that he did not agree in all points with his author, gradually deviated from his

intended course, and finished by bringing out a book of his own. By "primary beliefs" our author means those beliefs which we confidently entertain without any definite knowledge of the reason why. He treats first of primary beliefs in general, and asks, Do they exist? are they trustworthy? and how they may be tested? He next proceeds to the broader ground of his book, the first part of which is headed, "Analysis of the consciousness," involving several subdivisions,—of consciousness in general; of an analysis of the consciousness; presentations (external and internal); representations and notions. The second part is entitled, "The primary beliefs in consciousness;" its sections are,—division of the subject; of belief—what it is; the doctrine of natural realism; substance; space and time; the conjunction of intuitions; causation; and Hamilton's "philosophy of the unconditioned." The third part treats of primary beliefs in relation to theology, under the following heads:—The province of revealed religion; the limits of authority in theology; and the Athanasian Creed.

A glance at the foregoing enumeration will shew that the plan of the work is good, and introduces us to some peculiarly interesting and important problems. We believe, too, that the development of the plan will be found quite equal to its conception. The book is written in a highly commendable spirit, and everywhere reveals to us the sober, earnest, honest, and able thinker. Nor do we fear, on religious as well as on moral and scientific grounds, to invite to this volume the candid attention of our readers. It appears to us that Mr. Lowndes is supremely anxious to discover and develope the truth, and it is very apparent that he is not conscious of any necessary or real antagonism between philosophy, truly so called, and religious doctrines actually taught in Scripture. But although he seems to this extent to be conservative in his belief, he is avowedly on the side of free and searching inquiry, and holds that it is quite consistent with orthodoxy to apply all reasonable tests to Scripture itself. He may probably be believed by some to be too liberal in his concessions here: we trust, however, that the portion of his volume in which theological questions are considered, will not be summarily disposed of by those who think he goes too far. The last chapter, that on the Athanasian Creed, will shew that he is in no danger of rashly advocating the removal of the ancient landmarks, although he would deal gently with such as may not implicitly assent to certain generally received propositions,—that is, may not assent to them in their ordinary acceptation.

The purely philosophical portions of the work are extremely interesting and instructive. The author has laboured hard to observe correctly and to record accurately the phenomena which he describes; and both in analytical and synthetical processes he speaks deliberately and with judgment. His criticisms of great names may not be always approved by the disciples of those names; but we fancy there are few who will not admit that Mr. Lowndes has supplied a want, and greatly facilitated the studies of those whose pursuits bring them face to face with the curious and important questions handled in this book. Beyond

all doubt there are numerous beliefs which we entertain with all confidence, and yet without any positive evidence. There is an instinct of the mind, a natural logic, which tells us that things are, and must be as we believe them. Nor can we be induced to give up these beliefs, by the efforts of vain and ingenious sophistry; or if they be for a time eradicated, it requires a perpetual struggle to maintain ourselves in our unnatural and abnormal condition; and the nature which we have violently expelled, will ever and anon seek to return. Mr. Lowndes deserves our best thanks for setting the whole matter in so clear a light, and for shewing us that our primary beliefs help and do not hinder us as philosophers, or as Christians, or in any other honourable capacity.

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch; with the fragments of the Jerusalem Targum. From the Chaldee. Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. By J. W. ETHERIDGE, M.A. London: Longmans.

We are glad to see that Mr. Etheridge has completed his rather difficult work of translating the Targums on the Pentateuch. The first of his two volumes appeared at the close of 1862, and comprised the books of Genesis and Exodus, with an introduction. The second volume now before us contains the remaining books of the Pentateuch, and, by way of introduction, an explanation "of hieratic and legal terms in the Pentateuch; on the best authorities, Christian and Rabbinical." Mr. Etheridge calls this a glossary, and so it is, but the term conveys too little, as the addition of illustrations to the interpretations constitutes it rather a commentary on the words than a mere glossary. The editor has been for years a diligent student of the Aramean dialects, and is known, not only for a version of the Syriac New Testament, with useful literary accompaniments, but for his *Horæ Aramaicæ; Jerusalem and Tiberias, Sora and Cordova, etc.* He has therefore had long experience, and has collected an unusual amount of information in a department which few Englishmen do more than seldom visit. The chief difficulty in the way of some of his works, and of this in particular, so far as the outer circle of readers is concerned, is in itself a very small matter: we refer to Mr. Etheridge's continued unwillingness to adopt the common national spelling of proper names. Our principle is, that proper names should be so far translated as to be reduced to the analogy and usage of our language. But apart from this, the experience of the Latin Bible of Junius and Tremellius should be a lesson to translators in the matter of which we speak. Another point, and one perhaps not so easily remedied, is Mr. Etheridge's too rigid adherence to some of the idioms of the Chaldee, imparting a certain quaintness to the style which is scarcely necessary. But apart from these details, we have much pleasure in commending the work. The editor has accomplished a task which not seldom required much skill, and very delicate handling; yet he has succeeded in representing the chief features and characteristics of his originals in a faithful and close version. Remembering that this is the first English

version of the Targums on the Pentateuch, we have the more pleasure in welcoming it and commending it to public notice. Those who will read the two volumes will find them a mine of curious and instructive matter.

Replies to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Natal's "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined." By FRANKE PARKER, M.A. Two Vols. London: Bell and Daldy.

THE two volumes before us sustain the reputation of Mr. Parker as an indefatigable worker, and a zealous defender of Scripture truth. In the first of them we have an introduction and twenty-two other chapters upon Part I. of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch. The same volume contains a reply to the second part with special reference to the signs of different authorship in the Pentateuch, and the use of the words Elohim and Jehovah. In the second volume Mr. Parker replies to Bishop Colenso's third and fourth parts, involving an inquiry into the authorship and inspiration of the Pentateuch, and the testimony of Christ, as well as into the problems of the creation and the deluge.

We are unwilling to postpone the notice of this interesting and carefully executed work, because it has been out some little time, but it is unfortunate that the space at our disposal is on the present occasion so exceedingly strait, that we cannot possibly do justice to Mr. Parker's undertaking. The author is a close student of Scripture, with which he has a large and familiar acquaintance; he is extensively read in most departments of literature; and he is earnest and painstaking in setting forth the conclusions which he has wrought out. He writes in a believing, reverential spirit, and the tone of his work is hopeful. We are glad it is so, for irreverent criticism on the one hand, and raven-like exclamations of "the Bible in danger" on the other, are equally real sources of mischief. Sometimes Mr. Parker uses strong language, but we imagine that he would not willingly exceed the limits of gentlemanly controversy. Our own feeling is quite in favour of Bishop Colenso's honest and upright intentions, and of his having a profound veneration for God and truth. At the same time we differ from him *toto cœlo* on some important subjects, and cannot understand how he has allowed his judgment to be so warped and his mind so preoccupied. Mr. Parker cannot always deal so gently with the Natal prelate. For our own part, we confess to a growing and strengthening conviction that those who differ from us are less often insincere than simply mistaken. We add, however, that we do not see how controversy can be carried on out of love for truth without calling the emotions into exercise; and when they act, the fact will generally be apparent.

Mr. Parker's two volumes abound in curious information, clever reasoning, novel illustration of Holy Scripture, and valuable suggestion; and we may fairly reckon this with the most elaborate and comprehensive of the numerous replies to Bishop Colenso. While, how-

ever, we render cheerfully this meed of praise, we think some of the arguments are not supported so fully as they should have been. Our author will probably reply to this, that "a great book is a great evil;" to which principle we cordially subscribe. It appears, moreover, that Mr. Parker has dealt most elaborately with such questions as seemed most to require it, or most to invite it. Apart from occasional critical exceptions, we can commend the work before us to the attention of students and others as one from which very important assistance may be derived in the serious conflict respecting the genuineness, accuracy and authority of a precious portion of Holy Scripture.

Orthodoxy, Scripture, and Reason; an Examination of some of the Principal Articles of the Creed of Christendom. By the Rev. William Kirkus, LL.B. London: Williams and Norgate.

It is now some time since we received from Mr. Kirkus a miscellaneous volume of essays, which displayed considerable mastery of language, and fresh and vigorous thinking. The volume now before us exhibits the same order of literary excellence, and is remarkable for its bold and free handling of great problems. The nine chapters here brought together, are upon the following subjects:—Human nature; original sin; the person of Jesus Christ; the doctrine of the Atonement; justification by faith; the future state; the Holy Catholic Church; the creeds and the Bible; and Christian morality. Mr. Kirkus intimates, in his preface, that he has no liking for what is somewhat vaguely designated "Evangelicalism," and his volume shews plainly enough that he claims the right to examine and judge for himself. The volume also shews that he does examine and think for himself, and that he is not in the habit of bowing down at the *ipse dixit* of any Pythagoras, whether church, creed, or theological leader. With a candour and outspokenness which all ought to respect, with an earnestness which none should treat lightly, and with a fluency which often rises to eloquence, he passes in review the solemn questions to which he has committed himself. He has a thoroughly honest and wholesome hatred of all that he regards as mean and undignified, insincere and untrue. He is not afraid of discussing all the varied principles and facts which come in his way. Philosophy, criticism, theology, the Scriptures, and many other matters are handled firmly, skilfully, and courageously in his book. In truth, we have seldom met with a more lucid and forcible refutation of opinions objected to, or a more transparent and well-sustained advocacy of opinions embraced. There is nothing gloomy or morose, but everything cheerful, buoyant, and sanguine, so that even the very decided denunciation of principles and practices regarded as wrong, exhibits no ill temper; for caustic severity is neither ill temper nor bitterness. Sometimes, and perhaps often, the author appears to have adopted the motto of Garibaldi, "*ense et calamo*," but he is surely a generous and noble-minded opponent, like the Italian patriot. With regard to the particular views advanced or adopted by Mr. Kirkus, this is hardly

the place to speak. They differ decidedly on some subjects from those which many good and sincere men entertain, and we do not ourselves profess to endorse them all; but in these times of conflict every man who has thoughts has a right to utter them, and a right to be heard, especially if he has the endowments and genius which characterize our author. He challenges discussion as well as a hearing, and we hope those who are interested in the great problems of the day will not overlook the challenge. It is very evident that active and powerful minds are seeking to revise the actual popular creed of English Christendom, to eliminate what has no true foundation, and to give a new explanation of some things which are admitted to be true in a particular sense. It is equally evident that the number of such is increasing, and that it is becoming more and more urgently the duty of all who have the means, or whose office invites them, to go unreservedly and in all sincerity into the questions which have been raised. Really the list of subjects treated in the volume before us embraces the principal doctrines of the creed of Christendom, and goes even to the very foundations upon which that creed reposes. In proof of this, we need but refer to the two chapters on the Holy Catholic Church, and the creeds and the Bible. We sincerely trust that this clever book will have the serious attention of many, and that it may aid in promoting a more intelligent, spiritual, and harmonious view of all the questions mooted in it.

The Bible Dictionary. Illustrated with nearly six hundred engravings. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Aaron—Izri. London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin.

This handsome volume contains a list of illustrations, a preface, and 573 pages of text, in large octavo, double columns, well and carefully printed. Like many other works issued by the same enterprising firm, it is a marvel of cheapness, by which it is placed within the reach of the poorest student of the Bible, and yet executed in such a way that it may claim a place among the books of reference in any library. We have already called attention to it, and the favourable opinion we expressed in regard to the earlier parts is fully justified by the volume in our hands, and the other parts issued, down to No. 24, which brings us to the word *Nahalal.* The entire work will be comprised in 35 or 36 parts, and will, in its complete form, be the best and, for its size, the cheapest of all popular dictionaries of the Bible. The varied contributors have enriched its pages with a careful and comprehensive compendium of the vast stores of knowledge which have been accumulated by ancient and modern writers, so far as they bear upon Biblical illustration, evidence, and doctrine. Resting upon a scriptural basis, the work exhibits remarkable uniformity of character and sentiment. Its allusions to texts are very numerous, and its pages contain references to, or quotations from, an extensive range of literature. For habitual use, it is all that can be desired by the majority of readers, and it is so arranged that the unlearned may use it with ease and

pleasure, and the learned with satisfaction. It has our cordial recommendation, and we have no doubt it will attain to extensive and enduring popularity.

The Bible Manual: an expository and practical Commentary on the books of Scripture, arranged in chronological order; forming a Handbook of Biblical Education, for the use of Families, Schools, and Students of the Word of God. Translated from the German work edited by the late Rev. Dr. T. C. BARTH. London: Nisbet and Co.

THE original German of this substantial volume has met with extensive acceptance, and it has been thought that the work would be useful to a large body of English Bible students. The text of Holy Scripture is arranged in chronological order, and a very considerable part of it is printed in full. The expository and practical notes are appended to the respective sections into which the text is divided. A table is prefixed to shew the actual order of the contents; and an index of Scriptures greatly assists reference. A general introduction to the Old Testament is followed by a particular introduction to the Pentateuch, and there are also special introductions to the later historical books, and the prophets. After the Old Testament there comes a section on the period from B.C. 404 to the birth of Christ. The New Testament is preceded by a general introduction, and a special introduction to the four Gospels, which are exhibited in the form of a harmony. In like manner, there is an introduction to the Catholic history with which several of the epistles of St. Paul are interwoven. The rest of the epistles are treated subsequently, and the Apocalypse is expounded by itself. The whole work concludes with twelve pages of chronological matter.

We give the preceding details in preference to criticism; but we may add that, although popular, rather than erudite, this volume is a highly respectable performance on the ground of literary merit. The original is not at hand for us to compare the translation with it, but we have confidence in the version, not least because of its clear, easy and intelligent manner. The work is very cheap, and will prove a valuable boon to Bible students with small libraries.

The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church; a series of Discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By R. W. DALE, M.A. London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder.

SOME books have no souls, and others are without understanding. Happily, Mr. Dale's book has both heart and intellect, and we hope its peculiar merits will procure for it large acceptance. It is orthodox and evangelical, without being rigid and uncharitable. It is earnest and devout, without ceasing to be genial and intelligible. It is fluent without being bombastic; and it is learned without pedantry. The author must have a congregation of superior intelligence to appreciate

such a series of discourses: but we regard this as a most hopeful sign. Let the spirit of patient and enlightened enquiry get abroad in Christian audiences, let the discussion of great doctrinal and critical problems in a somewhat popular form be tolerated there, and we may take heart. But let the cry for mere comfort, excitement, and infinitely repeated *rechaufés* of a few favoured texts be listened to, and the results will be lamentable enough. Well, Mr. Dale is a man of literary tastes, fond of intellectual exercise, and a believer in "reasonable service." He is also influential in his official position, followed by multitudes, and a born orator. He is a person to give a popular, and yet a scholarlike, exposition of an epistle like that to the Hebrews. We very much approve of his book almost everywhere, and only wish the author's candour had not conceded quite so much to those who reject the Pauline authorship of this epistle. We hope to meet Mr. Dale in this walk again.

Lectures upon Jonah. By John King, afterwards Lord Bishop of London. The Prophecy of Obadiah, opened and applied. In sundry Sermons. By JOHN RAINOLDS, D.D. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THE first volume of this series of Puritan commentators, contained Airay on the Philippians, and Cartwright on the Colossians. In the present volume, we have two books of the Old Testament—Dr. King's Lectures, delivered in 1594, and Dr. Rainolds', not published till 1613, some years after their author's death. There is, in the Lectures of Dr. King, a rich store of sanctified thought, expressed often in racy and vigorous language, but occasionally embodying terms which have grown obsolete.

The editor, Mr. Grosart, has done his part in his well-known loving spirit, and has introduced not only capital memoirs, but sundry illustrative notes and queries. We shall remark upon one or two of the latter.

Page 24: "Eighth day." The editor says, "Qu. right way?" The text is correct; see Barnabas, Epistle, sec. 15.

Page 33: To "threep" is an old English word, meaning to "urge" or "insist," rather than simply to "argue."

Page 39: "Wants" are not "ants," but "moles" (still so called in Wiltshire, etc.).

Page 50: "Mesten," *i. e.*, "mingled," a word not noted, nor found in any of our dictionaries.

Page 82: "Idiot," not merely a private person or layman, but rather simply an "idiot," as opposed to a prophet.

Page 87: "Ruth" seems, as the editor suggests, to mean wrath, whereas the word usually means pity and commisseration. Does it mean repentance or grief? Compare "to rue."

Page 90: "Agreements" seems rather to mean "probabilities" than "arguments."

Page 92: "Fease;" we doubt if this means "fierce." "Fease and impotent" is a phrase new to us.

Page 235: "In mourning steeds" is a peculiar expression; but probably "in" signifies "as," or, "in the character of,"—a Gallicism.

These examples will suffice to shew that a volume like the one before us, has attractions for the philologian as well as for the theologian. They will also shew that Mr. Nichols is pursuing the honourable course of printing his texts without mutilation, and with the observations of the accomplished and zealous gentlemen who act as editors.

Christian Certainty. By SAMUEL WAINWRIGHT. London: Hatchard and Co. 1865.

"THE difficulties felt by some; the doubts which perplex many; the sophisms which bewilder more; and, lastly and chiefly, the immoveable and infallible certainty which is within the reach of all: these are the divisions of our subject." In the foregoing words, Mr. Wainwright exhibits a summary of his book. The difficulties are classified, and regard the matter and manner of divine revelation, misrepresentation, ignorance, or mistake. A chapter is devoted to the solution of sundry of these difficulties, including some of those advanced by Bishop Colenso.

The doubts are viewed as arising from literary criticism, interpretation, inspiration, and scientific investigations. The sophisms are of a miscellaneous character. The certainties are likewise numerous and diversified. Mr. Wainwright has with very great diligence collected the topics which invite discussion in connection with the great battle of the evidences. He has illustrated these topics by very copious references and quotations; and he has earnestly endeavoured to present a solution of the problems which he brings forward. There are many points on which we assent to his conclusions, but we sometimes differ from him; and we are surprised to find him avowing his belief in Mr. Forster's theory concerning the Sinaitic inscriptions.

Jacob's Flight: or, a Pilgrimage to Harran, and thence, in the Patriarch's Footsteps, into the Promised Land. With Illustrations. By MRS. BEKE. With an Introduction and a Map by DR. BEKE. London: Longmans.

WE do not accept the theory of Dr. Beke and his accomplished wife, which supposes the Haran of Abraham to be represented by a place with a similar but not identical name, to the east of Damascus. At the same time, we have been very much pleased with the brief record of travel here presented to us. The narrative is exceedingly graphic and life-like; and, with its pictorial embellishments, suffices to set before us, in the clearest light, the scenes which were visited. The

route pursued was from Beyrout to Damascus, and thence to Harran, in the neighbourhood of the lake called in Van de Velde's map Bahret-el-Kibliyeh. The course from Harran-el-Awamid lay first to the S.W., as far as Kisweh, and then generally S. and S.S.W. until the Jordan was reached, and crossed to the east of Nablus.

From the Jordan our travellers crossed to Nablus, by way of Beit Dejan; from Nablus to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Joppa. Dr. and Mrs. Beke believe that the celebrated journeys of the Patriarchs, between Haran and Shechem, and Jacob's flight from Laban in particular, only extended over the country which lies between Harran-el-Awamid and Shechem. Aram Naharaim or Mesopotamia is, in like manner, reduced to the district watered by the Abana and Pharpar. This theory, we have said, we do not accept, but we feel very much indebted to those who so zealously and practically sought to demonstrate it. Their route lay partly through a district little known to Europeans, and therefore the book before us is a real acquisition to the students of Biblical geography. As a record of events and facts observed, and as a well written narrative of a romantic tour, we can strongly recommend it to the attention of our readers.

The Hours of the Passion, including in full the Daily Office for Morning and Night, chiefly after the Ancient English Use of Salisbury, etc. Compiled and edited by a PRIEST OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. Oxford and London: Rivingtons.

THIS small volume will interest many persons, on purely religious grounds; but it is also both curious and instructive from a literary point of view. The plan is skilfully designed, and the varied contents, drawn from ancient and modern sources, and, perhaps, some of them original, are particularly beautiful. The editor's position is that of a decidedly High Churchman, and we fear that some things in the book, bearing upon this, will render it less popular than it might be. We are quite sure that many persons will object to two things: first, to page xvi, with the centre blank, save the words, "In the middle of this page may be placed a picture of our Blessed Lord upon the Cross;" and, secondly, to the many crosses introduced in the course of the work. It is perfectly well known that the crosses in the devotional books of the Latin Church are directions to use the sign of the cross where they occur. We are aware that many members of the English Church think it right to cross themselves on certain occasions, but we are equally well aware that a large majority among us regard all such things as suspicious and superstitious.

Inspiration: the Infallible Truth and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures. By JAMES BANNERMAN, D.D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

WE are thankful to find the leading British divines active in investi-

gating the great problem of divine inspiration. Dr. Bannerman contributes a most elaborate and comprehensive essay, which embraces, if it does not exhaust, all the prominent topics of the inquiry. He claims as preliminary truths which must be admitted,—the supernatural character and historical veracity of Scripture, and that Scripture is an infallible standard of truth. He then disposes of preliminary objections, and considers the importance of the subject. The fourth chapter contains the history of opinions. This is followed by chapters on revelation and inspiration, the evidence proper to inspiration, and the actual proofs. After these the author proceeds to consider the divine and human in Scripture, and psychological and critical objections to inspiration. The work concludes with a statement of certain principles bearing upon the inspiration and interpretation of Scripture.

Dr. Bannerman has produced an unusually valuable book, and one which we doubt not will assume a place by the side of the best treatises upon the same subject. It is neither rash, hasty, effeminate, nor ephemeral, but a calm, dignified, ingenuous, earnest, Christian, and scholarly performance. The author advocates a real and plenary divine inspiration for the sacred writers. He neither ignores their humanity, nor the special working of the divinity that dwelt within them. We sincerely thank him for this admirable and seasonable contribution to our literature.

An Enlarged and Illustrated Edition of Dr. Webster's complete Dictionary of the English Language. Thoroughly revised and improved. By CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D.D., LL.D., and NOAH PORTER, D.D. London: Bell and Daldy; Longmans.

THIS new edition of Webster is promised in twelve monthly parts, at half-a-crown each. Three parts are before us (A to Epigrammatizer), and we can bear witness to the great amount of important matter which they contain. We regard the small illustrations as very valuable, because they convey a more accurate notion of the objects represented than is possible with merely verbal definitions. The number of words is wonderfully large, so large, indeed, that Johnson's vocabulary placed by the side of it looks more meagre than ever. Of course there are great numbers of technical and scientific words;—multiplying much too fast in our days,—faster, in truth, than dictionary-makers can register them; and although living by hundreds, dying by thousands. New words of genuine spontaneous growth occasionally appear along with a few resurrections, and a much denser crowd of immigrants. The obscure, obsolete, and provincial words in this work could have been inserted in much larger numbers. The definitions are carefully and copiously exhibited, along with many illustrative quotations from the best writers. The pronunciation of every word is clearly and distinctly shewn. The etymology has also received special attention. We do not call this dictionary perfect, for no such work can be perfect, but we regard it as a compilation of immense practical utility, and one

of those incredibly cheap books which some of our best publishers sometimes venture upon. On this occasion we will only add our cordial recommendation of the new edition of Webster, as really an improved one, and remind some that many unusual ecclesiastical words are explained.

Cathedra Petri. A Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate. Books 12 and 13. Vol. V. By THOMAS GREENWOOD, M.A. London: William Macintosh.

THE present volume of Mr. Greenwood's history extends from the Concordat of Worms in A.D. 1122 to the close of the pontificate of Innocent III. in 1216. The mere fact that it contains the record of Innocent III. invests this volume with importance. The author confesses that the favourable tendencies with which he commenced his work have gradually been diminished, and he now believes that "if ever" the Latin "scheme should recover from its present state of comparative depression, the battle of civil and religious liberty would have to be fought over again." This inference from long years of patient study is of more weight than any amount of sentimental inexperienced admiration. Mr. Greenwood says he expects to wind up his undertaking shortly with a volume bringing down the history to the time of the Reformation. We rejoice that he has persevered thus far, and need scarcely commend his work as one of honest and extensive research, and written with sound judgment and ability.

The Fulness of the Blessing of the Gospel of Christ. Being a series of Lectures on the Eighth Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. G. HORTON. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

THIS brilliant and eloquent volume can hardly be said to appeal to criticism. The author has adopted and maintained the flowing and rhetorical style which is calculated to produce an effect in pulpit oratory. He has not laid an interdict upon his imagination, nor laid down a law that emotion should play no part in his work. At the same time, he has brought to bear upon his theme good, sound, vigorous, common sense, and has embodied and incorporated the results of his reading. All these elements are pervaded by a constant spirit of faith and piety, and a recognition of the "old paths," so that the book is quite *en regle* and orthodox, hearty and practical. Mr. Horton mentions among his guides the commentaries of Olshausen, Stuart, Clarke, Hodge, Brown, and Calvin: other authors are Chalmers, Wardlaw, Winslow, Bengel, and Bloomfield. The eighth of Romans is a magnificent oration, and to be rightly rendered and developed requires a loving, believing, and reverential expounder.

Brief Notes on the Greek of the New Testament. By FRANCIS TRENCH, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co.

THIS is a sensible and scholarly little volume, and Mr. Trench has our best thanks for it, on behalf of the many who wish to understand what they read, but are debarred from profound research by circumstances not under their control. The book is strictly what it professes to be; but it is important perhaps to notice, that from the first to last it is substantially a contribution towards the revision of the authorized version. The volume might have had a more learned appearance without being more learned; and it might have been much larger without containing more. We have noticed a few points open to criticism; but, for all that, we gladly welcome Mr. Trench's notes as another aid towards that better understanding of God's Word which is required in order to a healthy, a well-developed, and a truly intelligent and Christian Christianity.

Customs and Traditions of Palestine: illustrating the manners of the ancient Hebrews. By ERMETE PIEROTTI. Translated by T. G. BONNEY, M.A., F.G.S. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co.

ALTHOUGH not very systematically arranged, this book will be found very pleasant and instructive reading. Not the least interesting of its features is its perpetual allusions to Scripture texts, which are in this way illustrated and confirmed. The value of a collection of observations like those here brought together will be perceived at once by those who read the Bible, not only for direct spiritual teaching, but with a desire to apprehend the significance and force of its innumerable comparisons and allusions, drawn from Eastern life and customs, natural history, physical geography and the like. We are much indebted to M. Pierotti for these notes, and to Mr. Bonney for the happy manner in which he has rendered them into English.

Hymns from the German. Translated by FRANCES ELIZABETH COX. London: Rivingtons.

THIS eloquent volume will be prized by the lovers of hymnology. The German text is printed on alternate pages, confronting the English version, and with a just assurance challenging comparison. The translator has revised and enlarged this edition. Authors' names and dates are appended to the separate hymns, and at the close of the volume there is a very neat compendium of the biography of the writers quoted. It is altogether a charming book.

Church Bells: or, Thoughts in Verse for Holy Times. London: William Macintosh.

THESE poems are dedicated, by permission, to the author of the *Christian Year*, who we may therefore suppose has seen and approved them. Our recommendation could add nothing to his, and probably

our criticisms would be without much effect. We only say, then, that the pieces here collated are characterized by pure and holy sentiment, that the versification is generally good, and that the subjects are attractive; but, that the author sometimes ventures to depart from strict uniformity in regard to measure.

The Temporal Augment in Sanskrit and Greek. By JOHN DAVIES, M.A. For private distribution.

WE regard this as a very valuable contribution to philological science. The author ranges over the whole domain of language in search of an explanation of Greek and Sanskrit temporal augments (ἐ and *a*). The facts accumulated, investigated, and collated, lead Mr. Davies to the conclusion that the augments in question were originally verbs of motion, now appearing in a fragmentary form. He shews that a similar principle is exhibited in very many languages. All students of comparative philology will thank him for this essay, which, if not demonstrative, is nearly so.

Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch. Parts III. to V. London: Longmans.

DR. COLENSO has proceeded with the "People's Edition" of his work, as far as he has gone with the larger issue. Part III. of the reprint, in 25 chapters, covers the same ground as the original Part III. Parts IV. and V. together represent the original Part IV. At the close of Part V., we observe "the complete elohistic narrarive in Genesis." This is new, and appears by anticipation. Those who, like us, watch this discussion with deep interest, will do well to have both editions. For general use, the popular reprint will suffice, as it involves some revision.

The Cambridge Year Book and University Almanack for 1865. Edited by WILLIAM WHITE. London: Rivingtons.

MR. WHITE'S *Cambridge Year Book* is an excellent manual, and one which all Cambridge men, to say the least, ought to possess. It is overflowing with information upon all topics of present interest in connection with "Alma mater;" and many things in it are of permanent value. A capital index and an almanack precede the details concerning the University and colleges, examination records and papers come next, and the whole concludes with a full obituary for 1864.

Jacob Ben Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible, Hebrew and English, with explanatory Notes. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. London: Longmans.

THIS thoroughly scholarlike production has our best recommendation, and we doubt not will be very acceptable to those who make the text of the Hebrew Bible really their study. In July, 1863, the English version of Jacob Ben Chajim's introduction appeared in our pages with

valuable notes by Dr. Ginsburg; the version and notes, with preface, indexes, and the Hebrew text now appear in the form of a separate publication. The book is admirably edited and well printed. We rejoice to receive this additional fruit of the important and learned labours of Dr. Ginsburg, whose perseverance, industry, and erudition are beyond our praise.

Eucharistic Meditations for a Month. Translated and Abridged from the French of Avrillon; with an Appendix. Edited by Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Joseph Masters.

This is a second and cheaper edition of a rather remarkable book. Except that the volume is edited by one who is most unjustly included in the class whose works are condemned *in toto* by the Romish communion, there is no reason why it should not be popular with that communion, as well as with the large party in the English Church who hold extreme opinions upon the subject of Holy Sacraments. We have already noticed Mr. Shipley's reproduction of Avrillon, and we have much pleasure in saying that that gentleman has performed his editorial duties in an admirable manner. We do not adopt many of the views here set forth, but the literary character of the book is exceedingly good.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D. With general Preface by John C. Miller, D.D., and Memoir by Robert Halley, D.D. Vol. IX. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

In this volume we have one of the fullest treatises upon election which we are acquainted with. The discussion occupies well-nigh five hundred pages, and is designed to shew "that there is an election of some, with a non-election, or passing by, of others; which election is out of the pure grace of God, and is the cause of their effectual calling and salvation." To this is added, as another general doctrine: "that those two companies, or forces of men, the election, and the rest, or non-elected, have been extant in all ages of the world, and have divided mankind past, and will be found in the world, to the end thereof, for time to come."

The Practical Works of David Clarkson, B.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

The volume before us contains thirteen separate treatises, or sermons, based upon as many texts of Scripture, and constituting a valuable series of theological and practical essays. We have on previous occasions stated our views in relation to Clarkson, as a man of great intellectual calibre, and as being on several other accounts a writer whose works may be read with advantage. We do not think that even Clarkson would serve as a model for the religious teachers, writers, and preachers of our day, but we believe that a careful perusal of his works and of others in this series would be useful in many ways, and would espe-

cially check the powerful temptations now so common to be superficial, and to seek popularity rather than real edification.

Le Scepticisme. Ænésidème, Pascal, Kant. Études pour servir de l'histoire critique du Scepticisme, ancien et moderne. Par EMILE SAISSET. Edited by AMEDEE SAISSET. Paris: Didier and Co.

THIS volume deserves to be read. It contains a lengthened account of Ænesidemus, and his philosophical principles and followers, a careful investigation of the scepticism of Pascal, some notice of Kant's sceptical principles, and sundry other matters. The editor and compiler of the work seems to have done his part well, and he has introduced an interesting preface.

An Answer to the Archbishop of York on the subject of Endless Torments. BY A BACHELOR OF DIVINITY. London: Williams and Norgate.

THE writer of this essay employs a free and facile pen, and labours with great earnestness and ability to shew that the torments of the wicked hereafter will not be endless. He addresses the Archbishop of York throughout, and with reference to his Grace's well-known Declaration. We have not space to enumerate the arguments which are employed, and can only say that they are of unequal force, but are some of them deserving of examination. The frequent appearance of publications like the present is a sign of the times, and will, we hope, move the friends of truth to do their duty.

The Panoply. Vol. III., No. 2 and 3. Burntisland: Pitsligo Press. 1864.

THE chief article in the *Panoply*, Vol. iii., No. 2, is one upon the "English baptismal offices," a very learned and elaborate investigation. The indefatigable and zealous editor seems well-nigh to have exhausted the subject, and has given us a new proof of his personal earnestness and varied acquirements. In addition to the essay on the baptismal offices, this number contains the conclusion of "Reasons for not accepting the English Prayer Book." No. 3 contains a large portion of the Introduction to a new Translation and Commentary, the subject of which is the Book of the Ecclesiastes. This promises to be very thorough and searching, but we must defer an account of it for the present, owing to want of space.

Melanges d'Histoire Religieuse. By E. SCHERER. Paris: M. Levy, Frères.

THIS volume contains fifteen articles which may be characterized as "Essays and Reviews." Several of them are well worthy of perusal, but the author's extreme rationalism is very prominent, and to our minds unwelcome. We may mention as among the more important

articles, the fourth, on the Life of Jesus by Renan; the ninth, on the Crisis of Protestantism, *a propos* of *Essays and Reviews;* the tenth, on the Confessions of a Missionary arising out of the Colenso controversy; and the eleventh, about Hegel and Hegelianism. No one can wonder that sceptical principles are fashionable where they are upheld by authors like M. Scherer; for he is unquestionably a man of talent and learning, and a good writer.

Bible de l'Humanité. By J. Michelet. Paris: F. Chamerot.

A book written in a fragmentary, incoherent, and otherwise affected style, although not without good passages. We shall not attempt to give an outline of the work. Part I. is headed "The peoples of light," which are India, Persia, and Greece. Part II. is headed "The peoples of the dawn, of the night, and of the twilight," which are Egypt, Syria, and Phrygia, the Jew, etc. To our notion there is very much rhodomontade in these pages, and the author is not sufficiently grave and staid, but over anxious to give us paradoxes, antitheses, and whatever else may turn out startling and sensational. We have seldom encountered a book in which legend and history, good and bad, true and false, have been more delightfully jumbled together.

The Glory of God in Man. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in October, 1864. By E. H. Gifford, D.D. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co.

The subjects of these Sermons are:—The Unrighteousness of Man, Rom. iii. 22, 23; The Righteousness of God, Rom. iii. 21—26; Life in Christ, Rom. vi. 9—11; and The Love of the Spirit, Rom. v. 5. The Sermons are short, thoughtful, and earnest discussions of the weighty matters involved in the subjects of them. We wish the book had been larger, but still we prefer a few pages of sober terseness to acres of luxuriant verbiage; and we expect most thinkers will agree with us. To them we recommend this small but suggestive volume.

The Church on the Rock: or, The claims and some distinctive doctrines of the Church of Rome considered. In Six Lectures, delivered at St. Mary Church, Devon, by the Rev. J. Mason Cox, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

"No peace with Rome" was put upon a title-page by a renowned English divine; and it seems as incumbent upon us as it was upon our forefathers to carry on the "Bellum Papale," as it has been called. The pope is the Ishmael of Christianity; and so long as his hand is against every man, every man's hand will be against him. Mr. Cox has been called upon to take his part in the conflict, and we have pleasure in saying that his Lectures are truly instructive and fitted to be useful.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes and Dissertations. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity. Cambridge and London: Macmillan.

THIS interesting and scholarlike volume promises to be an excellent adjunct to the study of the important and difficult epistle to which it is devoted. The author says in his preface: "The present work is intended to form part of a complete edition of St. Paul's Epistles, which, if my plan is ever carried out, will be prefaced by a general introduction and arranged in chronological order." It is quite clear, from Dr. Lightfoot's acknowledgments, and, indeed, from the volume itself, that no pains have been spared in the preparation of this work. A copious and all but exhaustive introduction deals with the following topics: the Galatian people and churches, and the date, genuineness, character and contents of the Epistle. The Greek text is accompanied by a perpetual commentary, critical and explanatory, and by special notes upon leading questions as they arise. Three elaborate dissertations conclude the volume; the subjects are, Were the Galatians Celts or Teutons? the Brethren of the Lord; and St. Paul and the Three (James, Peter, and John). We regret that this work only came to hand as we were about to go to press, but we are so struck with its manifestly genuine character and importance, that we lose no time in calling to it the attention of our critical readers. We add, that the getting up of the book is altogether worthy of the reputation of the publishers. The work will be properly reviewed in our next number.

The Sacred Steps of Creation; or, the Revealed Genetic Theology, illustrated by Geology and Astronomy. By the Rev. THOMAS MARSDEN, B.A. London: Longmans.

THE author of this work is gifted with equal industry and ingenuity, and is the stedfast friend of orthodox doctrine. He has turned his attention to the records of creation in Genesis, and by studying them in the Hebrew has found a clue to the mystery which has troubled so many, namely, how to reconcile Scripture and science. "The inferential theory I have drawn," he says, "is, that there were six sacred steps or advances of God in creation, and that they occupied six days or periods." We cannot pretend now to analyze or criticize this curious book, the author of which, although doctrinally orthodox, will not, we fear, be accepted as scientifically orthodox by some, and will certainly be suspected of undue freedom of interpretation by others. Hugh Miller surely did not write this note upon the word *Ahriman*, "Quasi, Hairyman, the Serpent, animal man" (p. 397).

The London Diocese Book for 1865, *containing a variety of information for Clergy and Laity.* By JOHN HASSARD. London: Rivingtons.

EVERY clergyman and every layman interested in ecclesiastical matters in the diocese of London should get this book. Indeed, it has an

interest which extends far beyond the metropolitan district. Mr. Hassard is private secretary to the Bishop of London, and this publication has his Lordship's sanction; it may, therefore, be relied upon. We have tested it in various ways, and found all we have looked for.

Essays on Religion and Literature, by various Writers. Edited by E. H. Manning, D.D. London: Longmans.

The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediæval. By C. W. King, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of "Antique Gems." London: Bell and Daldy.

A Journey due East, Being the Journal of a Five Month's Trip to Lower Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey, in the Winter of 1862-3, returning by Athens and Rome to London. With Maps and Illustrations. By C. H. K. Cooke. London: Hall, Smart, and Allen.

The Priesthood of Home. No. I.

Our Own Fireside. Edited by the Rev. C. Bullock. London: W. Macintosh.

Tracts for All. Nos. 4 to 9. London: W. Macintosh.

On the Theory of Development, and the Antiquity of Man. London: Rivingtons.

The Colonial Church Chronicle Missing Journal, etc. London: Rivingtons.

Profit and Loss. A Sermon by H. P. Liddon, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

Mr. Walter's Motion. A Letter to a Friend. By John Menet, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

Subsequent Corroborations of the Law of History, propounded in a work entitled, "The Divine Footsteps in Human History." By the Author of that work. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons.

English Institutions and the American Rebellion. Extracts from a Lecture at Chicago. By J. M. Sturtevant, D.D. Manchester: A. Treland and Co.

England and America. A Lecture by Goldwin Smith. Manchester: A. Treland and Co.

Capital Punishment. By Thomas Beggs, F.S.S. London: The Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.

A General Review of the subject of Capital Punishment. By William Tallack. London: The Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.

The Encyclical of Pius IX. In the original Latin, with a Translation. By R. Walker, Esq., M.A., Oxon. London: G. Cheek.

The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven: A Course of Lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke. By F. D. Maurice. London: Macmillan and Co.

Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement (A.D. 1833—1845). By Frederick Oakely, M.A. London: Longmans.

The Music of the Most Ancient Nations, particularly of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews; with special reference to recent discoveries in Western Asia and Egypt. By Carl Engel. London: John Murray.

Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain, from Personal Observations during several Journeys through that Country. By George Edmund Street, F.S.A. London: John Murray.

Researches into the Early History of Mankind, and the Development of Civilization. By E. B. Tylor. London: John Murray.

Physical Geography of the Holy Land. By Rev. Edward Robinson, D.D., Author of "Biblical Researches in Palestine." London: John Murray.

The Inspiration of the Scriptures, Verbal and Perfect. By David Walther. London: Nisbet and Co.

Isaiah's Testimony for Jesus. By Rev. W. B. Galloway, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

The Shadow on the Sundial. By Rev. W. B. Galloway, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

Symbols of Christ. By Rev. C. Stanford. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

St. Paul at Athens. By W. L. Alexander, D.D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

Hymni Ecclesiæ. Pars I., E Breviario Parisiensi. II., E Breviariis Romano, Sarisburiensi, Eboracensi et aliunde. London: Macmillan and Co.

Beiträge zur Erklärung der Schwierigsten Evangelien des Kirchenjahres. Von Gustav Lang. Halle: Mühlmann.

Die Voraussetzungen rechter Weinachtsfeier. Eine historisch-psychologische Betrachtung. Von Theodor Zahn. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben.

Handbuch der Christlichen Sittenlehre. Von Adolf Wuttke. In Two Vols. Second Edition, enlarged. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben.

Der Ansiedler im Westen. Zeitschrift der Berliner Gesellschaft für die deutch-ev. Missiòn in Amerika. For 1864. Edited by W. Eichler. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben.

Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes; contenant le resumé de tout ce qu'il est essentiel de connaître sur les origines Chrétiennes jusqu'au moyen âge exclusivement: I. Etude des mœurs et coutumes des premiers Chrétiens. II. Etude des monuments figurés. III. Vêtements et Meubles. Par M. l'Abbé Martigny. With 270 Engravings. Paris: L. Hachette and Cie.

Wann Wurden Unsere Evangelieu Verfasst? Von C. Tischendorf. Leipzig.

The Bibliotheca Sacra. January, 1865. London: Trübner and Co.

Ægyptische Personennamen bei den Klassikern, in Papyrusrollen, auf Inschriften. Gesammelt von G. Parthey. Berlin.

D. Martini Lutheri Opera Latina varii argumenti ad Reformationis Historiam imprimis pertinentia. Curavit Dr. H. Schmidt. Vol. I. (1515—1518). Frankfort on the Maine.

Nicolai Methonæ Episcopi Orationes duæ. Nunc primum editæ Græce e Cod. Moscov. Ab Andronico Demetracopulo. Leipsic.

Die Fragmente des Vlfilas nach der silbernen Handschrift in Upsala, im Zusammenhalte mit der Handschrift Tischendorfs von dem Berge Sinai. Herausg. von Gaugengigl. Fifth Edition, with Supplement. Munich.

S. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni, Opera. Ex recen. Fr. Oehler. Tom. I. Libri dogmatici. Halle.

Sundry publications have reached us too late to be reviewed in the present number. Several contributions also have to stand over in consequence of the extra space allotted to exceptional matter. In the Correspondence of the Journal, it is desirable that our friends should study brevity, and should forward as early as they can such letters as are intended for speedy insertion.

MISCELLANIES.

Palestine Exploration.—M. Louis Lartet, who accompanied the Duc de Luynes in his late expedition to the Holy Land (see *Reader* of Jan. 7, p. 13), is shortly about to lay before the Geological Society of France the first portion of the results of his observations,—namely, his conclusions on the origin and geological formation of the basin of the Dead Sea, and on the level of that lake with reference to the Mediterranean. The second portion of M. Lartet's work is also in progress, and will comprise his detailed examination of the strata and fossils. This portion will be illustrated by numerous cross sections, and by three small geological maps, viz., a general plan of the basin of the Dead Sea, in the widest sense of the word, from Hermon to the Red Sea, with the adjacent districts; and two other maps on a larger scale—the one of the lake itself and its environs, and the other of the district of Petra and the watershed of the Arabah. Tables of the analyses of the specimens of soil, rocks, plants, etc., collected by M. Lartet, and of the waters of the lake and its numerous tributaries, will complete the memoir, which, from M. Lartet's known ability and experience, and from the care which was taken in all the details of the expedition, bids fair to be the most interesting and important communication on the subject yet made to the world. To the geological student it will offer the first trustworthy report of a district which presents singular phenomena, having the most intimate bearing on the great question of the formation of Alpine lake basins—so often discussed in the columns of *The Reader*—of which indeed the Dead Sea and its attendant lakes are perhaps the most remarkable instances existing. To the Biblical student its interest is still more momentous, since on the date of the basin, and the existence of traces of volcanic action in the neighbourhood of the lake within the historical period, depends the question whether the ordinary interpretation of the nineteenth chapter of Genesis is to be accepted, or whether one is to be sought more consonant with the conclusions of modern scientific knowledge. The specimens of the water of the Dead Sea were taken from various parts of the lake and at various depths, in accordance with a suggestion made by the Master of the Mint, and accepted with alacrity by M. Lartet. The specimens were taken in considerable numbers, each in duplicate. They survived the difficulties of the journey round and about the lake, of the transit by Jerusalem and Jaffa to the Mediterranean, of the voyage to France—only, alas! to be seriously damaged at Marseilles by the wanton carelessness of the custom-house officers. Still, it is hoped that enough have remained to furnish more conclusive results than have yet been obtained. These, as well as the other investigations by a *savant* of such distinguished ability and experience as M. Lartet, must be looked for with impatience by every one who feels an interest in the Holy Land and its bearing on the sacred record.

The following letter from Sir Henry James, which appeared in the *Times* of the 28th ult., gives the welcome intelligence that Sir Henry has received from the Council of the Royal Society and the Council of the

Geographical Society the sum of £200, which he stated in his former letter was required to meet the expense of ascertaining the level of the Dead Sea. These donations and those of Sir Moses Montefiore shew how readily money may be obtained for the exploration of the Holy Land when there is a reasonable guarantee of its being well expended.

The letter runs as follows:—"Sir, I am happy to inform you that in consequence of your having been so kind as to insert my letter of the 30th of December last in *The Times* I have received £200, the estimated cost of connecting the contours and other levels of the Jerusalem survey with the level of the Mediterranean and the level of the Dead Sea. Through the influence of several scientific gentlemen, who are more especially interested in having the exact amount of the depression of the Dead Sea below the level of the Mediterranean accurately determined by levelling, the Council of the Royal Society have granted £100, and that of the Royal Geographical Society the other £100 to make up the sum required. The Earl de Grey and Ripon having consented to allow the party of Royal Engineers now engaged in making the survey of Jerusalem to remain out the short additional time required for executing this work, I shall immediately give instructions for its being commenced in the first week in March, by which time I anticipate that the survey of Jerusalem will be finished. I am happy also to be able to state that Sir Moses Montefiore has not only sent me several letters of introduction to the principal gentlemen among the Jews in Jerusalem, requesting them to give Captain Wilson all the assistance in their power to facilitate his gaining admittance to the houses occupied by the Jews, but he also sent me £10 10*s.* as his contribution towards the expense of Captain Wilson's underground explorations, the expense of which Captain Wilson has been defraying from his private purse.—I have the honour to be be, Sir, your obedient servant, HENRY JAMES."—*The Reader.*

Egyptian Antiquities.—The director of the museums at Paris has placed in the gallery of Egyptian antiquities at the Louvre four stones having hieroglyphic inscriptions, presented by Prince Napoleon. The most remarkable of them contains the astronomical date of the Elephantine Calendar, and, according to MM. Biot and De Rougé, was executed in the year 1442 before Christ, under the reign of Thotmes the Third.—18th dynasty—for a sacred edifice, which was pulled down in the Ptolemaic period, and its materials employed in constructing the still existing quay of Elephantina. The other articles are—1. A fine "stole" or column in the form of a door, equally remarkable for its Archaic style and beauty of engraving. It belongs to the time of the fourth dynasty, as it bears several cartouches of King Teta. 2. The lintel of a doorway covered with hieroglyphics, which was obtained from a tomb at Memphis, of the same date as the great pyramids. 3. A small block of calcareous stone, bearing on three of its sides the cartouches of Ramses, and containing the same unusual reading of the name as is found in the middle column of the inscriptions on the obelisk in the Place de la Concorde. These four stones were found during the excavations made some years since by M. Mariette for Prince Napoleon.

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EARLY ENGLISH RELIGIOUS POETRY.[a]

It was a good omen for the English language and for English literature when the English writers saw the necessity of writing in the vulgar tongue, and the motives which prompted them to do this are deserving of the highest praise. Hear what they say; and first, Robert Brunne in his Chronicles:[b]—

"Als thai haf wrytene and sayd,
Haf I alle in myn Inglis layd,
In symple speche as I couthe,
That is lightest in mannes mouthe.
I mad nought for no disours
Ne for no seggers, no harpours,
But for the luf of symple menne,
That strange Inglis canne not kenne."

[a] *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.* Copied and Edited from Manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum. By F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. Published for the Philological Society. 1862.

Roberd of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, printed from MSS. in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries. Edited for the Roxburghe Club. By F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. 1862.

Early English Alliterative Poems in the West Midland Dialect of the Fourteenth Century. Edited by Richard Morris, Esq. London: published for the Early English Text Society, by Trübner and Co. 1864.

[b] Obsolete characters are represented by modern letters, thus:—þ is represented by *th*; ȝ by *s*, *gh*, *y*, etc.; & is invariably given in full—and.

And in another place of the same Chronicle, he says:—

"And menne besoght me many a tyme,
To turne it bot in lighte ryme;
Thai sayd, if I in strange it turne,—
To here it, many on suld skurne;
For it ere names fulle selcouthe,
That ere not vsed now in mouthe.
And therfore for the comonalte,
That blythely wild listen to me,
On light lange I it beganne,
For luf of the lewed manne,
To telle tham the chaunces bolde,
That here before was don and tolde."[c]

The good monk knew the delight his countrymen took in hearing tales and rhymes, and so, as he tells us in his *Handlyng Synne,* written A.D. 1303,

"For lewdë men y vndyrtoke
On Englyssh tunge to make thys boke
For many ben of swyche manere
That talys and rymys wyl blethly here;
Yn gamys, and festys, and at the ale,
Loue men to lestene trotëuale.

Richard Hampole follows in the same strain. In his *Prycke of Conscience,* A.D. 1340, he says:—

"Tharfor this buke es on Ynglese drawen,
Of sere maters, that er unknawen
Til (to) laude men that er unkunnand,
That can na latyn understand,
To make tham tham-self first knaw
And fra syn and vanytese tham draw,
And for to stir tham til right drede,
When thai this tretisce here or rede
That sal prikke thair conscience with-yn,
And of that drede may a lofe bygyn
Thurgh comfort of ioyes of heven sere
That men may aftirward rede and here."[d]

This love of simple men, then, was the motive which led these poets to clothe their thoughts in the language of the people instead of using a foreign tongue. The advantages of this were immense; for had they written in Latin or French, the great majority of the people could not have benefitted by the instruction given, and our now noble language might have been delayed in its full development for centuries. At all events these early

[c] Quoted in Preface to *Handlyng Synne.*
[d] The *Pricke of Conscience,* p. 10. Edited by R. Morris, Esq. 1863.

English authors must have shewn Chaucer and Wycliffe the capabilities of the national language, and may have encouraged them to adopt it for their writings.

In the present article we shall endeavour to illustrate, by a few of the less known poems of the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries, the religious condition of the people of this country, and the amount of religious knowledge which they possessed. By confining ourselves to this early period we shall escape the vision of Piers Ploughman, and the whole of Chaucer's writings, but we believe our readers will not regret this when they have seen the specimens we intend to give; most of them written before the "Father of English Poetry" was born. At the outset, we are pleased to say that a careful perusal of this poetry has left a favourable impression on our mind. We do not believe that the people were wholly given to monkish legends and idle tales, but prefer to think that then, as now, there was more good than the world was aware of.

A few of the poems in the first volume on our list were written before A.D. 1300, and the "Lives of the Saints" about A.D. 1305-10. The first poem is a "Sarmun" against pride and covetousness, and on the grave, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven. The folly of pride is taught by many examples, some of which we quote:—

"If thou ert prute man of thi fleisse
othir of thi velle (skin) that is with-oute
Thi fleisse nis naghte bot worme-is meisse
of such a thing whi ert thou prute.
* * * * *
Sire whar of is the gentil man
of eni other than of this:
him silf mei se if gode he can
for he sal find that so hit is.
* * * * *
That hit be soth and noght les
thou loke thi neghbor whare and how
thou loke in his biriles
he was prute as ert thou.
* * * * *
If man is prute of world-is welle
ihc hold a fole that he be
hit commith. hit goth. hit nis bot dwelle (folly)
bot dritte gile (deceit) and wanite."

That we must all give an account at the day of judgment of the manner in which we have used this world's goods, was a doctrine urged by the preacher in the following language:—

"Theigh man be rich of lond and lede (people)
and holdith festis ofte and lome (frequently)
hit nis no doute he sal be dede
to yelde recning at the dome
ye: sulle we give a-cuntis
of al that we habbith ibe here
ye: of a verthing soth i-wisse
of al thi time fram yer to yere,
and bot thou hit hab ispend arighte
the gode that god the hath ilend
of ihsu criste thou lesist the sight
to helle pine thou worthe (shalt be) isend."

The pains of hell are thus described:—

"Bothe fire and wind lude sal crie
louerd nov let vs go to
for ich wl blow the fire sal berne
vp sinful man that hath misdo
heuen and erthe sal crie and grede
and helle sal berne thou salt ise
o: sinful man wo worthe thy rede
whan al this wrech sal be for the
hit is so grisful for to loke
and forto hir the bittir dome
angles sul quake so seithe the boke
and that thou hirist oft and lome."

But if the pains of hell are so terrible, the joys of heaven are beyond the powers of mortal tongue to tell. The least joy there will be, that we shall know our friends and all our kin; the greatest, that we shall behold the Blessed Trinity, who will be there "our food and drink."

"Ther be woningis (dwellings) mani and fale (very many)
gode and betir tak god hede
the last word bint (binds) the tale
wo best mai do: best is his mede.

* * * * *

The lest ioi that ther is in
a man sal know his owin frend
is wif is fader and al is kin
of al this ioi ther nis non end
we sul se oure leuedi (Lady) brighte
so fulle of loue ioi and blisse
that of hir neb (face) sal spring the lighte
in to oure hert that ioi iwisse
The sighte of the trinite
the mest (greatest) ioi that mai be-falle
bothe god and man in mageste
the heigh king aboue vs alle

The sight of him is ure vode (food)
The sight of him is ure virst (drink)
al ure iois beth ful gode
the sight of him is alir best (best of all)."

Paraphrases of Holy Scripture are frequent in our early poetry, and some of them, which we shall notice hereafter, are very faithfully rendered. We regret that we cannot say the same of the "Ten Commandments," as they appear in this volume. In Robert Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, the second commandment is omitted altogether, and the tenth divided, thus making up the required number. But here a greater liberty has been taken. The second and third are ignored, the fourth appears as the second, the fifth as the third, the seventh as the fifth, the eighth as the sixth, the sixth as the seventh, the tenth does duty for the eighth and ninth, and the ninth is placed as the tenth. It will be seen that the fourth commandment as given here has no place in the Mosaic Decalogue. There is much that is curious in the piece, especially the denunciations against "swearing great oaths," and against Sunday trading, which seem to have been as common then as now. We give the poem entire:—

" Now ihsu for thi derworth (precious) blode: that thou schaddist for mankyn:
gif vs grace to wirch workis gode: to heuen that we mot enter inn:
Man and womman ic red be ware: yure gret othis that ye be leue:
and bot ye nul god nel you spare: bothe lif and catel he wol you reue:
hit nis no wonder for soth i wisse: that gret wreche ne fallith ther fore:
for we ne leuith of al is limmes. that we ne habbith ham for-swore.
man is wors than eni hunde. other he is to wild and wode:
that we ssold edwite (scorn) is worthi wound. that he tholid (suffered) for vre gode.
be a ware whose euer wol. al quelme and sorow that euir is:
at then end so find we sulle, that for man-is sin it is
ic rede that euch be ware i-wis. in as moch as the is man:
whan ye swerith gret othis. in rode thou piltist him apan.
God commandid to ysay. that he ssold wend and prech:
that was in the hil of syna. how he ssold the folke tech.
and to ssow ham god-is defens. bothe to yung and to olde.
of the .x. commandemens. whos wold be sauid ham ssold hold.
The first comondement is this. o (one) god we ssul honuri:
the heigh king of heuen blis. his name with wirssip to worthi (honour).
loue thou him as he doth the. with all thi might and thi thoght:
we aught ful wel for hit was he. that vs wrecchis so dere boght.

more harm is we doth noght so. we louid the ful dritte of grunde:
alas wrecchis whi do we so. hit mai noght hold vre lif a stunde (moment)
ve beth hi (by?) the deuil be taught. that liuith op goddis mo than one:
and makith goddis throgh wichcraft. thai ssul al to the deuil gone.
The secunde so is this. sundai wel that ye holde:
to serue god thilk dai wis. bothe yung and eke olde,
and now the sundai opunlich. men holt har cheping:
wonder that gode ne sent wreech. al an erthe vp mankyn.
the thrid is. fader moder to honuri. for euch man aght ful wel.
moch ten (grief) suffrid hi: her hi might bring the wrecche to wel.
hit fallith bi children that beth quede (wicked): as farith bi been in hiue:
whan fader guief ham londe and leede: the yung wol the old ut driue:
the uerth. loue thi neighbore. as thine owe bodi: non other thou him wil:
the fift wit the fram licheri: the sixt is no gode of man thou ne stel,
the .vii. manslaght thou ne be: ne coueit noght neuer adel
thogh thou be stuter than is he: no is wif no is catel.
fals witnes thou ne ber. for to destrei pouer no riche:
sore and bitter the soule sal der. for hit benimeth (taketh away) heuen-riche.
besech we him mild of mode. that sok the milk of maid-is brest:
that bogbt vs with is der blod. give vs euer in heuen rest. Amen."

Of the remaining poems in this volume we cannot stay to say much. The "Seven Sins" is incomplete, embracing only pride, coveteousness, and envy. We may note, that Englishmen seem to have been particularly liable to the sin of envy. In Robert Brunne's days, it had grown into a proverb. Hear what he says:

"And, Englys men namely
Are thurghe kynde of herte hy.
A forbyseyn (proverb) ys toldë thys,
Seyde on Frenshe men and on Englys.
Frenche men synne yn lecherye,
And Englys men yn enuye."

And a little further on the same writer says:—

"For y se noun yn hys lyue
that of enuye kan hym shryue;
thoghe eurye day a man hyt haunte,
Yyt wyl no man be hyt a-graunte.
Telle to any that he hath enuye,
He seyth agen 'hyt ys a lye."
How mow they than shryue that synne
that seyn they have no gylt therynne?
We Englys men theron shulde thynke,
that enuyë vs nat blynk (deceive)."

Compare these extracts with the following from the "Seven Sins:"—

"The thrid sin so is onde (envy). that mochil nuthe is in lond.
and euir hi quemith the fend of helle. in woch maner ic wol you tel.
leue bretherin herknith now. and ic wol you tel how.
world-is wel fallith vnliche. and noght euch man ilich.
sum ther beth that cun noght libbe. sum that hauith frendis sibbe.
and sum ther beth that swinketh sore. winne catel to habbe more.
ham silf fair to susteni. and euer more hi beth nedi.
and sum ther beth leue brother. that more hath than another.
and more loue of gode man. another wol after than.
areri cuntake. . . . ."

Still, envy was not the only sin to which Englishmen were liable, as we shall see further on. In contrast with this account of envy, we may place another extract from Mr. Furnivall's book. It also is a fragment from the Harleian MS. 913, fol. 28. The "Christ on the Cross" could only have been written by a man of the sincerest piety, by one who had deeply pondered the agonies of the crucifixion, and bewailed the sins, which made such a sacrifice necessary.

"Behold to thi lord man. whare he hangith on rode.
and weep if thou might. teris al of blode.
and loke to his heued. with thornis al be-wonde.
and to is felle so bi-spette. and to the sper-is wnde.
bi-hold to is brest nakid. and is blodi side.
stiniith (? look at) is armis. that sprad beth so wide.
his fair lere (flesh) falowith (grows pale). and dimmith is sighte.
ther-to is hendi (gentle) bodi. on rode so is y-tighte.

* * * * *

be-hold to is nailes. in hond and ek in fote.
and how the stremis ernith (flow). of is swet blode.
be-ginne at is heued. and loke to is to.
thou ne findest in is bodi. bot anguis and wo."

This is painfully minute, yet we think not too much so, and, attentively studied, no painting could convey a more accurate description of the Saviour on the cross, than do the few lines of the fragment which we have quoted.

Of "A Moral Ode," written about A.D. 1250, we can do no more than give an abstract, for which we are indebted to the editor. The writer of this Ode begins:—

"I am old in years, but my life has been useless. My old likings I mislike; and now that I would do better, I cannot. Slow we are to good; yet we must do it while we live, and trust not to others, for one alms in life, is better than five after death—who well does not while he may, he shall not when he would. Slack not in well-doing, and do it while you may. Trust not, rich men, to wall and

ditch, but send your goods to heaven. . . . All our works, good and evil, shall be weighed before heaven's King; He shall give us our reward; and the poor with his penny may buy the kingdom, as well as the rich with his pounds. For all God's works are mercy: He oversees the world, and from His bright eye is no secret deed, or dark thought hidden. . . . Everywhere He is; and they who do His will, easily find Him. But what shall the breakers of His commandments do at the great doom, when devils shall bring up all our unexpiated sins. Each man shall judge himself, his own heart being the best witness against him, to death or life. But God shall judge each according to his end: therefore do good, and pray mercy, before death is at the door. . . . Many say, 'Who cares for punishment? it shall end.' Little know they its heat and bitter blasts: who would give ending pleasure for endless pain? . . . *God's mercy* is not less than His might, and the devil himself might have it if he would seek it. But hell's king is merciless; he who most does his will gets least reward—a bath of boiling pitch. God keep us from it! In hell there is hunger and thirst for evil misers; change from chill to heat and heat to chill; with no relief. The unsteadfast walk ever, seeking rest and finding none,—wearily up and down, as water driven with the wind; and quarrellers shall bathe in ever boiling pitch. Fire is there that ever burns, unquenchable by sea, or Avon stream, or Stour, and in it shall be those who were full of foul tricks. . . . Never sun shines there, nor moon, nor star, but only foul smoke and darkness. . . . No heart can think, or tongue tell, how great is the pain of hell; but the greatest is that the damned know it is endless. Heathen men are there; and wicked Christians, whom neither money, prayers, nor alms shall help. . . . Love God and your fellow Christians, all hangs on these two words. But it is hard to stand and easy to fall, unless Christ gives us strength. . . . In heaven some have less joy, and some more, according to their deeds here. God alone is their food, their life, their bliss, their sun, and nightless day. In heaven is weal and rest, bliss without sorrow, and life without death. God alone is the bliss of angels and men, but all shall not see His light alike, only as they loved Him here. Christ shall be enough for all His darlings, and of the sight of Him is no satiety. God is so lovely in His Godship that no man can tell what mirth have those who are in His bliss. To it may He bring us, and Christ grant us here to lead such life that we may thither come. Amen.

From this summary of the piece it will be seen that there are few things in it which we could not believe at the present day; and though the writer gave the rein to his imagination in his description of the pains of hell, he was careful to inculcate the eternity of punishment, and the uselessness of money, prayers, and alms in rescuing souls from thence. Love towards God and man has its proper place: and the weakness of man, and safeguards against sin, are not passed by unnoticed. Altogether we hold it to be a very favourable specimen of our early

poetry, doctrinally and poetically. In these matters, how much it differs from the *Lives of the Saints*. As might be expected, these are full of the absurdest statements, and most childish of marvels. We have Dunstan's interview with the devil; St. Swithin mending the country-woman's broken eggs; miracles of our Lady and St. James; how St. Christopher was twenty-four feet long, and so on. Now and then we come across pieces that are interesting, historically or geographically, but as a rule, they are very humiliating examples of the mental food with which some writers endeavoured to satisfy the people. We give one extract, which is a fair specimen of the language: it is from the life of Dunstan:—

"Of the hous of Glastnebure: a gret ordeynour he was
And makede moche of gode reule: that neuer er among hem nas
Ac that hous that furst bigonne: four hundred yer bifore
And eke threo and vyfti: er seint Dunstan were ibore
For ther was ordre of monekes: er seint patrik com
And er seint Austyn to Engelonde: broughte cristendom.
And seint patrick deide tuo hundred: and tuo and vyfti yer
After that oure suete leuedi: oure louerd here ber
Ac non monekes ther nere furst: bote as in hudinge echon
And as men that drowe to wyldernisse: for drede of godes fon
(foes)."

But we pass on to the more important poems of the time, and the next on our list is Robert Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, written in English in 1303. This poem is an adaptation of William of Wadington's French treatise, *Manuel des Pechiez*. The poem itself is very long, consisting of over twelve thousand lines. It is written in the general southern dialect of the period; so the difficulties on the score of language are small compared with the poems of what Mr. Morris has termed the "West Midland Dialect." We proceed to summarize the work, giving extracts as we proceed.

The Prologue gives us the writer's intention of speaking of the commandments of the old law; of the seven sins, and of the sin of sacrilege; also of the seven sacraments, as well the twelve points of shrift and the twelve graces which come of it. But of privy sins he will not speak, for he writes for lewd men, who gladly listen to tales and rhymes. Tales and marvels will be found in the book, but nothing but that for which he has evidence written or otherwise. The poem opens with the first commandment: "Thou schalt have no god but one." If you have ever forsaken God, you are urged to turn to him again, because he "is ful euere of pyte," and "Hys mercy ys euere redy to the." This command is then illustrated by stories from "a boke of 'Vitas Patrum,'" which

stories treat of witchcraft, dreams, omens, and so on. The Romish second (Mosaic third) commandment is "Swere nat hys name yn ydulnys." The sin of swearing oaths is enlarged upon, and various marvellous things are recounted to prevent men committing it. One we may mention. The Virgin and her child appeared to a man who practised this bad habit. The child was all torn and bloody; and when the man inquired "Ho hath made thy chylde so blody?" he received for answer, "Thou hast hym so schent, and wyth thy othys al to rent." The third commandment we shall quote entire. It is somewhat long, but we hope to be excused, because it throws much light upon opinions held at the time, and because of another thing, which we shall speak of below:—

"The thryd commaundëment yn owre lay
Ys 'holdë weyl thyn halyday',
And come blelych (blithely) to the seruyse
Whan holy chyrche settyth asyse.
Of al the festys that yn holy chyrche are
Holy sunday men aghte to spare;
Holy sunday ys byfore alle fre
That euere yyt were, or euere shal be.
For the pope may thurghe hys pouere
Turne the halydays yn the yere
How as he wyl, at hys owne wyl,
But, the sunday shal stondë styl.
The halydays that yn heruyst are
In yolë (Christmas) he may sette hem thare,
And of the yolë euery feste
May he sette yn herueste.
But, he may, thrughe no resun
The sunday puttë vp no dowun:
Tharfore the Sunday specyaly
Ys hyest to halew, and most wurthy;
And that day thou owyst and shal
For to herë thy seruyse al;
Matyns messe here, to rede or syngg,
Euery deyl to the endyngg.
Weyte thy tyme, and be not the last
To come whan holy watyr ys cast.
Come fyrst to matyns gyf that thou may,
For hyt ys Goddys ownë day.
God made the wrldë, este and west,
Yn syxë days; the seventhe to reste.
Than restyd he hym fro al erthly werkys.
How dur other prestys or clerkys,
Or thou lewede man, that day werche,
Whan that day ys halewede yn holy chyrche?

The seruyng man that seruyth yn the yere
Oweth to come when he hath leysere.
Gyf thou come noghte, algate y rede
Ete noghte ar thou haue holy brede,
For to many thyngës, hyt may auayle,
To soulë helpe, or lyuës trauayle.
Thy body gyf thau smartly endes,
Hyt ys for housyl agens the fendes;
And holy watyr take of the prestys hande,
For anoylyng hyt wyl the stande.
Sum tyme hyt was wont to be dowun
To halewe the satyrday at the noun,
Namlychë yn Inglonde;
And nawer so moche y vndyrstonde.
When that custome was wont to be,
Than was grace and grete plente;
And ther men hauntede that custome lest
Falleth oft tymë grete tempest.
The satyrday ys specyaly
Ordeynede to wurschyp oure ladye.
And that for a grete resun;—
Whan Jesu deyde thurghe passyun
Hys dyscyplys doutedë echoun
Whether he shuldë ryse or noun.
Alle that beleuede yn hym byfore,
Alle here beleuë was nyghe forlore
Fro the fryday that he deyde
To tyme that he ros, as he seyde.
But hys modyr vyrgyne Marie,
She bare the beleue vp stedfastly
Fro the fryday at the noun
Tyl alle the satyrday was doun,
And alle the nyght tyl that he ros,
Of alle oure beleue she bare the los;—
That Crystyn men beleuyn now echone,
In here that tymë was hyt alone;
And for that skylle than thynketh me
The satyrday may here ounë be:
Tharfore that day al holy cherche
Theyr seruysë of here they werche.
And ryght now for the samë skylle
A tale therforë telle y wylle."

It is curious to note that the "Saturday half holiday" should pear here, and after slumbering for five hundred years should "revived again, so wisely for other ends."[e] It is good to hear protest against the way in which some spent the Sunday.

[e] Editor's Preface.

They break this command, who, on holy days, "leave no folly;" who make carol or play; who practise wrestling; who make women gather together, to see which were the fairer; who jangle at church; who haunt the taverne, for—

"Tauerne ys the deuylys knyfe,
Hyt sleth the, other soul or lyfe."

All these sins men were guilty of, though—

"Halyday was made for preyere,
To Gode oure herende for to bere."

The fourth commandment is, "Oure fadyr and modyr we shall honoure."

"Gif thou were euere so felun
To gyue fadyr or modyr thy malysun,
Or stonde agens hem yn answere
And woldest nat bowë ne forbere,
Thou hast synnede than dedly."

Then follows the "Tale of the father." Parents are advised to adopt Solomon's advice, "Not to give up your land while you may draw your hand;" and Seneca's, "Don't make your heir or your physician your executor;" and—

"Loue thou thy chyldyr oute of wytte;
Trust to hem; and helples sytte."

There is also some advice to mothers. Under the fifth commandment, evil speaking and backbiting are condemned:—

"Gyf thou bryng a man in fame,
That he haue euere lastyng shame,—
Byfore God thou hym slos
Whan thou hym reuyst his gode los (fame, report)."

The backbiter is the occasion of three men's death:—his own, his who believes the slander, and his who is slandered. When speaking of the sixth commandment—"we shul noun hurdam do"—the monk takes the opportunity to give us his opinion of a "good woman."

"No thyng ys to man so dere
As wommanys loue in gode manere.
A godë womman ys mannys blys
There here loue ryght stedfast ys;
There ys no solas vndyr heuene
Of alle that a man may neuene (name),
That shulde a man so mochë glew (mirth)
As a gode womman that loueth trew.
Ne derer ys none yn Goddys hurde
Than a chaste womman wyth louely worde."

The seventh commandment is, "No mannys gode shalt you stele," for shameful death here, and hell hereafter, is the punishment. Under this command, the author has occasion to speak of the "unworthiness of ministers" by which—

> "the seluyn messe
> Ys nother the wursë, ne the lesse;
> The sunne hys feyrnes neuer he tynes (loses)
> Thoghe hyt on the muk hepe shynes."

We find here also some severe threatenings against the oppression and robbery practised by the rich against the poor; against those who raise prices, keep back wages, plough a furrow from another's ground, and all the various kinds of wrong and robbery which were then in the land. The eighth commandment,—

> "Thou shalt no fals wytnes bere
> Thyn euene (fellow) crystyn for to dere."

teaches us that they sin who say one thing and mean another, who lie to deceive, who use too fair speech, who lie to get goods; but the greatest sin is when men swear great oaths to their false witness. The ninth commandment is, "coueyt nat thy neghburs thyng," and the tenth, "coueyte nat thy negheburs wyfe."

The "Ten Commandments" are succeeded by the "Seven Deadly Sins," at the head of which stands Pride. Here the author makes good his opportunity to exclaim against the many and frivolous customs which then prevailed—the hair, the beard, powdering of faces, heads dressed with hair and long horns too, slashed and pierced clothes, long trains over which the devil had power, and on which he had been seen to sit, saffroned wimples and kerchiefs—all interesting to the student of early manners and customs. Anger is the "devil's daughter;" envy, as we have seen, is a sin specially of Englishmen; against sloth the poet's ire bursts forth, as it seems his own order was greatly set at nought by the idle rich, who, when the church bell rang, "would lie and take the merry morning sleep." They cared not for matins, and when called for mass, would say, "Let the priest wait." When the time is gone by, and the rich man does get to mass, he only dresses his hair, uses no prayers, and, if a friar comes to preach, he thinks it would be far better if he talked of dinner. Warnings are given against tournaments, for *all* the seven sins are found thereat; against "Miracle plays," for they are a "syghte of synne;" against,—

> "Daunces, karols, somour games,—
> Of many swych come many shames;"

against minstrels; against neglectful parsons, lazy young men, and worldly men in general. The remaining sins are treated very circumstantially, and with an evident eye to the practices of the times in which the writer lived. Nothing was too high, nothing too low for him to notice; many of the stories in the book are now quite unpresentable and unprofitable, many are full of humour, and give one a favourable idea of their author. That he was one of those who were as the salt of the earth in his times, we have no doubt, any more than we have that he lived up to the rule of his order, and was a pattern of cheerful godliness to all around him. We cannot do better, in concluding this imperfect notice of Robert Brunne's book, than quote the words of his learned and loving editor, whose labours here and in other departments of early literature have earned for him the admiration of all. He says, "His (Robert Brunne's) feelings on drawing near the end of his work are thus expressed:—

'Jesu, y thank the of thy grace,
That hast lent me wyt and space,
Thys yn englys for to drawe,
As holy men have seyde yn sawe;
For leude men hyt may auayle,
For hem y tokë thys trauayle.'

"We thank God for you, Robert, too, and doubt not that you are now with the Father, whom you strove here to love and serve. You still do His work even on earth, for, being dead, you yet speak to us, and convict us of sin as we read your words. And, though you shew us, for the most part, only the dark side of our forefather's lives, we are sure that the cloud had its silver lining, which received the Light of the Sun in which you rejoiced and rejoice."[f]

The aim of the unknown author of the Early English Alliterative Poems seems to have been to enforce "by line upon line, and precept upon precept, resignation to the will of God; purity of life as manifested in thought, word, and deed; obedience to the divine command; and patience under affliction."[g] He was a man of austere piety, his whole poems seem to breathe nothing else; and if they may be taken as evidence of the man, he must certainly rank very high as a religious teacher, and take no mean place as a poet. The poems in this book are three in number, and are entitled by their editor "The Pearl," "Cleanness," and "Patience." They are edited for the first time by Mr. Morris for the Early English Text Society, which last year commenced what we hope will be a prosperous career. There must be many

[f] Preface, p. xviii. [g] Editor's Preface, p. ix.

a manuscript lying buried in our great public and private libraries which would amply repay the trouble and expense of editing, and many already edited by various printing clubs are all but a dead letter to the ordinary student. We welcome then this new society, which proposes to give us accurate editions and re-editions of early English writers at a very moderate cost.[4]

As before, we shall give a brief but general outline of each poem, with extracts as illustrations of style, language, and so on. "In the first poem," says the editor, "entitled by me 'The Pearl,' the author evidently gives expression to his own sorrow for the loss of his infant child, a girl of two years old, whom he describes as a—

> "'Perle plesaunte to prynces paye (pleasure)
> To clanly clos in golde so clere.'

Of her death he says:—

> "'Allas! I lost hyr in on erbere
> Thurgh gresse to grounde hit fro me yot.'

The writer then represents himself as visiting his child's grave (or arbour) in August and giving way to his grief." Beautiful flowers covered the grave, and from them came a delicious odour. There, wringing his hands, he fell flat upon the flowery plot and slept. In spirit he was then carried to an unknown region, where the rocks and cliffs gleamed gloriously; the leaves of the trees were like burnished silver, and the gravel consisted of precious stones; there he saw birds of the most beautiful hues and of the sweetest song; no tongue could describe the beauty of the place, everything shone like gold. The dreamer arrives at the bank of a river, in which he can see stones which shine like stars in the welkin on a winter night. Here his grief abates, and he follows the course of the stream, which he finds not fordable. He thought Paradise was on the opposite bank, and greatly desired to see it, but the way seemed difficult. New marvels now open to his view. He sees a crystal cliff, at the foot of which is a maiden clothed in white, whom he remembers having seen before. He desires to call her, but is afraid, so stands still until she comes along towards him. Her kirtle, he tells us, was ornamented with pearls, and a crown of pearls adorned her head. The trimming of her robe consisted of precious pearls, and a wonderful pearl was set in her breast. Her colour was whiter than "whalebone" (ivory), and her hair

[4] The annual subscription is one guinea. For this the Society last year issued four works—*Arthur; Early English Alliterative Poems*; *Ye Office and Dewtie of Kynges, &c.*; and *Sir Gawayne.*

hung about her shining like gold. In her the father recognizes his lost pearl, and enquires whether she were his daughter, and longs to know who deprived him of her, for since her departure he had been a "joyless jeweller." The maiden answers that she is not really lost, but is in a garden of delight, where sin and mourning are unknown. She then blames him for having spoken three words unadvisedly—not knowing the meaning of one.

"'Jueler,' sayde that gemme clene,
'Wy borde ye men so madde ye be?[i]
Thre wordes hats thou spoken at ene,
Vnavysed, for sothe, wern alle thre,
Thou ne woste in worlde quat on dots mene,
Thy worde byfore thy wytte con fle.
Thou says thou trawes me in this dene (dale)
Bycawse thou may with yghen me se;
Another thou says, in thys countre
Thy self schal won (dwell) with me ryght here;
The thrydde, to passe thys water fre,
That may no Joyful Jueler.'"

He deserves little praise who only loves what he sees, and to love nothing but what we do see is great presumption. To live in this kingdom (heaven) leave must be asked, and the stream passed over by death. This again causes grief, and the father asks whether she is about to doom him again to sorrow, for if he loses his pearl again, he cares not what may happen to him. The maiden advises him to suffer patiently, for he must abide God's doom, and in His power it lies to make men joyful or sad. He beseeches her to have pity upon him, "for his bliss and bale she had been both."

To his question what life is led in heaven, the reply is:—

"'Now blysse burne (man) mot the bytyde;'
Then sayde that lufsoum of lyth and lere,
'And welcum here to walk and byde,
For now thy speche is to me dere;
Maysterful mod and hyghe pryde
I hete (promise) the arn heterly (greatly) hated here;
My lorde ne loues for to chyde,
For meke arn alle that wones hym nere,
And when in hys place thou schal apere,
Be dep deuote in hol mekenesse;
My lorde the lamb, loues ay such chere,
That is the grounde of alle my blysse.

[i] "Why should you talk, so foolish you are?"—Ed.

A blysful lyf thou says I lede,
Thou woldes knaw ther-of the stage;
Thow wost wel when thy perle con schede (did depart),
I wats ful young and tender of age,
Bot my lorde the lombe, thurgh hys godhede,
He toke myself to hys maryage,
Corounde me quene in blysse to brede,
In lenghe of dayes that euer schal wage,
And sesed in all hys herytage
Hys lef (dear one) is, I am holy hysse;
Hys prese, hys prys and hys parage,
Is rote and grounde of alle my blysse.'"

The father does not understand her; for Mary, he says, is ɜen of heaven. She explains that each has his place in ɐven, and that each one in God's court is a king or a queen, t that Mary holds the chief place. Still he cannot under- ınd how she who was only two years old when she died, and uld have done nothing to please God, should be a queen: e might be a countess or some great lady, but not a queen. ı explanation he is told that there is no limit to God's power, ıd the parable of the labourers in the vineyard is rehearsed in ll. It is given here:—

"My regne, he sayts, is lyk on hyght,
To a lord that hade a uyne Iwate,
Of tyme of yere the terme wats tyghte,
To labor vyne wats dere the date,
That date of yere wel knawe thys hyne;
The lorde ful erly vp he ros,
To hyre werkmen to hys vyne,
And fyndes ther summe to hys porpos.
Into accorde thay con declyne,
For a pené on a day and forth thay gots
Wrythen and worchen and don gret pyne,
Keruen and caggen and man hit clos;[j]
Aboute vnder,[k] the lorde to marked tots (goes)
And ydel men stande he fyndes ther-ate,
Why stande ye ydel, he sayde to thos,
Ne knawe ye of this day no date?
Er date of day hider arn we wonne,
So wats al samen her answar soght;
We have standen her syn ros the sunne,
And no mon byddes vs do, ryght noght.
Gos into my vyne, dots that ye conne.
So sayde the lorde and made hit toght:
What resonabele hyre be naght be runne,

[j] *Dig*, and *draw*, and *make* it close.
[k] The third hour=9 a.m.

I you pray in dede and thoghte.
Thay wente in to the vyne and wroghte,
And al day the lorde thus yede his gate,
And mo men to hys vyne he broghte;
Wel negh wyl day wats passed date,
At the day of date of euen-songe,
On oure byfore the sonne go doun
He segh ther ydel men ful stronge
And sayde to hem with sobre soun;
Wy stonde ye ydel thise dayes longe.
Thay sayden her hyre wats nawhere boun.
'Gots to my vyne yemen yonge
And wyrkes and dots that al ye moun.'
Sone the worlde bycom wel broun,
The sunne wats doun and hit wex late;
To take her hyre he mad sumoun;
The day wats al apassed date.
The date of the daye the lorde con knaw,
Called to the reuel 'ede (man) pay the meyny,
Gyf hem the hyre that I hem owe,
And fyrre (further), that non me may repreue,
Sette hem alle vpon a rawe,
And gyf vchon in-lyche a peny.
Begyn at the laste that standes lowe,
Tyl to the fyrste that thou at-teny;'
And thenne the fyrst bygonne to pleny
And sayden that thay hade travayled sore,
These bot an oure hem con streny,
Vus thynk vus oghe to take more.
More haf we serued vus thynk so,
That suffred han the dayes hete,
Then thyse that wroghte not houres two,
And thou dots hem vus to counterfete.
Thenne sayde the lorde to on of tho,
'Frende no wanig (wrong?) I wyl the gete,
Take that is thyn owne and go,
And I hyred the for a peny a grete,
Quy bygynnes thou now to threte;
Wats not a pené thy couenaunt thore?
Fyrre then couenande is noght to plete (complete),
Wy schalte thou thenne ask more,
More wether louyly is me my gyfte
To do wyth myn quat so me lykes?
Other elles thyn yghe to lyther is lyfte,
For I am goude and non by-swykes (defraud).'
'Thus schal I,' quoth Kryste, 'hit skyfte (ordain),
The laste schal be the fyrst that strykes,
And the fyrst the laste, be he neuer so swyft,
For mony ben called thay few be mykes (chosen?).'"

This she applies to herself; she came to the vine at eventide, and yet received more than others who had lived longer. The father still thinks her tale unreasonable, so she proceeds to vindicate the ways of God. In heaven all are paid alike, for God is no niggard, and his grace is sufficient for all. Those who live long on earth often lose heaven by sinning: our first father lost it by eating an apple, and all are damned for his sin. But there came One who paid the penalty of our sins. Two sorts of people were saved,—the *righteous* and the *innocent*. When Christ was on earth—

"Burnes her barnes vnto hym brayde,
For happe and hele that fro hym yede.
To touch her chylder thay fayr hym prayed.
His dessypeles with blame let be hym bede,
And wyth her resonnes ful fele (many) restayed;
Jhesu Crist thenne hem swetely sayde,
'Do way, let chylder vnto me tyght,
To such is heuen-ryche arayed;'
The innocent is ay saf by ryght."

No one, we are advised, can win heaven except in the meekness of a child. The pearl of price is like the kingdom of heaven, pure and clean. This he is admonished to purchase after leaving the mad world.

We pass over much of this remarkable poem till we come to the description of a procession which the dreamer saw in the New Jerusalem. This, notwithstanding the peculiarities of language, is inexpressibly beautiful:—

"Ryght as the maynful mone con rys,
Er thenne the day glem dryue al doun,
So sodanly on a wonder wyse,
I wats war of a prosessyoun.
This noble cite of ryche enpresse
Wats sodanly ful with-outen sommoun
Of such vergynes in the same gyse
That wats my blysful an-vnder croun,
And coronde wern alle of the same fasoun,
Depaynt in perles and wedes qwyte,
In vch ones breste wats bounden boun
The blysful perle with outen delyt.[1]
With gret delyt thay glod in fere,
On golden gates that glent as glasse;
Hundreth thowsandes I wot ther were,
And alle in sute her liures (garments) wasse,
For to knaw the gladdest chere.

[1] The editor suggests that we should read *edwyt*=blemish, for delyt.

The lombe byfore con proudly passe,
Wyth hornes seuen of red golde cler,
As praysed perles his wedes wasse;
To-warde the throne thay trone (went) a tras.
Thagh thay wern fele no pres in plyght;
Bot mylde as maydenes seme at mas,
So drogh thay forth with gret delyt."

All sang praise to the Lamb, who was clothed in white, and in whose side was seen a wide wound. In this company of blessed ones the father beholds his "little queen:"—

"I loked among his meyny schene,
How thay wyth lyf wern laste and lade,
Thenne sagh I ther my lyttel quene,
That I wende had standen by me in sclade."

At this sight great delight takes possession of his mind, and he attempts to cross the stream. This causes him to awake in great sorrow. He laments his rash curiosity, but for which he might have known more of the mysteries of heaven:—

"Lorde! mad hit arn that agayn the stryuen,
Other proferen the oght agayn thy paye;
To pay the prince other sete saghte,
Hit is ful ethe to the god krystyin;
For I haue founden hym bothe day and naghte,
A god, a lorde, a frend ful fyin."

The second poem of this volume, "Cleanuess," was written to impress upon man the necessity of purity in all his dealings with God. This virtue is taught by various examples from the Old and New Testaments, some of which we shall quote as we proceed.

Cleanness, the author tells us, discloses fair forms. God is angry with the unclean worshipper and with false priests. While the pure worshipper receives great reward, the impure brings upon himself the anger of God, who is pure and holy. The clean of heart shall look upon our Lord. What earthly king, when seated at table above dukes, would like to see a lad approach the table badly attired—with his coat torn and his toes out? He would be turned out and ruined through his vile clothing.

The parable of the marriage of the king's son follows. It commences thus:—

"As Mathew meles (relates) in his masse of that man ryche,
That made the mukel mangerye (feast) to marie his here dere,
And sende his sonde (messenger) then to say that thay samne (assemble) schulde,

'And in comly quoyntis to com to his feste;
For my boles and my bores arn bayted and slayne,
And my fedde foules fatted with sclaght;
My polyle that is penne-fed and partrykes bothe,
Wyth scheldes of wylde swyn, swanes and crones;
Al is rotheled (prepared) and rosted ryght to the sete,
Comes cof (quickly) to my corte, er hit colde worthe.'"

Then follow the excuses, and the Lord's anger, and his command to invite the wayfaring, both men and women, the better and the worse. The servants brought in bachelors and squires, but "still there was room," and the command was then given to bring in the halt, blind and "one-eyed." This feast is "comparisoned" to the kingdom of heaven, to which all are invited. See that thy words are clean; for many faults—for sloth, covetousness, perjury, murder, theft, strife, robbery, ribaldry, preventing marriages, treason, treachery, and tyranny, man may lose eternal bliss; for the High Prince is displeased with those who work wickedly. For the first fault the devil committed he suffered the vengeance of God, and he and "the fiends full black" fell from heaven like the thick snow for forty days,—from heaven to hell the shower lasted, and is thus described:—

"With this word that he warp (uttered) the wrake on hym lyght,
Dryghtyn (Lord) with his dere dom hym drof to the abyme,
In the mesure of his mode his mets (pity) neuer the lasse,
Bot ther he tynt (lost) the tythe dool of his tour ryche,
Thagh the feloun were so fers for his fayre wedes
And his glorious glem that glent so bryght;
As sone as dryghtynes dome drof to hym seluen,
Thikke thowsandes thro thrwen ther-oute
Fellen fro the fyrmament, fendes ful blake
Wened at the fyrst swap as the snaw thikke,
Hurled in-to helle-hole as the hyue swarmes;
Fylter (intermingled) fenden folk forty dayes lencthe.
Er that styngande storme stynt ne myght;
Bot as smylt (fine?) mele vnder smal siue smokes for-thikke,
So fro heuen to helle that hatel (fierce) schor laste,
On vch syde of the worlde aywhere ilyche."

Then follow the fall of man, the wickedness of the antediluvian world, the wrath of God thereat, the building of the ark, and the destruction of the world. Of the flood he says:—

"Thenne sone com the seuenthe day, when samned wern alle,
And alle woned in the whichche (hutch=ark) the wylde and the tame.
Then bolned (swelled) the abyme and bonkes con ryse,

Waltes (bursts) out vch walle-heued, in ful wode stremes,
Wats no brymme that abod vnbrosten bylyue,
The mukel lauande loghe (loch) to the lyfte (sky) rered.
Mony clustered clowde clef alle in clowtes,
To-rent vch a rayn-ryfte and rusched to the vrthe;
Fon (ceased) neuer in forty dayes, and then the flod ryses,
Ouer-waltes vche a wod and the wyde feldes;
For when the water of the welkyn with the worlde mette,
Alle that deth moght dryghe drowned therinne;
Ther wats moon for to make when meschef was cnowen,
That noght dowed (availed) bot the deth in the depe stremes.
Water wylger ay wax, wones that stryede,
Hurled in-to vch hous, hent that ther dowelled.
Fyrst feng (took) to the flyght alle that fle myght;
Vuche burde (woman) with her barne the byggyng (building) thay leues,
And bowed (went) to the hygh bonk ther brentest (highest) hit wern,
And heterly to the hyghe hylles thay aled on faste;
Bot al wats nedles her note, for neuer cowthe stynt
The roghe raynande ryg (torrent) and the raykande wawes (waves),
Er vch bothom wats brurd-ful to the bonkes egges,
And vche a dale so depe that demmed at the brynkes.
The moste mountaynes on mor thenne wats no more dryghe,
And ther-on flokked the folke, for ferde of the wrake,
Sythen the wylde of the wode on the water flette;
Summe swymmed ther-on that saue hemself trawed,
Summe styghe (climb) to a stud (place) and stared to the heuen,
Rwly wyth a loud rurd rored for drede.
Hares, herttes also, to the hyghe runnen,
Bukkes, bausenes and bules to the bonkkes hyghed,
And alle cryed for care to the kyng of heuen,
Re-couerer of the creator, thay cryed vchone,
That amounted the masse, the mase his mercy wats passed,
And alle his pyte departed fro peple that he hated.
Bi that the flod to her fete floghed and waxed.
Then vche a segge (man) segh wel that synk hym byhoued;
Frendes fellen in fere (in company) fathmed (embraced) to-geder
To drygh (suffer) her delful deystyné and dyghen alle samen (together);
Luf lokes to luf and his leue takes,
For to ende alle at ones and for euer twynne."

This is a long extract, but its merit as a specimen of true poetry will amply repay for any trouble caused by its perusal; and the touching scenes at its close could, we think, hardly be surpassed. What more tender than his description of friend embracing friend, love looking on love, and each bidding other for ever adieu, while the ever-rising flood washes their feet, and

:h man sees that "sink him behoved!" There are many ıssages in the poem of equal power, such as that of the ark .eaved on high with hurling streams;" Belshazzar's impious st, and the handwriting upon the wall; and the invasion of bylon by the Medes, when—

Baltazar in his bed wats beten to dethe,
That bothe his blood and his brayn blende on the clothes;
The kyng in his cortyn wats kaght by the heles,
Feryed out bi the fete and fowle dispysed;
That wats so doghty that day and drank of the vessayl,
Now is a dogge also dere that in a dych lygges."

The third and last poem, "Patience," is a paraphrase of the ɔok of Jonah, with some "remarks of the author's own to ow that 'patience is a noble point, though it displease oft.'" ıe following extract, containing the beatitudes, will prove inte-ɜting, and may be compared with later versions of the same rtion of Scripture:—

I herde on a halyday at a hyghe masse,
How Mathew melede, that his mayster his meyny con teche,
Aght (eight) happes (blessings) he hem hyght and vche on a mede,
Sunder-lupes (severally) for hit dissert vpon a ser (separate) wyse:
Thay arn happen (blessed) that han in hert pouerté,
For hores (theirs) is the heuen-ryche to holde for euer;
Thay ar happen also that haunte mekenesse,
For thay schal welde this worlde and alle her wylle haue;
They ar happen also that for her harme wepes,
For thay schal comfort encroche in kythes ful mony;
Thay ar happen also that hungeres after ryght,
For thay schal frely be refete ful of alle gode;
Thay ar happen also that han in hert rauthe (mercy),
For mercy in alle maneres her mede schal worthe;
Thay ar happen also that arn of hert clene,
For thay her sauyour in sete schal se with her yghen;
Thay ar happen also that halden her pese,
For thay the gracious godes sunes schal godly be called;
Thay ar happen also that con her hert stere,
For hores is the heuen-ryche, as I er sayde."

The general tone of this poem will be seen by the brief out-e we now proceed to give. The eight blessings given above re promised to those who follow poverty, pity, penance, ɛekness, mercy, chastity, patience. What avails impatience if ɔd sends affliction? Patience is best, for did not Jonah incur ıger by his folly? He was a prophet of the Gentiles, and ɔd's word came to him bidding him go to Nineveh. At this ınmand Jonah was full of wrath, and was afraid that the

"shrews" of the city would put him in the stocks or put out his eyes: and so he fled to Tarsus. Grumbling, he goes to the port of Joppa, and says God would not be able to protect him:—

"Oure syre syttes on sege (seat) so hyghe
In his glwande glorye, and gloumbes ful lyttel,
Thagh I be nummen in Niniue and naked dispoyled,
On rode rwly to-rent, with rybaudes mony."

We cannot follow him all through his disastrous sea-voyage, neither can we give any more extracts from these most interesting productions of our forefathers. To us they have been a source of great satisfaction, and in comparing them with some later works of more honoured men we have been unwilling to let these older writings pass without a full notice. In the hope that they may prove attractive to some of our readers we have done what we could, and now leave them for the present, not without feeling how much we owe to these now unknown men, who in their day stood up before men as witnesses for God, and while they rebuked their countrymen for their many shortcomings and many sins, paved the way for that glorious time when every Englishman could hear and read God's holy Word in his own tongue.

We need hardly add, how much we have been indebted to Mr. Furnivall and Mr. Morris for the imperfect sketch we have given of these works, and to them our best thanks are due.

J. M. C.

Speculum Humanæ Salvationis.—Philologists and lovers of old English poetry will be interested to hear of the discovery of a MS., of the fifteenth century, of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, or Myrrour of Human Salvacyon," translated into English verse. This work furnished the text for one of the most famous block books, and is principally known on that account; but up till the present time, we believe, no English translation of it has been known. Had it been in any of our libraries it could hardly have escaped the researches of Warton and Park. The MS. in question was lately in the hands of Mr. Sams, of Darlington, and was purchased at the Cottle Sale of MSS. by Mr. Ellis, of King Street. It is written on paper, and is apparently about the date of 1450. The following is a specimen of the language and versification:—

The theves saule wt the saule of Crist
  Entrd in the lymbo the same day
And the verray godhede contemplid
  Wt othir seints thus the clerkes say
And when the seints see our Lord Cst
  Thai left a fulle joyous cry
Welcome our longe desired lord
  Vouching-sauf us to by

This thing prefigured thre childer
  At Babiloygne in the ffonas
When the fyre at the aungels entring
  To swete dewe turnyd was
For if the aungels presence to the childer
  In the fire refrgery made
Wele more myght our Lord Crist
  In helle the seints glade.

Reader.

A VOICE FROM EGYPT.

THE following extract from a French journal appeared in *The Times* of October 20th, 1864:—"About three years ago M. Auguste Mariette discovered at Sakkarah, in the Necropolis of ancient Memphis, not far from the great pyramids, the funereal chapel of the tomb of two personages called *Nekht* and *Tounari*. These personages filled important offices in Egypt under the reign of Rameses II., *i. e.*, about the time when Moses lived. The fact of this synchronism, by the way, asserted for the first time by the Vicomte E. De Rougé, is now confirmed *by authentic testimonies of the existence of the Jews in Egypt under that reign*, as M. Chabas has shewn in his work on Egypt."

We should gladly welcome any fresh discovery which tends to confirm the truths of Holy Scripture, though believers in the supremacy of God's Word are no less assured of its all-perfect nature, whether in regard to the history, chronology, or the few allusions to science found therein, as if such confirmation had never appeared.

This supposed discovery by M. Chabas of the existence of the Hebrews in Egypt, "as captives during the reign of Rameses II.," has been skilfully seized upon by the rationalistic school, both at home and abroad, in order to subvert the infallible authority of Scripture; for Bishop Colenso affirms, "there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the first writer of the story in the Pentateuch ever professed to be recording infallible truth, or even *actual historical* truth." As a specimen of the agreement between those who ignore "the historical truths" of Scripture, let us notice the mode in which three distinguished Germans have treated the subject of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt from a rationalistic point of view. We read in Exodus (xii. 40) that "the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." This is explained by St. Paul (Gal. iii. 16, 17), who shews that the law which God gave to Moses at Mount Sinai was "four hundred and thirty years *after*" the promise was originally made to Abraham. This is confirmed by the Samaritan Pentateuch, which reads the passage: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, while they sojourned in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." Thus Scripture chronology requires only two hundred and fifteen years from the time of the descent of the patriarchs until the time of the Exodus. If this interval had been the whole four hundred and thirty years, as Moses was eighty years old at the time of the Exodus, there would have been three hundred and fifty remaining years to his birth. But Moses' mother was the daughter of

Levi, who, as he was forty-nine at the time of the descent, and one hundred and thirty seven when he died, must have lived in Egypt eighty-eight years; and if three hundred and fifty years had intervened between the time of the descent and the birth of Moses, *his mother would have borne him two hundred and sixty-two years after her father's death;* whereas by accepting two hundred and fifteen years as the true interval, Moses' birth would have occurred within the more reasonable period of forty-seven years after his grandfather's death.

Neither of these reckonings have satisfied two of the three German authorities referred to above. Professor Lepsius declares that "only ninety years intervened from the entrance of Jacob to the exodus of Moses;" Baron Bunsen affirms that "the duration of the sojourn in Egypt was fourteen hundred and thirty-four years;" while Dr. Brugsch contends that the Israelites were in Egypt during the complete period of four hundred and thirty years.[a] Such are the divergencies amongst those who ignore the supremacy of Scripture. Clinton has justly observed that "some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of four hundred and thirty years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer—in the account of his mother, and father, and grandfather—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion."

The reasoning of those who set aside the authority of Scripture, respecting the time when, according to their estimate, the Exodus ought to have taken place, is somewhat as follows:— "There exist at this present time in the north of Syria proofs of Rameses II., commonly called the Great, having extended his conquests as far as Beyrout. To do so he must have passed through Canaan, which he never could have done had it been previously possessed by the Israelites. Moreover, it has recently been discovered that during the reign of this Pharaoh the *Hebrews* are particularly specified as being at that time *captives* in Egypt. What clearer proof can we have that Scripture has no pretensions to *historic truth* in making the Exodus precede the time of Solomon by upwards of five centuries?"

Happily there is a satisfactory reply to this plausible objection. If we pass by the statement of 1 Kings vi. 1, that the fourth year of Solomon was "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt," as being an interpolation later than the time of Origen, who

[a] Lepsius' *Letters from Egypt*, p. 475. Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, iii. 357. Dr. Brugsch's *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 80. Clinton's *Fasti Hell.*, i. 299.

quotes the verse without the disputed clause; and if we compare the summation of years between the Exodus and the building of the Temple, as set forth in Judges and Samuel, with the declaration made by St. Paul in Acts xiii. 17—22, we may gather that about five hundred and fifty-five years intervened between those two events. The archives of Hiram, king of Tyre, who assisted in the building of the temple, specify, as Theophilus bishop of Antioch reports, that "king Solomon built the temple of Jerusalem five hundred and sixty-six years after the Jews went out of Egypt."

There are many reasons which concur in inducing us to accept this statement as the exact interval between the Exodus and the Temple, but which need not be considered on this occasion. Assuming, however, that exactly five hundred and sixty-six years before the fourth of Solomon the Israelites came out of Egypt, we have only to add those years to B.C. 1014, the well-known date of the building of the Temple, and we obtain B.C. 1580 as the date of the Exodus. Forty years later, *i.e.* B.C. 1540, the Israelites entered the promised land. But the long reign of Rameses II. (there is an hieroglyphic record of his sixty-sixth year to be seen in the British Museum) extended over the greater part of the fourteenth century, as Lepsius, Brugsch, and all Egyptologers allow; consequently it is evidently a mistaken identity of M. Chabas to suppose that "the Hebrews" could be spoken of as "captives" under Rameses II., seeing they had quitted Egypt two centuries before his reign.

That this great Pharaoh extended his conquests to the north of Syria, and in so doing probably passed through the Land of Promise, we infer from the inscriptions, which are still to be seen on a rock near Beyrout at the mouth of the ancient Lycus, or as it is now termed the river *El Kelb*. One stelé is dedicated to Amun, another to Phthah, and the third to Ra, the deities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, the three principal cities of Egypt. The only remaining inscription, which time has not defaced, reads as follows:—"Pharaoh Rameses, the powerful, king of kings, to whom life has been given like the sun." Admitting the fact of Rameses' conquests in Palestine, the inference that the Israelites must have entered the promised land subsequently, because no great empire could have then existed, is repeatedly contradicted by the historical statements in Scripture. For the six servitudes (of which four were later than the reign of Rameses II.) which the Israelites endured at the hands of the neighbouring nations, and the fact of the Jebusites having retained possession of Jerusalem until the time of David (2 Sam. v. 6, 7), combine to prove that Scripture does not suppose any great empire for several centuries after the Exodus.

Moreover, the evidence of Rameses' conquests in Syria at

this period affords a clue to an historical synchronism between the histories of Egypt and Israel, which is worthy of being noticed. Herodotus (ii. 102, 106), relates of this Pharaoh that he was in the habit of recording on stelé his victories over various nations, and "when they submitted readily and without a struggle, he inscribed in addition an emblem to mark that they were a *nation of women*, that is, unwarlike and effeminate." Referring to those near Beyrout, Herodotus observes, "many of them have disappeared, but in the part of Syria called Palestine, I myself saw them still standing, with the inscriptions and emblems distinctly visible."

On referring to Scripture we find sure proof of the effiminacy of some of the nations of Syria at that exact period of history. For in the well-known story of Deborah, that famous "mother in Israel," when "the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin, king of Canaan, that reigneth in Hazor," which was about fifty miles south of the spot where Rameses II. had recorded his triumphs not many years before, it is said emphatically in the Book of Judges (v. 7, 9, 23) that the Canaanites were conquered "*by the hand of a woman.*" And it is added, "So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel."

According to the Biblical chronology, "the forty years' rest" which Israel enjoyed after the overthrow of Jabi's host "by the hand of a woman," must be dated B.C. 1361—1321; and according to the Egyptian historian Manetho, the reign of Rameses II. terminated B.C. 1341. This historical synchronism confirms the supposition that in the fourteenth century the Canaanites were an effeminate race which Rameses had easily subdued, and who recorded his conquest of them in the manner which Herodotus has related. Coupling this with the fact that the Philistines, a nation or tribe south of the Canaanites, were sufficiently strong to enslave the Israelites at a period two centuries after the time of Deborah, and within one hundred years of the reign of Saul, we see in this a sure proof that there was no great empire in existence in Syria capable of withstanding "Rameses the Great," and that the history of Israel as set forth in Scripture, so far from asserting such, affords rather proof to the contrary.

Moreover, if the supposed discovery of an hieroglyphic inscription recording that "the Hebrews were in captivity during the reign of Rameses II.," be held as sufficient proof that the bondage of the Israelites had not then expired, it must be considered equally valid at a much later period. Now, Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, and one of the most distinguished of living Egyptologers, has recently discovered the name of the same tribe, who are spoken of as "captives" in the reign of

Rameses X., *i. e.*, during the twelfth century B.C., and within a century of the time of David. The inference therefore cannot be sustained that the Biblical chronology between the time of the Exodus and the building of the Temple is wrong by over two centuries, in consequence of Rameses II. having made an expedition to Syria; as Judges (xi. 26) speaks of the settlement of the Israelites in various parts of Canaan "three hundred years" previous to the rule of Jephthah, between whose time and that of Solomon occurred the reigns of Ibzan, Elon, Abden, Samson, Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David, embracing a period of fully two centuries more. The supposed discovery therefore of the "Hebrews" as "captives" in Egypt in the time of Rameses II. is simply a mistake, and refers probably to some other tribe of Asiatic prisoners, who bore a name not unlike that belonging to the seed of Abraham. In the statistical tablet of Karnak, which records the captives taken by Tuthosis III. (the Pharaoh in whose time we find the well-known picture of the Jews making bricks with the cruel taskmasters standing over them), Dr. Birch[b] reads the seventy-ninth name on the list as *Hebu*, a reading very similar to that of *Hebrew;* whereas the Vicomte de Rougé interprets the same name as *Meux* or *Mena-tu*,[c] thereby proving the uncertainty in regard to the exact reading of proper names which are found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Moreover, other reasons, on which we cannot now enter, tend to confirm the undoubted harmony which exists between the history of Egypt as interpreted by the monuments, and that of Israel as set forth in the unerring Word of God.

Let us consider one such instance out of many others in proof of our belief. The well-known expression, "Pharaoh's daughter," is referred to three different royal ladies mentioned in Scripture. The one who is best known saved Moses from her father's cruel edict; another wedded Solomon; and a third, who is not often noticed, is described in 1 Chron. iv. 18, as the wife of Mered, at the time of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. We there read, "And his wife Jehudijah bare Jared the father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Socho, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these are the sons of *Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh*, which Mered took."

This passage has exercised the ingenuity of both Jewish and Christian commentators, and it is only by the recently recovered power of reading the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Egypt that we obtain any satisfactory explanation of the matter. The Targum

[b] *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, for 1860, p. 69.
[c] *Revue Archæologique*, vol. iii., p. 345.

gives a very far-fetched interpretation of the text, as it affirms the names therein to be epithets of Moses, speaking on this wise, "And his (Mered's wife) *Jehuditha* (sic) educated Moses after she had drawn him out of the water; and she called his name *Jared* because he caused manna to *descend* upon Israel; prince Gedor, because he restored the *desolations* of Israel; *Heber*, because he *joined* Israel to their heavenly father; prince *Socho*, because he *overshadowed* Israel with his righteousness; *Jekuthiel*, because the Israelites *waited* on the God of heaven forty years in the desert; and prince *Zanoah*, because God on his account had *passed* by the sins of Israel. These names Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh, called him by the spirit of prophecy, for she became a proselyte; and Mered took her to himself to wife; he is the same as Caleb, but was called Mered because he *opposed* the counsel of the spies."

It is however impossible to identify "Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh," with the royal lady who preserved Moses; as the latter appears to have been queen of Egypt in her own right, and the beautiful obelisks which she erected at Karnak, and which still exists, record her names in full, as *Ra-ma-ka, Hat-asu-Numpt-Amum*, accompanied by the well known title of "Pharaoh's daughter." Moreover, the marriage of Mered could not have occurred much before the time of the Exodus, when Moses had attained the age of eighty; and therefore two or three generations must have separated the latter from the former.

Before proceeding to point out the possibility of identifying "Bithiah" as the daughter of one of the reigning Pharaohs during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, I would suggest the following translation, or rather paraphrase, of the passage in question, as it will be easier to understand the confessedly obscure mode in which the event is chronicled. "Now these are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered took as his wife: and she, who was a Jewish proselyte, bare Jared, who became prince of Gedor, Heber, prince of Socho, and Jehuthiel, prince of Zanoah." It will be seen that "Jehudijah" is thus rendered as in the margin of our Bibles, viz., "the Jewess." As an Egyptian of high rank who had married a Hebrew, she was so designated in order to signify that she had become a proselyte to her husband's religion and people. The term "father" may be lawfully rendered "Prince," as it shews her sons to have been princes of those several towns, which were allotted to the Israelites on their entrance into the promised land, and which are all mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of Joshua, verses 34, 35, 48, 58, as having been made over to the tribe of Judah to which Mered belonged.

Now the name "Bithiah" is written thus, in Hebrew, בתיה, with the power in English letters of B T i H, and might be sounded "*Betiah.*" On referring to Professor Lepsius' *Königsbuch der Alten Ægypter,* I find the cartouches containing the names of Pharaoh Amenophis II., the father of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, together with those of several of his family. All these cartouches have the usual hieroglyphic signs over them, such as "royal son," or "child of Pharaoh." Nearly all contain the name of *Amun,* the chief deity of Thebes, to whom those who bore that name were specially dedicated; and the last one reads "Amum P- or B. T. H." The first hieroglyph usually has the force of the letter P, but as both that and B are labiahs, we have the authority of the Armenians, and other Eastern nations, especially of the Copts, who retain something of the language of their ancestors, the ancient Egyptians, for exchanging one in place of the other. Plutarch observes that the Macedonians changed φ into B, and pronounced *Bilip, Berenice,* etc., for *Philip, Pherenice,* etc. Quintilian says that the Latins said *suppono, oppono,* for *subpono, obpono;* and pronounced *optinuit,* though they wrote *obtinuit.* The Romans used occasionally B for V, as in *amabit* for *amavit, berua* for *verua,* etc., whence arose the jest of the Emperor Aurelian on his rival Bonosus, who was famous for being able to drink to excess without being intoxicated, *Non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat.*

Admitting the lawfulness of this exchange, we find among the royal family of Egypt a name singularly like that which Scripture records as the wife of a Hebrew prince, and the daughter of a Pharaoh, who must have been reigning not long before the time of the exode. I do not contend that the name in the cartouche is actually the "Bithiah" described as the wife of Mered, and interpreted by the writer in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible,* as well as Hegstenberg,[d] to mean "daughter or worshipper of Jehovah," but inasmuch as Amenophis II. was the father of the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea, and whose reign must have been a short one, as we infer from Scripture and learn from the monuments, we have very fair grounds for concluding that the "Bithiah," who married Mered, was the actual daughter of that king; and if so, we have a fresh confirmation of the story of the Exodus as related in Scripture,

[d] Hengstenberg observes, "that it was specially an Israelitish custom to dedicate those who turned to the God of Israel from among the heathen by a new name, is evident from the instance of Pharaoh's daughter, who, at a time when the *composita* with יהוה were very rare, on joining the chosen people received the name of Bithjah, *daughter of Jehovah.*"—*Dissertations on the Pentateuch,* p. 240.

which the rationalists of the present are so persistently seeking to overthrow.

Some have considered it very improbable that a "daughter of Pharaoh" should have condescended to marry even a leader or prince of the despised race of Hebrews. But this is by no means a conclusive argument against accepting the expression in its literal meaning, and as it is invariably interpreted elsewhere throughout Scripture. Besides Moses, it should be remembered, was reared as heir to the throne of that daughter of the Pharaohs who had power to compel a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," though by grace he, "when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt." Josephus and Irenæus both record the success of Moses as general of the Egyptian army against the Ethiopians, and of his having married the daughter of the king of that country, because, out of her great love and affection for the conquerer, she delivered up the city to him. This may have been the reason of Stephen's declaration respecting Moses being "mighty in words and deeds," and also serve to explain the cause of Miriam's and Aaron's anger against their brother and leader, because, as it is stated in Numbers xii. 1, "of the Ethiopian woman whom Moses had married; for he had married an Ethiopian woman."

The Scriptures as well as the Egyptian monuments prove that the Pharaohs were accustomed to intermarry with foreigners. When Hadad, David's opponent, took refuge in Egypt, it is said that "he found great favour in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen." It must have been during the reign which preceded that of the time of the Exodus, if our interpretation of the name "Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh," be the correct one, that Mered, a prince of the tribe of Judah, received this royal lady as his bride: and there is nothing to forbid our acceptance of this interpretation of the passage in the Book of Chronicles, which, though confined chiefly to history and genealogy, is as much a portion of the inspired Word of God as any of the doctrinal statements to be found therein; and this view seems to be confirmed by the evidence adduced from the hieroglyphic records of Egypt's ancient kings.

B. W. Savile.

BUDDHISM.[a]

It is an observation common enough, that some of the most pestilent practices have originated in sentiments that are beautiful and true. Relic-worship, for instance, sprung from a reverence for the great and good of other times, which seeks an expression in the payment of respect to whatever may have belonged to them, while mariolatry, or virgin-worship, originated in a chivalrous and tender respect to the gentle woman, whose lot was so highly favoured and whose life was so blessed; but though these feelings are in themselves commendable, when indulged unduly and to excess they become fertile in most pernicious results, as history sufficiently proves; men crouch in servile adoration before a rag or rotting bone, and ascribing to a weak woman more than one of the attributes of God himself, worship a mortal as divine, and often permit her to usurp the place of the Highest in their hearts.

These things have happened in Europe and in her fairest and most enlightened countries. Relic-worship and virgin-worship, the scandal and offence of a large part of Christendom, are the offspring of feelings very just and commendable when kept within proper bounds, but mischievous and degrading when cherished, as they have been, to the exclusion and subversion of true and rational faith; both forms of superstition have had a true sentiment for their groundwork, nor on any other supposition is it possible to account for the strong hold they have taken on the minds of men of various regions, and in one age after another.

These are examples of the abuse of sentiment with which all are familiar, and the fruits of which are visible at the present hour, while other examples will readily occur to every one of sentiments just in themselves being employed as the basis whereon a superstructure very hollow and very deceptive has been raised. On one of these superstructures it is our present purpose to offer a few remarks, and when it is stated that the subject is Indian caste, the matter may appear sufficiently inte-

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[a] *China; a general description of that Empire and its Inhabitants.* By Sir J. F. Davis, Bart. Two Vols. London: 1857.

Ceylon; an Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Geographical. By Sir James Emerson Tennent, K.C.S., LL.D. London: 1860.

The Kingdom and People of Siam, with a narrative of a Mission to that Country in 1855. By Sir John Bowring. Two Vols. London: 1857.

A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development. Translated from Cingalese MSS., by Robert Spence Hardy. London: 1853.

Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie le Thibet et la Chine. Par M. Huc. Paris: 1850.

resting to obtain the reader's attention. Indian caste is an old and hackneyed theme; schoolboys have written their essays on it; its features and character are known, but it still exists, and recent events have shewn how perplexing and unmanageable it is; how it forces itself on the attention, and how largely it interferes with the rule of England in the East. To understand Buddhism we must first glance at the history of caste. Caste or Brahminism, which is the same thing, is the system, Buddhism is the protest against the system; it is impossible to understand the latter without obtaining something like a clear comprehension of the character and scope of the former.

Caste is based on a true sentiment, a sentiment universally felt throughout the world, which has borne fruit in the West, though perhaps it finds its peculiar home in the Oriental bosom. When a class of men devote much of their time, or it may be their whole lives, to religious meditation, they instinctively remove themselves from their fellow creatures; it is otherwise when they combine meditation with the performance of active duties for the benefit of other men, since to carry out their object they must come in contact with other persons, and they acquire social and kindly habits; but simple meditation sequesters men,—the hurry of the busy world seems incomparably trivial and wearisome to them; if they venture forth from their cloistered leisure their minds become confused by the whirl of active life, their ideas are disarranged, and when they regain their retirement they are so far disabled as to be unfit to resume their lofty speculations. Social intercourse and the realities of outer life they learn to look on as the disturbers of their intellect and the enemies of their soul. The intellectual heights they reach open ever wider prospects to their range, and they are never tired of investigating, or at least of speculating, on the hidden mysteries of things. The world—its creation, present condition, and ultimate destiny,—infinite space with its manifold wonders,—God himself and the works of his hand, present them with numberless problems, and in these they wander content to lose themselves in endless mazes. The grandeur of the subjects on which they mediate draws them on with an irresistible fascination, the sacrifice of a whole life seems little for such solemn studies; they surrender themselves without restraint to the charm, in the full faith that they are pursuing the highest object of existence, and look down as from an upper region and purer atmosphere on all who are either unable or unwilling to leave earthly and ordinary courses to walk the pure ethereal realm of thought with them.

Thus it may be supposed such an order of men as the

Brahminical priests first separated themselves from the world. There is no reason to think that at the outset they led other than a simple studious life, and it could only have been by their great personal worth that they obtained an ascendancy over their countrymen; their mode of life was probably severe and ascetic, which could not fail to win the respect and reverence of the multitude. In a remote age—an age so remote that hardly a glimmer of historical light reaches it, a number of men became conspicuous in India for a quiet meditative way of life, and were resorted to for counsel and instruction; but as century succeeded century, and their numbers increased, they began to lay an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the trustful races among whom they moved. The wise and thoughtful teacher was lost in the arrogant priest, and a priestly system, the very perfection of tyranny, became established in the land, and so fast rooted in the hearts of the people that it continues with scarcely impaired vigour to this day; the Brahmins thrust themselves between man and heaven, pretending to be the sole depositaries of truth on earth, they retain the Vedas or sacred writings in their own hands, and read to the laity only such passages as they deem fit; while to one class of the people, the poorest of all, and who most, one would think, stand in need of consolation and enlightenment, they refuse to read a line. In short, by pretending to be admitted to personal communion with the Deity, these men have furnished themselves with an instrument of power which they have wielded in the cause of despotism and terror, and have applied the influence they possess to the enslavement of the intellect and the heart of their compatriots.

When the history of the system shall be written, and the materials will have to be selected with painful diligence from a huge accumulation of legend and fable, it will be seen that the founders of the priesthood lived in an age probably as early as that of the patriarch Abraham, that they shared with the wise men of Egypt the knowledge of the ancient world, that they were preachers of a religion, many of whose doctrines were pure and holy, and that long after they obtained their high social position they continued to enlighten and humanize their countrymen. It will be found that several problems and methods in geometry were brought from India to Europe, and in India must be sought the germs of the subtle Pythagorean philosophy, and of the logic of Aristotle. Nor will the admiration of the historian be excited only by the advancement made by these priests in study and speculation; their severe and simple lives will appear in the highest degree commendable. Then will

come the turning point in the Brahminical character; the student will be seen changing into the dogmatist, the teacher into the domineering and intolerant priest. Learning dies out by degrees, and with ignorance creeps in a low morality, while the priesthood flourishes with a vigour which sets at nought the influence of time and change, and stands firm against the crushing power of foreign invasion, to both of which it has been exposed in an uncommon degree. The Hellenic commonwealths have risen and fallen, the empire of Rome has succumbed to barbarism, and the darkness of the middle ages has been dispelled by the revival of learning and of religion; but ages before the mind began to awake in Greece, India had her peculiar priesthood, and during all the manifold changes which have passed over Europe that priesthood has kept its ground. Alexander, Genghis Khan, and Tamerlane have conquered India; but they have been unable to dislodge the Brahmin. He is in the field at this moment, and armed with his subtle metaphysics, upholds the superstition that has descended to him from his fathers against the Englishman who would plant at once his faith and his empire in the East.

Brahminism is the main fact of the moral life of a great section of the human family; it is to be regretted that its history, so full of interest, has remained hitherto little better than a book closed and clasped with bands of iron. Diligent study has been given to the subject, but the difficulties and obscurity have been great and baffling.

Buddhism, as has been said, was a protest against the Brahminical system. The Brahmins receive the Vedas as inspired volumes, and keep the various observances and ceremonies enjoined in them; the Buddhist reject the Vedas, and treat their contents as arrant fiction. The Brahmins are an hereditary priesthood, the father is a priest, the son a priest, and all who have not the pure blood in their veins are considered as holding a place immeasurably beneath them. The Buddhists, on the contrary, have no hereditary priesthood, but admit into the sacred ranks any one who desires to enter them; among the Siamese, indeed, it is expected that every man, at some period of his life, should receive the education and perform the duties of the priest. Sacrifice is a main element in the religion of the Brahmins; this the Buddhists reject as sinful and cruel. The Brahmins put idols in their temples, and enjoin the people to worship them; and grotesque and hideous the idols are to which the multitude offer their willing adoration. The Buddhists are essentially iconoclasts; they have indeed an image of Buddha in their temples, but they offer no prayers to it, it is placed there

simply as a mark of honour to the great personage whom it represents. Suttee, or the burning of widows on the death of their husbands, a custom which enjoyed the entire sanction of the Brahmins in India, was denounced by the Buddhists as an inhuman rite. Lastly—and here the one religion has an immeasurable advantage over the other—Buddhism assigns a comparatively high place to woman in the domestic circle, while under the sway of Brahminism she is treated as a creature far inferior to man, and the life of degradation to which she is doomed is in reality a living death.

The Buddhist sect was founded by one man, Gautama by name, whose history would be interesting even in a more material age than ours. He was of royal parentage, for his father was king of Magadha, a district near Nepaul. The year of his birth is by no means determined, some writers placing it in the fifth century before the birth of Christ, while others fix it a thousand years before that event. To arrive at precise chronological date is almost hopeless, but the former period is favoured by the greater number of authorities. The legend tells, that on the day Gautama was born, signs appeared which foreshadowed his greatness; five hundred children of unusual beauty first saw the light on that day, and these in after years became his ministers and attendants; nor did he disturb the ordinary course of nature in this planet alone,—the very stars of heaven left their paths to do honour to the marvellous infant. When, in compliance with the custom of the country, the parents took the child into the temple to present him at the shrine, the image of the Deity was seen to bend its head approvingly. His youth was full of promise, and his mental powers and personal beauty excited the astonishment of all who came near him. At the age of twenty he married a noble maiden, by whom he had two children, a son and daughter. But neither the advantages of wealth and royal descent, nor the charms of home and children, could bind him down to the routine of life, or make its duties sufficient for him. Mankind became his study, and long and serious meditations on the present unhappiness and ultimate destiny of the race engaged his mind; and that he might pursue these reflections undisturbed, he resolved to retire from society and become a hermit. The king, his father, did all in his power to induce him to forego this determination, for the withdrawal of a son so promising from the court would have been likely to weaken the influence of the royal family among the people. Guards were stationed about the palace to watch the prince, and prevent his carrying out his designs. But it was in vain. Gautama escaped, and wandered until he came to a distant

stream, where he lived for six years in secrecy; but he lived not alone, for the legends aver that angels were his constant attendants, and that the chief of the angelic band became his teacher, and weaned him from all earthly pleasures, while he sheltered his head from the tropical heat with the leaves of the sacred banyan. But his solitude was sometimes invaded by visitants of another kind,—by enemies powerful and malignant. On one occasion an army of giants marched to destroy him, but the weapons which they hurled against him fell harmless at his feet, and formed a wall of defence in front of him.

When the days of meditation and trial were ended he went to Benares, and publicly preached the new religion. Those who first heard him doubted the sanity of his mind, for his discourse both as to matter and manner was strange in the extreme; but the purity of his life, and the earnestness with which he sought after truth, began to win on his hearers, so that ere long he numbered his disciples by the hundred; and such success attended the labours of himself and his followers, that he lived to witness the spread of his doctrines through the length and breadth of India. He died in his eightieth year, full of honours as of days.

Such was Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, and, though his history is overlaid with the extravagant stories of oriental fancy, we can see that he was a true man, and an honest reformer of the religion of his country. To this his temptations, his trials, his sufferings, and the whole tenour of his eventful life bear witness. He did not, it is true, deliver any better system of theology than the Brahmins had been teaching for centuries, for he followed the theory of Metempsychosis—the theory which represents the human soul as passing from one body to another, until at last it is absorbed, and finds its home and final resting-place in the Deity. Now this is the doctrine of the Brahmins, and, as far as doctrine is concerned, Gautama struck out nothing new; his merit lay in this, that he levelled a blow at the root of the Brahminical system, as a system,—that he protested against confining the priesthood to a particular class, whose sole title to the office rested on the accident of birth, while he opened the ranks of the order to all who were willing to qualify themselves to discharge its duties: further, he swept away the idols and rejected the entire mass of ceremonies, which as it were obscured the Deity, and rendered access to him almost impossible for the simple-minded worshipper. The word Buddha means *sage*, and Gautama's claim to the title will hardly be questioned, when it is considered how great was that strength of mind, and singleness of purpose, which enabled him to take a course so inde-

pendent and so striking, and to raise a protest against error and oppression, from which has flowed a blessing to uncounted millions of orientals, from his own time to the present day.

Gautama did for India what Luther and the Reformers did for Christendom; like Luther, he found religion in the hands of a class of men who claimed a monopoly of it, and doled it out in what manner and in what measure they chose; like Luther, he protested that religion is not the affair of the priest alone, but is the care and concern of every man who has a reasonable soul: both laboured to communicate to all the knowledge which had been exclusively reserved for the privileged class, and both laid it down as a fundamental principle that every man, be his degree what it may, is responsible for the faith that is in him.

And as Europe bestirred herself at the voice of Luther, so India answered heartily to the call of Gautama. The Reformation in Europe lies not far behind us; its history has been amply recorded, and we see its results in the progress of the western nations: but the Reformation in India began, at least, five centuries before the commencement of our era, and it had reached its culmination something like twelve centuries ago, so that the obscurity of high antiquity rests upon the movement. But, one fact of the history stands out as clear as a mountain-peak that towers sharp and well-defined above the mist that broods upon the subjacent country; the fact, namely, that the Reformation became wide and general through the land. Brahminism, like every class-religion, became hard, arrogant and well-nigh intolerable, and great numbers gladly escaped from its yoke to shelter themselves under the new religion, which was fraught with hope for all. As the Brahmins claimed many temporal as well as spiritual privileges, to which others, their countrymen, dared not aspire, the inferior castes readily closed with a system which declared that human life has an inherent dignity in it; that the life even of the humblest is a life worth living, and destined to terminate in immortality. Gautama might be despised by the Brahmin, but he was welcomed by multitudes as the expounder of truths which, until he came, had been concealed from them, but which once enunciated, found an echo and a warrant in their own hearts.

Buddhism continued to flourish in India long after the death of its founder. It was fortunate in being upheld by a succession of men of great integrity and devotion. Buddhist temples were built throughout the country, and their ruins, which are still to be seen, prove that those who erected them had made considerable progress in the arts of sculpture and architecture, while their extent testifies to the treasure and labour expended

on them. Though there are few professors of the creed in India now, the traveller has demonstration in the mouldering stones of the wide-spread popularity which the faith once enjoyed; and the story survives, legible and distinct in its broad outline, though lacking details, in the memorials which twelve centuries have been unable to destroy, and which conquest and desolation have failed to obliterate.

According to the tradition current among the Buddhists, a tradition which there is every reason to consider as founded on truth, their religion flourished during, at least, a thousand years side by side with Brahminism. All that time the feelings of the rival sects found vent in many a long and sharp controversy; neither party seems to have gained any signal advantage, but each held its ground, using the weapons of satire and argument as it best might. The Brahmins, who pretended to be in direct communication with heaven, declared that the god Vishnu had taken human form, and under the name of Buddha had preached false doctrine to delude the enemies of the gods, that they might punish and destroy them. They assailed the Buddhists because they admitted all men to the priesthood, and made the rewards of the future life the common inheritance of all who deserved it, while they ridiculed them for receiving outcasts into their society: but they were mortified at the spread of the new creed, and at the failure of all their efforts to check the success of the Propagandists. They saw temples arise on all sides which vied in splendour with their own, and at last they resolved to put down by force the sect against which argument and ridicule were alike unavailing.

The Brahmins had recourse to the mode of refutation which the strong are too apt to employ against the weak,—they used the sword, and they used it effectually. The annals of the persecution have not come down to us, but its relentless and determined character is proved by the almost complete extirpation of the sect. The Buddhists, about the sixth century of our era, were millions strong in India, but ere long nearly every trace of the religion had disappeared from the peninsula. The numbers of martyrs is said to have been well-nigh incredible, but as no Foxe has recorded their sufferings, their names and history passed like their bodies to the forgetfulness of the grave. The wholesale extermination, and the rapidity with which it was accomplished, unmistakably indicate the keen and bitter spirit which stirred the perpetrators of it. But though the sect was almost rooted out in the country where it had sprung up and flourished, many of its votaries escaped, and carried to other lands the faith which was no longer tolerated in their own, and

they must have been inspired with singleness of aim, for they laboured and spread their religion over a wide extent of Asia. Driven out of Hindostan, the Buddhist exiles passed beyond the Himalaya, and sought in Thibet, and among the wandering tribes of Tartary, a shelter for themselves and their persecuted faith. Others went to the island of Ceylon, to the Burmese empire, and the Eastern Peninsula—in a word, they travelled, and taught, and made more disciples than are to be found in any other creed, for it has been estimated that while the Brahmins number one hundred and ten millions, the Christians one hundred and twenty, and the Mahommedans two hundred and eighty millions, the Buddhists are not less than three hundred and fifteen millions, an estimate which shews that of every six persons of the human family two are Buddhists.

Buddhism then is the most extensively diffused religion in the world, and, though the races among whom it is professed are justly considered low in the scale of civilization, their creed is an interesting subject of examination from many points of view. From a very simple matter it has grown into an elaborate system, and the history of its development is both curious and interesting. The *present form* of the creed, and the probability of its permanence or decay, are also subjects for weighty consideration in this age, when at length the whole of Eastern Asia is opening up to Western influence, and the Buddhist faith is coming daily into contact and close grapple with the strength of European intellect and religion.

The preaching of Gautama seems to have been little else than the attempt of a sincere man and an enthusiast to free religion from the usurpation of the Brahmins; he was contented, as we have said before, with the Metempsychosis theory, a theory with which his countrymen had long been familiar, and this old creed he accepted as a sufficient interpretation of the history and mysterious destiny of the human soul. There were five precepts which he required his followers to obey, precepts regulating daily life and such earthly matters as eating and drinking, and if not the true one, his creed had the merit of simplicity and brevity, for whoever could say, "I believe in Metempsychosis," expressed in a breath the whole Buddhist faith.

Not a little curious is this same belief in Metempsychosis, a belief widely diffused and accepted both in ancient and modern times. That the soul passes from one corporeal frame to another, was a capital article of faith among the speculative Egyptians of old; it has prevailed in India and throughout the East from the earliest ages to the present hour; it found a ready acceptance among the imaginative Greeks, and was even tolerated in

practical Rome; and it is the paramount idea in the creed of about half the human race existing on the earth at the present hour. Where it had its birth has not been ascertained, but there can be little doubt that it originated either in Egypt or India. A doctrine which has spread so far, and taken such deep hold on the minds of men, if not a true doctrine, must at least be a plausible one, and if it be examined a little, it will be found that it bears a strong colouring of truth on the surface of it. It would seem to have sprung up among men whose minds were fixed on the phenomenon of death, and were straining after some idea by which they might fathom the depth and mystery of the grave. The indignant protest of the soul within them forbad them to believe that it was annihilated when the body returned to dust, and the changes of the seasons, of matter, and of all the visible things about them, seemed to countenance the thought that the spirit passes from body to body. They saw that the corporeal frame itself did not perish when it died, but merely assumed some other form. They noticed—they could not help noticing—that out of the decaying carcase there sprung up the green grass, that the grass went to build up some animal form, and that the animal was in turn devoured, and became a constituent part of some other animated existence. As the body or outward husk of the spirit assumed various forms, they hastily concluded that the history of the spirit itself was analogous, and that it, in like manner, reappeared in various forms and phases. For if the perishable body takes one new shape after another, why, they argued, should not the more supple and elastic soul go through similar transformations?

The Buddhists believe that the soul passes forward, inhabiting one body after another, until it reaches and is at last absorbed in the Deity. Like all creeds of mere human invention this belief has produced very unsatisfactory fruits. As the bodies of animals are looked upon as the tabernacles of the spirits of men deceased, it follows that the pigs and poultry, nay, the very vermin, may be animated by the souls of one's own ancestors.

The white elephant, as is well known, is treated with royal honours and reverential care by the Buddhists of Siam, and it is because this rare animal is imagined to be the temporary habitation of some mighty personage on his passage to ultimate perfection. No one, not even the king himself, may ride upon him,—he wears a net of gold on his head and a cushion of cloth of gold upon his back, while his tusks are ornamented with golden rings: ten or a dozen servants are in daily attendance on him;—he is fed with cakes and sweetmeats, and a superb stable, or rather temple, is devoted to his special use.

But the doctrine of Metempsychosis is not always presented with even the grotesque dignity of the white elephant of Siam; it is frequently used by the priests for paltry and selfish ends. There is a story of two Buddhist priests, who, espying a pair of full grown ducks in prime condition in a farm yard in China, were suddenly seized with a longing to feast on them. Having no money about them, or wishing to use wit instead of coin, they approached the tempting animals, and began to lament over them in loud and doleful strains. The proprietor hurrying to enquire the cause of so much grief in these reverent personages, was informed that the apparently unconscious and happy creatures were animated by the souls of their deceased parents, whose doom with filial pity they were deploring. In vain the farmer promised that the animals should be carefully tended; the grief of the pious visitants remained unabated, until at last moved with pity he presented them with the objects of their solicitude, which they received with many prostrations, and other expressions of respect and delight; but no sooner did they reach home than they had the animals cooked, and made a gratifying meal off the bodies of their alleged parents.

A similar story is told of a prince of high degree in China, who had lost a beloved and only son. His grief was excessive, and he would take no comfort until a wily bonze, or priest assured him that the soul of the boy had passed into the body of a child who lived in a distant country, but whom it would be possible to procure for a handsome purchase money. The feelings of the parent opened wide the purse-strings, and after the lapse of time sufficient to make a long journey and effect a difficult negociation, the priest returned bringing with him an infant, whom in all likelihood he had found abandoned, as in that populous country numbers of infants yearly are, in some nook of a neighbouring town. The fond parent received with rapture what he supposed to be his son, and showered gifts and blessings on the fellow who had outwitted him.

It is curious to note how the idea of Metempsychosis has been woven up through the entire web of the thought and feeling of Eastern nations. It is the popular belief, that though a man has lived in the lowest rank and in the depth of poverty, yet if he has been virtuous, his soul will experience a sort of promotion, and in all likelihood will become the tenant of the body of some prince or distinguished person, and if he continue virtuous, the chances are in favour of his passing at once, at his next migration, to happiness and the bosom of the Deity. But if the man is bad, the transmigration is downward and backward in the scale of being; if he has indulged low animal tastes his soul is sent to

lodge in the body of the animal which during his existence in human shape he most resembled. The thief is converted into some animal addicted to stealing,—the stealer of grain becomes a rat, and the stealer of fruits an ape. In the bodies of these creatures the transgressor is believed to do penance for his past misdeeds. Hence, when an animal is seen suffering what would appear to be an unmerited evil, the conclusion jumped at is that the suffering is the recompence of some sin committed in a previous state of existence. When a dog is heard howling under the lash of a brutal master, little compassion is felt for him, as he is believed to be expiating some crime committed when he was in human shape. Servants who have been ill-used, and wives who have been beaten, find no inconsiderable consolation in this doctrine; in the bitterness of their sufferings they can take some comfort from the reflection that the hard master and the cross-grained husband will be changed into some creature which shall pay the full penalty for the sufferings which he is causing them.

In addition to the belief in Metempsychosis, five precepts were delivered by Gautama to regulate the life and daily conduct of his followers. The precepts are, (1) Destroy no animal life; (2) Do not steal; (3) Do not speak falsely; (4) Drink no wine; and (5) Do not marry. The last of these precepts was of course enjoined upon the priests alone: as to the second and third, they are not only useful rules to obey, but there is reason to think that they have been pretty faithfully kept. The first precept, "Destroy no animal life," has been kept well enough in the letter, but quite broken in the spirit;—animal life has been honoured in a certain sense, for convents swarm not only with priests, but with dogs, cats, mice, beetles, and every variety of vermin; but the Buddhist nations know nothing of the sanctity of life, or of the high purposes for which it is given, and which should consecrate it. They do not even cherish life, for many of the nations which profess this faith are notoriously sanguinary, shedding human blood even, and mutilating the human frame with reckless indifference and an utter disregard of this primary article of their faith. And here an amusing anomaly in Buddhism may be pointed out. The precept, destroy no animal life, has tended to establish the idea that it is unlawful to eat animal food. Hence, multitudes of priests refuse to touch meat, living altogether on rice and other vegetable substances, but there are others whose souls hanker after the flesh-pots, and these luckily find an example in Buddha himself to countenance their longings. Gautama's story presents at least one illustration of the proverb, that it is one thing to preach and another to practise,

for he is said to have died of a surfeit of pork. The other analogous precept, "Drink no wine," is despised or forgotten by many Buddhists, and the habits of the priests, especially in some countries, are such as to offer fair encouragement to any adventurous Father Matthew, whose charitable zeal requires a broad field for its exercise.

The doctrine of Metempsychosis and the foregoing five precepts, would seem to have embodied the substance of the Buddhist religion, as taught by its founder; but as Gautama himself committed nothing to writing, as less happy than Socrates, he left no Plato to hand down his discourses, and four hundred and fifty years are believed to have elapsed before his disciples drew up a statement of the ceremonies and observances of the faith: it necessarily followed that much of which its founder never dreamed was introduced into the system, and which, had he heard it, he would have treated as foolishness or presumption. Simple as his teaching was, his disciples have spun it out into an affair so lengthened and prolix, that it requires the labour and patience of years to disentangle its intricacies. Mr. Hardy, for some time missionary in Ceylon, has taken the trouble to wade through a mass of Buddhist literature, and has given a compendium of the system in two works of considerable size. But it would be a painful task to follow him, so extensive is the subject, and so grotesque and extravagant is the crowd of ideas that, in the course of centuries, have been worked into the once simple faith.

One knows what a strange form Christianity assumed when the monks of the middle ages presented a farrago of legends and miracles in the place of the truth. But the priests of Buddha have far outdone the monks in changing and obscuring the teaching of their founder. The number of volumes stored up in the Buddhist libraries, and considered to have all the authority of Holy Writ, is something enormous. A curious comparison of the best known works in Europe with the Buddhist writings in Ceylon, as to size, has been made by Mr. Hardy, which shews what literary toil must be undergone before one can pretend to know anything of the ramifications of the oriental creed. The Æneid of Virgil contains ten thousand lines; the poems of Homer three times that number: there are three millions five hundred and sixty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty letters in the Bible; these are high figures, but they are small when contrasted with the sacred books of Ceylon, which contain nearly two million of lines! Merely to peruse this literature would be the task of an ordinary lifetime. The modern professors of the religion are, it is true,

usually too idle and ignorant to read their sacred books, and many, even of the priests, are altogether unacquainted with them.

But it is not in doctrine and ceremonial alone that Buddhism has increased and become complicated in the course of centuries; time has given birth to a Buddhist ecclesiastical system, one of the most gigantic of such systems. In Europe there are two ecclesiastical systems, both strong, haughty and aggressive. The one is the Roman Catholic Church, having its head-quarters at Rome, and directed by the Pope and the college of cardinals; the other is the Greek Church, the head-quarters of which are at Moscow and St. Petersburg, and whose director is the Russian Czar; but neither of these spiritual powers is so mighty or so august as the ecclesiastical system whose stronghold is at Lassa, that remote and almost unknown city of Central Asia. In this city the Grand Lama or high priest maintains a more than royal state, and thence he dispenses ordinances and laws to the great Buddhist community. At Rome, when the Pope dies, the cardinals meet in quite a secular business-like manner, and elect one of their number to be his successor. At Lassa, when the Grand Lama dies, the attendant priests provide a successor in a romantic and peculiar fashion. It is believed that when the spiritual head of this religion pays the debt of nature, he merely passes from the worn-out frame of one body to take up his residence anew in the body of a child. Accordingly when he dies, the priests go in search of the infant into which the soul of their chief has entered, and when they have found it, it is carefully tended and reared to be their future Lama. During his whole subsequent life this child is contemplated with a degree of reverence that hardly falls short of idolatry: he is Grand Lama during the months that he is fed with a spoon and pap; he is Grand Lama during the frolicksome years of boyhood, not frolicksome to him, for he is tutored into premature gravity;—Grand Lama is he still through the busy years of his serious and subdued manhood, and, if death do not relieve him from the burden of his office, Grand Lama he continues through the weary days of decrepid and declining age.

How and by what signs the infant destined for the high position is characterized,—how the priests are enabled to choose a superior for themselves from among thousands of infants, is a secret which remains locked in their own breasts, and which, were they pressed, it would very likely puzzle them to explain. Antiquity furnishes a curious parallel to this method of electing the Lama in Thibet. When the sacred bull, the deity of the ancient Egyptians, died, the priests walked in procession through

he fields and cattle-sheds; and when they came to the bull hich the deity had chosen as his tabernacle, they took it and d it to a splendid stall and temple, where it was worshipped r the rest of its life. By what marks they recognized the ght animal it would be difficult to guess, nor is it absolutely rtain that the right animal was always selected. The priests of ncient Egypt probably satisfied themselves, as do the Buddists of the present day, and the true believers whose minds are a happy state of abeyance are little likely to be troubled by suspicion of the wisdom and sanctity of their spiritual guides.

By slow and progressive steps did the ecclesiastical system f Lassa attain its full development. The Lama of the Buddhists id not win his vast spiritual power by any sudden success. or centuries the high priests of this religion could with difficulty maintain their existence; at length, however, sovereigns egan to look on the struggling faith with an eye of favour, and ermitted its ministers to live under their protection. The hirteenth century of our era found the chief Lama a resident t Putala in Thibet with little influence or worldly power, but hen Genghis Khan made his extensive conquests with his Mongol hordes, he lifted this priest from his obscurity, made im supreme pontiff, and gave him a province of ample extent o maintain his spiritual dignity. A century later, the Mongol ower was overthrown by the Tartars, but the new masters reated the pontiff with even greater respect and liberality than heir predecessors. His power was further confirmed, his territory as increased, and a council of eight priests,—a college of ardinals, in other words,—was created and endowed, to assist im in his deliberations and to lighten the burden of his rule. rom that time to this the government of the Buddhist faith as been in the hands of this council, and the law has gone orth from Lassa to the regions of Asia with all the majesty and orce which supposed inspiration can give to human words. The rivate history of the council of eight is said to contain not a ew dark and blood-stained pages; the same jealousy and intrigue ave characterized the Buddhist princes which have prevailed, om time to time, in the Roman college of cardinals, and so igh has run the feeling of rivalry and hatred in the sacred rotherhood, that some Lamas have been deposed and others assassinated.

The Buddhist religion has preserved its main doctrines and rinciples, but in different countries various ceremonies and deas have been engrafted on the primitive stock. The early oman missionaries, who visited China, were struck by the onderful similarity between many points of this religion and

their own;—like themselves, the Chinese Buddhists counted their prayers by means of a string of beads or rosary, depending from the neck or held in the hands; like themselves, they said prayers or masses for the dead; like themselves, they set a high value on celibacy, and founded monasteries for men and nunneries for women; but the most curious fact of all was that the Buddhist worshipped Tien-Mow, the Queen of heaven, whom the missionaries concluded to be none other than the blessed Virgin herself. Unable to account for these points of resemblance between a pagan religion and their own, they concluded that the whole was a device of the evil one, to perplex and defeat them. But the explanation of the Abbé Huc is decidedly more satisfactory than this. This distinguished traveller remarks that at the time of the establishment of the Buddhist patriarchate in Thibet, the countries of Northern Asia numbered Christians among their inhabitants. The worship of the Roman Church was performed before Mongol chieftains by wandering monks, and the splendour for which it has been famous procured it no little favour in the eyes of the barbarians. The Buddhist priests, the Abbé suggests, may have taken a lesson from the professors of another faith, and copied the more striking parts of the ceremonial, in order to render their own religious performances more imposing; on no other supposition does it seem to him possible to account for the use of the cross, the mitre, the rosary, holy water and saint worship, all of which he saw practised when he visited the Buddhists of Tartary and Thibet.

It is interesting to notice how different a hold the Buddhist religion has taken of the public mind in the various Eastern nations that have received it. It has struck root most deeply among the shifting tribes of the deserts of Tartary;—it would really seem that the wanderers, incapable of attaching themselves to any particular spot of earth, do for that very reason cling the more closely to a religion which, like the tents that shelter them, they can carry everywhere with them. It is among these tribes that the Buddhist missionaries are most hospitably entertained, and poor though the people often be, the amount of the contributions raised among them for any religious purpose is astonishing. When a new monastery is to be founded, or when an established one stands in need of support, a priest undertakes a journey or mission, travelling from tribe to tribe, and receiving as he goes gifts of cattle or whatever other property they possess. The women sometimes even strip themselves of their trinkets to enrich a temple believed to be a seat of peculiar sanctity. There are several temples which, at certain [illegible]sons of the year, become the centres of pilgrimage to the

Tartars. Of these the monastery of the Great Kouren, in Northern Tartary, is one of the most celebrated. This building rises high in the air, and its gilded roofs are visible from an immense distance. Its resident population, according to Huc, numbers no less than thirty thousand monks. At the time when he visited it, the surface of the surrounding country was dotted with the tents of pilgrims, who had flocked thither from all points of the Asiatic continent which lies between the Himalayan chain and the Frozen Ocean. There he beheld "U-Pi-Tu-Dye, or Fish-skin Tartars, encamped beside the Torgot Tartars from the summits of the sacred mountains, the Thibetians and the Peboum of the Himalaya with their long-haired oxen, mingling with the Mantchous from the banks of the Songdri and Amoor." Such meetings appear to have become an established necessity in this part of the world; and while they tend to keep alive the flame of religion, which might otherwise burn low, and perhaps die out, they also aid the commerce and promote the social virtues of some millions of mankind.

The Buddhism of China contrasts strongly with that of Tartary. In China, its condition is aptly symbolized by the monasteries and temple-pagodas, once so prosperous and magnificent, but now forsaken and fast falling to decay. The ruins of many of these buildings are of vast proportions, but they are almost all stripped of their wealth and deserted by their inhabitants. Many of the finest of the monasteries are abandoned to the bats and spiders; in some of them the extensive libraries are still filled with cumbrous theological volumes, but the volumes are grown mouldy and useless, and worst of all, there is hardly a scholar left to bewail their loss. The buildings are still places of frequent resort, but the visitors are attracted by curiosity, no longer by religion;—there is as little piety in the feelings with which they gaze on the decaying monuments of the elder time, as there is in those of the dilletante antiquarians who grub among the debris of our fallen abbeys in search of buried curiosities. The bonzes are poor, and as ignorant as they are poor. They generally manage to get but a bare living, and spend a great part of the day in begging rice from door to door. It is said that the ranks of this priesthood are recruited in a manner entirely and peculiarly Chinese. Hardly any one is found willing to enter a profession in which he must needs become idle and degraded. The priest, therefore, must be trained to his life of meanness and misery, even from childhood; and this is accomplished in the following manner: when the priest attached to a pagoda requires a servant, he purchases a

boy for a trifle. As this boy grows up, he becomes inured to the mode of life, and in due course becomes the assistant and then the successor of his purchaser. Such being the usual training of the bonze, it is no wonder that but little value is set either on his life or on his services. During the recent revolutionary and civil war in China, the rebel party made a point of massacring the priests wherever they came, with a view, it is believed, to gaining popularity for themselves, by rooting out a set of men who are regarded as the drones,—the useless consumers of the common stock of provisions in the land.

Buddhism is the state religion in Burmah, Siam, and Japan. The mode in which the Burmese government testifies its approval is quaint enough. Every month at the new moon a procession parades the streets of the capital with the public crier at its head, who from time to time recites in a loud and distinct voice the five precepts of Buddha. In addition to the precepts, a short summary of the duties of the citizens is delivered, while to give force to the body of instruction, the principal hangman occupies a prominent place in the procession, carrying a rod in one hand and a rope in the other. But notwithstanding this sanction of the government, and the vigorous measures employed to enforce the creed, the Burmese character remains callous to religion, and stands greatly in need of humanizing influences. Throughout the East the Burmese have the reputation of being cruel in the extreme, and total strangers to truth and honesty. Little is known of the condition of the clergy and religion of Japan, but they seem to enjoy much external splendour. Church and State among this jealous and exclusive people appear to be closely united, or rather to be identical. The Buddhist daïri or pontiff is hardly inferior to the emperor: his palace is so large that it forms a town of considerable size, and his attendants are numerous in proportion. The priests live at ease, and the temples are built beyond the walls of the towns in the most choice situations, usually upon eminences commanding wide and agreeable prospects. In every habitable spot a monastery is to be found, and the monks appear to be in fair repute among the people.

In Siam, Buddhism is supported by the government, and the religious establishments are in a very prosperous state. Many of the nobles have worn the priest's robe at some period of their lives; and a distinguished member of the royal family, now living, who has attained no mean knowledge of European literature and science, received the education, and for many years discharged the duties, of a priest. Enjoying such a

measure of patronage, Buddhism is, as might be expected, a firmly-established institution of the country.

The Buddhist religion varies very much, externally at least, in the different countries in which it is professed. It has acquired numberless national and local peculiarities, so that the Buddhism of one country appears very unlike the Buddhism of another; but one feature is common to it everywhere, and this is the spirit of toleration with which it regards other creeds. It is the law of this religion that violent antagonism, even to error, is apt to injure truth. This maxim has frequently led to indifference, but it has invariably prevented persecution on the part of the Buddhists, however great may have been their power, or however able they may have been to crush a minority of dissenters. Buddhism presents many weak points: it is illogical and erroneous in many of its fundamental doctrines, but it has at least not disgraced itself by resorting to the machinery of inquisitorial torture to put down other forms of worship, or to establish its own. Even by the confessions of its enemies, the annals of this creed present fewer instances of persecution than are to be found in those of any other. Once a petition was laid before a ruler of Japan, requesting him to prevent the introduction of a foreign religion within his dominions. The Buddhist prince inquired how many creeds were professed among his subjects; and when told the number,—they were upwards of thirty,—he quietly observed that surely there was room for one more. In the same spirit, when the buildings of the British consulate were to be erected at Foo-chow in China, the mandarins inserted a clause in the agreement of the contractor, binding him to do no work on the Sundays, so that the feelings and habits of the foreigners might receive no shock: in like manner, when they wished to visit the English residents, they usually sent to enquire if it were the Sabbath, and deferred their visit if it happened to be that day. Such forbearance is usually shewn to foreigners in all the countries where Buddhism is dominant; and if the stranger has on any occasion been persecuted for his faith, the fault has been with himself,—his aggressiveness has provoked the check. The Jesuits have murmured at the reception they have met with in eastern countries, —their exclusion it should rather be called,—but they ought not to forget that the insolence and intrigue which have always disguished them, have rendered their banishment a political necessity in almost every civilized country of Europe, and they should not be surprised at receiving like treatment at the hands of Asiatics. Men, whose religious zeal has been tempered by sense and discretion, have had no cause to complain of the Buddhists.

Such being the spirit of the priests and people, it may be anticipated that the truth and the better creed will not be heard by them in vain. The sealed territories of China, Siam, and Japan are opening more or less to European enterprize and European teaching. The Englishman's commerce and the Englishman's books will soon penetrate the East; and the fruits of the great harvest now sowing will in time be golden in the field. The past, however, should teach the lesson of patience. Heaven's time is not as man's time, and grand results are frequently long in maturing. Centuries must often pass before the prejudices of a nation are melted away,—popular creeds and popular feelings are slow, very slow in changing. The habits of the mind are as hard to change as habits of costume. What rational reformer would expect at once to make the Chinese regard their mode of wearing their hair as unsightly and ridiculous? and should we expect or hope to change at once the mental habits of the people? In the glow of a very commendable zeal this fundamental law of nature is apt to be forgotten,—quick results are longed for and expected, but almost invariably are the hopes disappointed. The Chinese, of all the Buddhist races, would seem to be ripe for some new and living faith, for their old creed is withered and well nigh dead. It will be longer before the Buddhists of Siam and Japan will feel their need of something purer and stronger than their present faith, and still longer before the Word of truth and life can reach the fastnesses of Thibet, and permeate the desert of Tartary. But every year is bringing the ends of the earth nearer and nearer. The steamship, the railway, and the telegraph are preaching the common brotherhood of the human race, by sending the same ideas to circulate among all the nations. The millions who now profess the Buddhist faith will shortly hear of another faith, between which and their own they will be summoned to decide.

J. M. M.

ÆTHIOPIC PRAYERS, etc.

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(Continued from Vol. V. (New Series), p. 368).

A Morning Prayer.

AIN let us make our supplication to Thee, the God of mercy,
o didst help Abraham in his warfare with the kings; who
st deliver Isaac in the place of sacrifice; who didst lead
ob along his road, and shewedst Thyself to him in a vision
the night when he set up the pillar; who didst magnify
seph in a strange land, O Lord our God. Pray ye (thus): O
rd our God, who didst guide the vessel of Noah in the deep;
o didst deliver Daniel from the mouth of lions, and Susannah
m the hand of the elders; who didst send Moses with mighty
l, and didst lead forth Thy people with a cloud by day, and
the night through by a light of fire; who hast spoken by
eans of prophets, and whose grace was manifested upon the
ostles when they were gathered together in one house, and
ere came down upon them as it were flames of fire, and they
l spake with strange tongues,—do Thou send forth that Holy
irit, the pillar of heaven and earth, and bless our congregations
every time and hour, in Thine only Son Jesus Christ our Lord.
) Thee do we offer thanks, Lord of the world, and glory of
the saints,
ie hope of the hopeless,
elp of the afflicted,
efuge of the oppressed,
nverter of sinners,
rifier of the wicked;
ou who rememberedst the faithful,
ee will I address, O Lord of the world,
ory of angels, and deliverer of kings,
ho bringest forth even out of fire,
ho shepherdest Thy people,
d regardest the sons of men;
my Lord, the grace of my soul and strength of my heart,
Thee will I speak who art the staff of my age;
ho by Thy word didst form every creature in seven days,
ho didst raise up man from dust and madest him Thy temple,
d didst make him in the image of thy face;
d who, in Thy wisdom, hast begotten us again, who abounded
in sin,

By fire and water and the Holy Ghost,
And hast shewed Thyself to us, by bearing us in mind, and becamest the hope of the ends of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and the visitor of those who are in Hades.
O Ruler of the world, O Lord our God,
Through Thy cross thou hast given us the knowledge of heaven and earth.
Thou didst send Thine apostles, those twelve illustrious names, with ordinances in order to tread upon all thy foes and unclean spirits, and in order that the Trinity might be victorious, for Thou art Lord alone;
At Thy cross all evil spirits flee away;
It shall be for remission of sins to all who believe on Thy Name,
For Thou art God alone, who dwellest enthroned on the lofty chariot of the cherubim;
We Thy servants stand now before Thee with the Psalms of David;
Hundreds and thousands of angels, and ten thousand times ten thousand saints stand at thy command,
And the four and twenty intercede with Thee, with sweet smelling incense, and by the Holy Ghost, who dwellest on the cherubic chariot;
These all tremble at the voice of His holy and praiseworthy might. In all the world be glory and power to Thee, both now and for aye, world without end.

Prayer.—O Lord our Lord God of Israel, God of those who have been men of might, God who hast made the heaven and the earth and all that in them is;

Hear the suit which I make to Thee this day, in the latter end of my days, O God of saints,

And God of the righteous, and God of Noah:

Those who were with him in the ark didst Thou deliver in the waters of the deluge, and didst bless him and multiply his seed.

Hear my supplication this day, O Lord, who didst stand with our father Abraham, and with Isaac Thy servant: O Thou who didst deliver them from the midst of those who were compelled to pay tribute;

Hear my petition this day, O Lord, who didst deliver Jacob thy servant from the wrath of Levi and Esau his brother, and didst lead him on his way in peace;

Hear my petition this day, O Lord, who didst deliver Joseph from the anger of his lying brethren and from the prison house, and didst make him of great account with Pharaoh;

Hear my petition, O Lord, this day, who didst deliver Thy

people Israel from the slavery to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and didst lead them into the land of the inheritance that was prepared for them;

Hear my petition this day, O Lord, who didst hear the prayer of Moses the prophet, and didst destroy all the enemies of thy people Israel with great power, Amalek and Midian, and Sisera, and Og, king of Edom, and all the kings of Aram.

Hear my petition this day, O Lord, who didst hear the petition of David Thy servant, and didst deliver him from the hand of Saul, the Ziphite, and gavest him might over all his enemies;

Hear my petition this day, O Lord, who didst hear the prayer of Jonas the prophet, and broughtest him forth from the belly of the monster;

Hear my prayer, O Lord, this day, who didst deliver Thy servant Susannah from the hands of the priests and elders who had no compassion;

Hear my prayer, O Lord, this day, who didst hear the prayer of Daniel the prophet, and didst deliver him from the mouth of the lions, and gavest him favour in the presence of kings;

Hear my prayer this day, O Lord, who didst hear the prayers of the three children, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, and didst deliver them from the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar;

Hear my prayer this day, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, my Lord who didst love me, and didst dwell nine months in the virgin's womb, and for three years did suckle the breasts of Mary;

Save me from those who watch my path, who are the enemies of the children of men;

Deliver my soul from the deluge, and from the outer darkness of the worm which sleepeth not, and from the lake of fire;

Deliver me, O Lord, for ever. Amen.

Evening Prayer.

We supplicate Thee, O God, Lord of all things, the very Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;

Light of the world; turn to us in the multitude of Thy mercies;

And accept my prayer;

And forgive me all my sins.

I humble myself to Thee, O Lord,

Scorn not Thou my prayer,

And forgive me my offences, for many offences have I committed;

Lord, let Thine ear be attent to my prayer,

And pardon me all my sins;
For I have violated the law of a man, and have done evil in my generation;
For I have sought for relief and found it not;
My own thoughts condemn me;
I crave peace and have it not,
By reason of the depth of my sin;
O the sorrow of my heart!
O the grief of my spirit!
Wherewith shall I be healed?
For I turn me hither and thither, and there is none to help me in my trouble; therefore, for fear and trembling, I will humble me and fall down before Thee, O Lord my God, that Thou mayest have mercy on me;
For Thou alone dost comfort the world,
In its perdition;
And Thou didst send Thine only Son from heaven,
To save the creature whom he had made,
Mortal and corruptible.
Hear the groaning of my heart, O my God;
And look not upon the evil of my deeds,
But look upon the woe that is at my heart.
Have mercy on me, and haste to heal me,
For I am sore wounded and have offended,
For Thee only will I acknowledge in the universe,
The physician of those who suffer, are sick,
The door of those who knock and have gone astray,
The staff of those who are overcome by dread;
The Saviour of the lost;
The light of those who walk in darkness;
Lay hold on me, and suffer not Thy punishment that is prepared for our sins to come forth.
I supplicate and I humble myself before Thee, who bestowest the day in which men may watch,
But not the drunken with wine,
But those whom their sins have made drunken, and who reel;
For lo, I reel under the multitude of my sins;
I will humble me to Thee, O Lord my God, that Thou mayest have mercy on me,
For Thou only art holy and pure, and free from corruption,
Thou, the tree of life!
And Thou, the gate of light!
To Thee be glory and the greatness of praise, with Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, and praise in all the world, and world without end. Amen. Halleluiah.

An Evening Prayer.

We will praise Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast continued us
ıe live long day,
And hast delivered us from all wherein we have gone astray,
ıd hast fed us with our daily food, and hast brought us to our rest.
For Thou hast covered us with Thy right hand, and hast
used us to exchange the evil of our evils for Thy salvation.
Thou too hast thought upon us, O Thou shepherd that neither
ım berest nor sleepest, whom no darkness darkeneth, and from
ıom nought that the breast covereth is hidden, and before
ıom the condition of all lays open.
Deliver us from those *enemies* whom we see, and from those
ıom we see not. Far from us be those who wish us to be far
ɔm Thee.
Shield us by Thy majesty,
And protect us under the shadow of thy wings,
And number us among thy sheep whom Thou leadest out by
·y into Thy blessing, and bringest home at night into the
pose of Thy mercy,
Whose necks Thou bridlest by Thy sincere and holy word,
ıd leadest by the light of Thy countenance which is never dim,
So that they are as those who have become strong by the
ıange what Thou workest;
Be gracious unto us and vanquish Satan and our foes;
And bear them home as Thy reward and joy, and gather
em together and bring them into the courts of Thy holy house,
That the bridling of their necks may be our inheritance,
'en as they have gone over us,
And we will pursue them ever more;
And we will be as blessed sheep who rejoice in our condition;
And we will be as the good son who loved his Father;
And we will not be as the wicked son who provoked his hand
ɔ anger;
And we will be watchful and contend with Thy foes:
And we will render praises to Thee when we uplift them
'ith our lips,
When we come to our rest, whither Thy holy right hand is
eading us,
By Thy only Son, through whom to Thee with Himself and
ïth the Holy Spirit be praise, world without end. Amen.

A Prayer and Supplication to our Lady Mary, to be said at Night.

I will praise Thy grace, O our Lady, and will beseech of thee to enlighten my heart, and to direct my ways and goings, that I may go on in purity of heart in the ways of Christ and in his commandments.

Make me to be watchful in time of ease, and drive away from me heaviness unto slumber, for lo, I am bound by the multitude of my sins.

Deliver me by thy prayers, O spouse of God; keep me day and night, and deliver me from mine enemies, who press upon me: for lo! thy Son is God the giver of life.

Give me life, for I am dead in afflictions.

Thy Son is light in which is no darkness;

Give light to my blind soul.

O thou marvellous one, who wast the temple of very God,

Make me to be the temple of the Holy Ghost.

O thou who didst bring forth the Physician,

Heal the afflictions of my faithful soul.

The billows of the years would fain overwhelm me; guide thou me into the port of penitence.

Deliver me from the flaming fire;

And from the torment of the undying worm;

And make me not the sport of demons;

For I am bound by a multitude of sins.

Purify me, O thou who art pure from all spot, for my offences are numberless; make me a stranger to all judgment, O mother of God; enable me to be a partaker of heavenly grace with all the saints, O virgin, who art the refuge of all saints:

Hear the voice of thy weary servant, and grant me a fount of tears, and purify the uncleannesses of my soul.

I groan before thee out of the depth of my heart.

O my Lady, receive my poor petition, and carry it up to God, the bestower of mercy.

O thou who art exalted above the angels, make me to escape from the cares of the world.

O thou rejoicing one who art clad with light, enable me to become the temple of the Holy Ghost.

O thou that art pure from every spot, I will offer thee laud and praise with lip and tongue.

Stretch forth thy hand, and pray to Christ thy son, and deliver my soul from fault, to Whom and to Thee be ascribed grace and beauty.

O thou who art ever venerated,

Labour in good deeds for me, evermore. Amen.

Translations from the Æthiopic MS. (probably of the fourteenth century) in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, marked MS. F.

CEREMONIES TO BE OBSERVED IN REGARD TO BAPTISM.

Baptism shall be administered by pure running water. First, the infants shall be baptized; after them, men; and then the women. But if there be any one who hath desired celibacy (lit. *virginity*), let him be baptized first by the hand of the bishop. And the women, when they are baptized, shall loosen their hair; and for all infants who cannot make answers, their fathers shall answer, or in their absence their kinsfolk shall speak on their behalf. And when, after they have made their answers, they who are to be baptized come down (to the water), the men shall not wear rings of gold, and the women also shall be unclothed, for it beseemeth not to carry any strange thing into that water.

And when they take the oil for the chrism, the bishop offers praise, and another recites the exorcism of the Neophytes; and him who is exorcised, the deacon baptizes while the hand of a presbyter is upon his head; and they who stand at the right hand sing praises, and they who have said the exorcism on the left.

For further confirmation, each (candidate) is then to be turned to the west, and to say, "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy power, and all thy lusts, and all thy desires, and all thy works."

And these shall be the words and profession for him on whom the consecrated oil is anointed: "Let this oil anoint the soul from every evil and unclean spirit, and drive him away in vexation."

And again he shall be turned towards the east, and (the priest) shall bid him say, "I believe in Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whom every soul feareth, imploreth, and supplicateth. Grant me, O Lord, to do Thy will, without blame."

Then after this, he shall turn towards the priest who is to baptize him, and they shall stand in the water naked. A deacon also shall go down with the person who is to be baptized into the water, and shall say to him who is still turned (eastward), with his hand upon his head, "Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?" and he who is to be baptized shall affirm it, and the priest shall dip him once.

And he shall say again, "Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, of the same Godhead with the Father, who was before the world with his Father, who was born of the

Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, who was crucified by Pontius Pilate, who died, and rose again on the third day alive from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead?" and he shall say, "I believe in Him." [And he shall dip him a second time.]

And the priest shall say to him again, the third time, "Believest thou in the Holy Ghost, and in the holy Christian Church?" and he shall say, "I believe." And so he shall dip him the third time.

And when he comes up out of the water, he shall be anointed with the holy chrism of thanksgiving; and he shall say, "I anoint thee with oil of thanksgiving, in the name of Jesus Christ;" and he shall say, "Amen."

At a later part of MS. F., the following Prayers and Exorcisms occur.

A Prayer over Water, to be used in Baptism.

O Lord Almighty, who hast made the heaven, and earth, and sea, and all that is therein, who hast made man in thine own likeness and image, who hast blended and commingled the mortal and the immortal, who hast made man a living being out of each, who hast given to Thy creature a mixture of flesh and spirit, stir this water, and fill it with Thy Holy Spirit, that it may become the water of the Spirit for the second birth. Whoever shall be baptized, do Thou make to be sons and daughters unto Thy holy name. Wash them with water, and give them wisdom by Thy Holy Spirit, through the coming of Christ, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be praise for ever, world without end. Amen.

Another.

O Lord, God of all might, who didst make the waters of Mara sweet, in the days of Thy servant Moses in the desert;

Thou who didst deliver Thy people from thirst, and didst make the water a source of healing to Thy people:

Thou who, in the land of Jericho, in the days of Elisha the prophet, didst set Thy seal on the waters of Jordan:

Thou who, in the days of John the Baptist, didst go down into it, and wast invited to the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, and didst set Thy mark on water for them, and it was changed and became wine: we now bow in reverence unto Thee, our God.

Bless this stream of water, that it may become water of blessing, and water of penitence, and a shield of faith.

And on account of the violent and evil man, let it be our cleansing and health, and the pardon of our sins by Thy mercy. So will we send up praise to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

Grant it. Kyrie Eleison.

The Form of Exorcising those who are Baptized.

Inspect the men and women among you, and ascertain whether there be any deaf person with gaping mouth, and whether there be any one who trembles and sweats. The chief minister of the church should bestir himself, and see to the state of each man and woman singly, with fear and trembling. So shall we effect their deliverance:—

God rebuke thee the accuser, who came into the world and dwelt among men that He might put an end to thine excesses, and save man; who rebuked all unclean spirits, and said to the deaf and dumb unclean spirit, "Come out of that man, and return into him no more;" who conquered death by death, and put an end to the power of darkness, and on the cross put to shame the powers that attacked Him, when the sun was darkened and the earth quaked, and the graves were laid open, and bodies of the saints arose,—who rose on the third day,—who gave the promise of life to the dead, and gave life to the world,—who breathed the Holy Spirit upon the apostles and sent them to the end of the world, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the throne of glory at the right hand of the Father, who hath reconciled all mankind to God; who shall come when He shall bring forth the eternal kingdom in holy glory, with ten thousand holy angels; when the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the accuser shall be bound, and all unclean spirits shall be cast into the depths of the abyss. Fear thou unclean spirit the judgment that shall be, when the Father shall announce the doom which is prepared for the world, and the Son shall proclaim it, and the Holy Spirit; consternation and alarm shall cleave thee asunder, thou unclean spirit: fear Him who threw down the first liar into chains, who trembleth in darkness: fear Him who destroyed the rebellious generations in the deluge, and burnt the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah: fear Him who turned back the Jordan and stayed the courses of the sun and moon: fear Him who sent into the world His mighty Son, His Only-begotten, the first born of every creature, for the cessation of evil spirits and for the building up of His holy Christian Church for ever. To Him be the kingdom and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Exorcisms of the Person who is Baptized.

I charge thee, come forth from the man, unclean spirit, whether of night or of the day, and let him believe on our Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten of the Father before the world, and before the heavens, and was crucified by Pontius Pilate, and again ascended into heaven, and shall again come in glory to judge both the quick and the dead: for He formed Him in the image of God, and made Him to serve God, to whom be glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

A Prayer for the exorcism of water.

O eternal God, who knowest secret things, we ask and implore Thee, send Thy holy strength upon this water, and change, and sanctify, and bless it, that it may be for healing and salvation in Thy faith against everything that opposeth, and against all poisons, whether by drink, or in sprinkling, or in aught else: make it for healing and life to whoever shall take of it, to the praise of Thy only and beloved Son, to Thee, and to Him, and to the Holy Spirit, be praise, and power, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Another Prayer.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost . . . . Thou art He with whom is power over all things, and there is nothing that is hidden from Thee. Visit this Thy servant by Thy Holy Spirit, and sanctify this water by Thy Holy Spirit, and make it to drive forth every unclean spirit. Amen.

And now, O Lord God of the powers, king of the heavenly hosts, look upon us; Thou that dwellest on the cherubim, manifest Thyself to us upon this water, and send down upon it grace, and strength, and patience out of heaven, and by the coming down upon it of the Holy Spirit, give it grace and the blessing of Jordan; endue it, O Lord, with might, that it may become the water of life. Amen.

Sanctify it, O Lord, this water by Thy word. Amen.

Make this water the washer away of sin. Amen.

Make it, O Lord, the water of the new birth. Amen.

Look down, O Lord, upon this water, by Thy holy Name, that no evil spirit may be hidden in it, and that it go not forth from this water with him who is washed. . . . [The MS. is here imperfect.]

[To be continued.]

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE GOSPELS TESTED BY AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR CONTENTS.

By the Rev. C. A. Row.

The course of theological controversy is daily tending to enforce on the believer in revelation the necessity of firmly establishing the historical basis of those writings on which the Christian religion is founded, by the application of the principles of an intelligent criticism. Hitherto theologians have attempted to determine on dogmatic principles, what must be the form adopted by the Infinite in making a revelation of himself to the finite. They have assumed, at once, a theory of inspiration on *à priori* principles, without subjecting that theory to any verification as to whether it is, or is not, in conformity with the phenomena presented by the Scriptures, and have boldly proposed to mankind the acceptance of that particular theory, or the alternative of the denial that the Bible contains a divine revelation. But while the inductive mode of enquiry is the only mode of investigation which has been successfully applied to the discovery of truth in every branch of human knowledge, it is impossible to persuade scientific men that the real nature of the Christian Scriptures can be elicited by dogmatism. They naturally ask, Is it possible that the rigid application of the principles of induction is the only key which will unlock the treasures of the physical universe, and that abstract speculation, and unverified *à priori* reasonings, form the true method of investigating the nature and contents of a divine revelation, and the mode in which it has been communicated? Is it possible that such reasonings applied to the study of nature have always led into interminable mazes of error, but in the study of theology form the single pathway which will conduct us into the temple of truth?

The form in which the Christian Scriptures have been communicated is historical: they consist of four biographies, one history, twenty-one letters, and an Apocalypse. This at once includes them within that class of subjects which can be investigated successfully by the aid of the principles of induction. It is impossible to study history on *à priori* principles. But hitherto it has been thought superfluous to attempt to ascertain what is the precise nature of the New Testament, by a rigid investigation into the nature and contents of the writings composing it. It has been enough to assume that they must have been composed in this or that particular manner, and then to force their contents into unison with our preconceived opinions.

It is hardly possible to over-estimate the importance of the investigations into the nature of the gospels, and of the historical foundations on which Christianity rests, which are being prosecuted by a number of laborious enquirers. The enemies of the Christian religion are most fully aware that Christianity in its essence professes to be no abstract theory, but an historic fact; if, therefore, it is to be successfully assailed, its historic foundation must be subverted; consequently, modern scepticism has devised the most ingenious arguments for proving that Christianity is not historical, but that it stands on a basis higher than historic truth. It is ideal. A rigid investigation has been instituted into the nature of the documents which compose the Christian Scriptures: the arguments against their historical truth have been industriously marshalled, while those of a contrary tendency have been carefully masked. It has been boldly asserted, that whatever is true in them is the idea, and not the historical husk of supposed fact, by which the idea is encased. The whole apparatus of criticism has been unsparingly employed for the purpose of forcing an entrance into that which forms the true citadel of the Christian faith,—the objective reality of the great facts of our Lord's life on earth.

The controversy between the believers in Christianity as a supernatural revelation and its opponents, resolves itself into the question, Did the facts occur as they are stated in the gospels, or did they not? Omitting minor points, Are the main details of our Lord's public ministry adequately attested? Are the gospels trustworthy accounts of the teaching and actions of Jesus? If the facts are true, Christianity is established, despite of ten thousand metaphysical difficulties. The old vulgar method of denouncing Christianity as a cunning imposture has passed away; it is now admitted that the character of its contents render such a supposition impossible. Those who deny its divine origin are ready to assign it the highest place but one in their pantheon. It is the grandest of the developments of man; it stands on the loftiest pedestal which has been yet erected in the temple of human reason, though that temple contains a place where a higher platform will hereafter be erected, on which to enthrone the Gospel of the future. The foundations of that platform are already being laid. Existing forms of belief are about to pass away into higher developments of human wisdom. Christianity is waxing old. Humanity is groaning and travelling in pain for the advent of a new Messiah, an impersonal God, the abstract forces of never-deviating law, destitute of moral perfections or a personal will. The new Messiah is about suddenly to visit his temple, and seat

himself above the throne of Christ. We are accordingly informed that while our Gospels may contain a substratum of historic truth now difficult of discovery, the greater portion of their contents are myths, elaborated by the earlier generations of Christians, stories which grew up in the primitive Christian societies around the person of their hero, whose personality is as obscure as that of Pythagoras or Zoroaster. We are told that it is impossible to lay a finger on any fact reported in the gospels and say that it existed anywhere, except in the creative imagination of the first believers. But in what were they believers? Not in facts; but in creative ideas. What have hitherto been mistaken for historic documents are accounts, not of facts, but of conceptions of what the founders of our faith thought that the great deliverer, whom they appear in some most unaccountable way to have expected, ought to have done, or ought to have taught. They were the spontaneous growth of the youthful society, and have been reduced into the resemblance of historical documents by some unknown writer, who has assumed the name of a person eminent among the first believers.

It follows of necessity, that persons who have propounded these and kindred views, should deny that the Gospels embody the results of autoptic testimony. They have therefore endeavoured to relegate their publication in their present forms to the latest possible period of the first century; but the great desideratum has been to shew that they did not exist as we now read them, till the latter end of the first half of the second century.

The whole force of theological controversy will in future turn on the question of the precise nature of the Gospels. What are they? Will they stand the tests of thorough historical criticism? Are they documents derived from direct autoptic testimony, or that testimony after it has passed through one, two, or an indefinite number of transmissions? Are they historical, or are they mythic and legendary, or a mixture of myth, legend, and actual fact? Do they resemble Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian war, or Livy's account of early Roman history? Are they equally true accounts of the life of Jesus Christ, as Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is of the life of Johnson, or as Napier's *History of the Peninsular War* is of that event? or do they resemble the distortions of events when reported by an eye-witness under the influence of violent prejudice, like Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*? or do they resemble the life of Theseus or Gautama Buddha, the accounts of whose lives do not profess to rest on the testimony of a single

witness? On the determination of this question rests the truth of Christianity itself.

Now it is our intention to enquire not into the nature of the external evidence by which the gospels are attested, but into the evidence supplied by the form of the narratives themselves, as to the character of their authorship. Biographies and histories founded on the testimony of witnesses to the facts which they narrate, usually contain within themselves evidence of that character. Mythic histories, fictitious lives and romances, have evaporated into that nothingness out of which they came in the crucible of a close critical examination of their contents. Perhaps no writer of a fiction has ever succeeded in permanently palming off that fiction as an historic fact. To what then do the contents of the Gospels point? Do trary resemble history or fiction? To what class of writings do asserted, true? Have they the appearance of being the narratives historical husk or [illegible]essed the events which they describe, or do The whole apparatus of [illegible]endary character? The facts in the for the purpose of forcing an [illegible]hey be subjected to the same the true citadel of the Christian faith, *Johnson,* assure us that we the great facts of our Lord's life on earth. · to Xenophon's *Cyro-*

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supernatural revelation and its opponents, resomiraculous narthe question, Did the facts occur as they are stated: all such gospels, or did they not? Omitting minor points, tions are main details of our Lord's public ministry adequately atand in-Are the gospels trustworthy accounts of the teaching and acis not of Jesus? If the facts are true, Christianity is establishquate despite of ten thousand metaphysical difficulties. The ocles vulgar method of denouncing Christianity as a cunning ims a posture has passed away; it is now admitted that the characat of its contents render such a supposition impossible. Those is who deny its divine origin are ready to assign it the highest place but one in their pantheon. It is the grandest of the developments of man; it stands on the loftiest pedestal which has been yet erected in the temple of human reason, though that temple contains a place where a higher platform will hereafter be erected, on which to enthrone the Gospel of the future. The foundations of that platform are already being laid. Existing forms of belief are about to pass away into higher developments of human wisdom. Christianity is waxing old. Humanity is groaning and travelling in pain for the advent of a new Messiah, an impersonal God, the abstract forces of neverdeviating law, destitute of moral perfections or a personal will. The new Messiah is about suddenly to visit his temple, and seat

cular circumstances, invariably presents us with certain incongruities. Can we find traces of such incongruities in the Gospels? Do the Gospels indicate that they are founded on the report of a single witness, or of many? Is the style of any of the narratives such as to render it positively certain that the descriptions must have been derived from eye-witnesses? Do the discourses in the Gospels present the appearance so general in ancient writers, of having been composed by the authors of the Gospels, and put into the mouth of Jesus, not as what he said, but what he ought to have said? If the Gospels will return a distinct answer to these questions, it will save volumes of speculation.

Now we possess four histories of our Lord, and not one only. This places us in a most favourable position for instituting this inquiry. The fragmentary nature of their contents is also another important aid. The harmonisers have done their best to destroy the individuality of the authors of the Gospels, and reduce them to a single testimony. There are many reasons why the believer should desire to possess a full and comprehensive view of the ministry of his divine Master, and to read it in the words of the sacred narrative. But had that Spirit who dwelt in the minds of the sacred writers thought this desirable, we should have had a single, and not a fourfold narrative. But we are presented with four distinct lives of Jesus, each author surveying the subject from a different point of view, and stamping the marks of his own individuality indelibly on his work. This fourfold character of the evangelical narrative is worthy of our deepest attention.

The following views seem to embrace every possible supposition respecting the origin of the Gospels. The writers themselves actually witnessed the events which they have recorded, or they have derived their accounts from the testimony of those who witnessed them. They wrote at the dictation of the divine Spirit, and were merely his amanuenses. Their accounts are founded on second or third-rate testimony, a generation or more removed from the events themselves. The writers of one or more of our Gospels have used one of them as the basis of their narratives, and added or subtracted to suit their own views. They have similarly used one or more common documents. They are reports of the traditions of particular churches, respecting the actions and teaching of our Lord. They consist of myths and legends, either entirely, or mixed with more or less of historic fact, the myths and legends being the idealized conceptions of such actions as the primitive Christians thought that the Messiah ought to have performed, and such doctrines as he ought to have taught, which in process of time encrusted themselves around

the person of Jesus of Nazareth. They are a simple fabrication of the authors either consciously false, or for the purposes of a pious fraud.

Now, as some one of these suppositions must be true, it is a most important enquiry whether the Gospels themselves afford us any means of determining which of them is so. Do they enable us to reject any of these theories as unquestionably false? This can only be determined by a rigid examination of their contents. The gospels present us with the most remarkable peculiarities? As four biographies of the same portion of the life of the same person, they are absolutely unique in the history of literature. They are fragmentary histories of our Lord's ministry, three of them noticing a few events anterior to its commencement. While they range over the same events, and the same interval of time, their variations are striking. Considerable portions of their contents are evidently derived from independent sources of information. Their authors present all the appearance of having written without the smallest concert. But while they present all the appearances of distinct authorship, two or more of them contain whole narratives which are nearly word for word alike. At other times they contain narratives with the most remarkable verbal agreement, interspersed with the most peculiar variations. We frequently have the same discourse reported by two or more of the evangelists with the most exact verbal agreement, even when the words used are remarkable, or when different words would have yielded precisely the same sense. Again, we have these discourses presenting the same ideas with slight verbal variations. At other times we have single words, or portions of sentences, or whole sentences left out or transposed, and sometimes by a slight insertion in one of the evangelists, an extra light is thrown on what our Lord said compared with the account in another. These variations are often extremely minute. The whole class of discourses which are reported by St. John widely differ from those contained in the synoptics. But one general feature pervades the reports of parallel discourses. No variation in these, in the smallest degree, affects the impression produced on our minds respecting our Lord's character, or the doctrines taught by him. The evangelists never place one inconsistent statement in the mouth of our Lord. But in the narratives of events, the variations are much more remarkable. The different narratives frequently with great difficulty weave into a common whole, and at times absolutely refuse to do so without violence being offered to their natural meaning. Events are placed in a different connection by one evangelist from that in which they are placed by

another. Similar narratives present such variations, that those wishing to harmonize the evangelists have represented them as separate occurrences, although it is necessary to assume that our Lord performed actions all but the same twice over, and that precisely the same words were used by him and those about him on each occasion. Sometimes different evangelists record portions of the same event, and then it frequently happens that an expression or even a single word used by one evangelist throws light on what would be otherwise the obscure narrative of the other. While two or three of the evangelists sometimes tell the same story in the same words, the most singular verbal variations are interspersed with identities of expression. Many of the narratives are such as we should expect if they were derived from the accounts of persons, some of whom had retained a lively impression of one portion of an event, and some of another portion of it.

Frequently narratives abound to such an extent in common expressions, as necessarily to lead to the conclusion that they must have been derived from a common source of information. At other times the variations are so important as to render it certain that the sources of information must have been different. Now, writings which are thus peculiarly marked, must be in a most favourable position for applying to them the principles of inductive criticism. Can nothing be inferred from phenomena so striking, respecting the nature of the events themselves, or of the authorship by which they have been recorded? Other writings of a far less striking character, when closely sifted, enable us to form a definite opinion respecting the nature of the authorship by which they have been composed; far more clear evidence must be capable of being deduced from writings thus distinctly marked. We can ascertain from internal evidence respecting many pretended histories, that they are fictitious; respecting others, that they are of the character which is designated as legendary; respecting others, that they are historical. Among such we can determine on the strongest evidence, that they have most certainly been derived from the testimony of those who have themselves witnessed the facts which they narrate; respecting others, that they rest on inferior testimony; respecting others, that they contain mixtures of truth and falsehood. When several lives of the same person exist, composed by different authors, we can determine whether their authors have copied from each other, or whether they have followed independent authorities. Who can doubt that Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is a substantially true biography, or that *Gulliver's Travels* are a fable? Why should these tests never fail us when applied to less strik-

ing narratives, and only fail us when we use them to determine the character of the singularly marked narratives of the evangelists?

But some are afraid lest the sacred character of the evangelists should suffer by such handling. But why should we be afraid to use the evangelists precisely as the Spirit of God has placed them in our hands? They contain a divine element encased in a human one. That human element in no respect differs from what we see in other writings. What right have we to overlook it? What right have we to disregard it? What right have we to explain away its existence? The divine Spirit who watched over the composition of the Gospels, has willed them to be even as we find them. It has been his pleasure that we should have four lives of our Lord marked by the most remarkable peculiarities. Were not these peculiarities intended to be the subject of our study? The Gospels will not suffer from the careful examination of anything they set forth in them, under the superintendence of their great Author. Rather have they suffered grieviously by our closing our eyes to what God has placed in them. The more they are minutely studied, the more shall we be satisfied of their *reality and truth.*

We will begin with the examination of the healing of the leper (Matt. viii. 1; Mark i. 39; Luke v. 12). Matthew places this event in direct connection with the Sermon on the Mount; and it is hardly possible to conceive that the writer did not intend to convey the idea that it took place immediately on our Lord's descent. The words are, "And when He had come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him, and, behold, there came a leper and worshipped him." But how is the event dated by Mark? "And he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee, and casting out devils, and, behold, there came a leper entreating him, and falling on his knees before him." But what says St. Luke? "And it came to pass, while he was in one of their cities, behold, a man full of leprosy," etc.

Now if Matthew were present at the sermon, and if he is the author of the Gospel, and the miracle took place shortly after they descended from the Mount, we should naturally expect that he would be exact in his date. If Mark designed to omit the Sermon, and yet had high authority for his account, the date given by him, that it took place during a preaching tour in Galilee, is most appropriate, and strictly in accordance with Matthew's more definite statement. The position that St. Luke occupies is confessedly that of a compiler from the report of many witnesses. The indefiniteness of St Luke's date is strictly in accordance with his avowed position.

It is quite impossible that three such characteristic modes of dating a fact could have arisen out of a mythic or legendary origin of the story. The date has all the appearance of being historical. The last thing which occurs to the developers of myths, is to arrange dates in accordance with historical conditions. The peculiarity of this date is a no less forcible proof, that the evangelists could not have copied from each other.

But to proceed. Matthew simply says of the leper that he came and worshipped our Lord (*προσεκύνει*). Mark says, he came entreating our Lord, and *bending his knee* (*γονυπετῶν*). In describing this, Luke uses the expression, "*Falling on his face.*" Then follows the account of the cure expressed in nearly the same words by all three evangelists. But Mark, when he describes our Lord enjoining silence on the cured leper, uses the strong expression *ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ ἐξέβαλεν*. Matthew has simply, "Jesus said to him;" and Luke, "He ordered him." Here Matthew stops; but Mark adds the following description of the effects of his disobedience, "But he going away, began to proclaim it much, and to publish the account, so that Jesus was *no longer able to enter into a city openly, but was without in desert places, and they came to him from every quarter.*"

We here begin to note the peculiarities of the evangelists. Mark's account, as we shall have constantly occasion to observe, shews far more traces of ocular testimony than Matthew's. We here find the first example in which this evangelist, while describing our Lord's injunctions of silence on the leper, gives us glimpses of the expression of our Lord's face. He also describes the posture of the leper, when he approached our Lord. In this St. Luke agrees with him, expressing the same idea, but as it would be conceived by a person different from St. Mark's informant. No less characterized by the traits of an eye-witness is the description of the results which followed in consequence of the leper's disobedience to our Lord's command. Luke, as might be expected from his position, is more vague. He omits the mention of the leper's disobedience, but informs us respecting the crowds which came to our Lord, and his retirement. So far, then, he confirms the fact mentioned by Mark, and his mode of statement is exactly in conformity with his peculiar position.

The form of the narratives in Mark and Luke distinctly point to an autoptic source of information for its origin; but that of Mark in a greater degree than that of Luke. Matthew is destitute of such indications except in those expressions which are common to him with the three.

On the existence of a common narrative in nearly the same

words and phrases we shall have often occasion to remark. It is a phenomenon which can be found in no other three lives of the same person, composed by three distinct individuals, but is of constant occurrence in the evangelists. It would be an impossibility for three independent authors of a biography to compose narratives in nearly the same words. The phenomenon under ordinary circumstances would be the result of copying. But there are such remarkable variations in these narratives as to render that supposition incapable of being entertained in the case of the evangelists. To what then does the use of the same words and phrases point? The only probable explanation of this peculiarity is, the supposition of the existence of a common narrative, which by frequent repetition in the churches must have become indelibly impressed on those who heard it, so that when they narrated the events, they fell instinctively into the use of the same words and phrases, except when the vividness of personal recollection led them to vary their descriptions. The existence of this common narrative, interrupted as it is by most important variations, is irreconcilable with any supposed mythic origin of the gospels. It would be impossible for independent developers of myths to produce them in the same words, although they might have operated on the same subject matter.

Similar features are presented by the account of the healing of Peter's wife's mother. With this narrative begin a series of events of which Peter was unquestionably a witness. As Mark's descriptions are distinguished by peculiar vividness, whenever we know from the history that Peter was present, we will carefully observe the phenomena which distinguish them, compared with the other evangelists.

In Matthew this event is placed in close connection with the healing of the centurion's servant. But Mark is express that it happened *immediately on our Lord's going out of the synagogue, after he had cured a demoniac.* Matthew tells us that he entered the house of Peter. Mark adds that he was accompanied by James and John, and that the house was Peter's and Andrew's. Matthew, therefore, was not an eye-witness of the event; and with this assertion of Mark, the want of all indications of ocular testimony in Matthew's narrative entirely agree. While Matthew states nothing but the barest facts, Mark tells us that our Lord *had no sooner entered the house than he is informed of her illness.* Matthew writes, "*He touched her hand;*" but Mark, *Going up to her, he raised her up by taking hold of her hand,* and that *the fever not only left her, but that it did so instantly.* Matthew tells us *that multitudes assembled when it was late;* but Mark is specific, that *it took place after sunset, and the whole city*

was assembled at the door. He further informs us, that when our Lord cast out the evil *spirits, he would not permit them to speak because they knew him, and that our Lord rising up a great while before day, retired into a solitary place, and there prayed.* The excitement of the apostles and their pursuit of our Lord is then most graphically described, *Καὶ κατεδίωξαν αὐτὸν ὁ Σίμων καὶ οἱ μετ' οὐτου,* and finding him they exclaim, *"All men seek thee."* Nor is St. Luke from his point of view less graphic, *"And the multitudes kept seeking him, and detaining him, that he should not depart from them."* In place of all this, Matthew does what is no less characteristic, *he records the fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy.*

Now, what is the view of the nature of the gospels to which these remarkable phenomena lead us?

1. The account of Matthew agrees with the historical fact, which we learn from St. Mark, that Matthew was not an eye-witness of the miracle. His narrative presents no trait of ocular testimony. Had Matthew's account been graphic, the conditions of the history would have been violated.

2. St. Mark presents the indisputable indications of autoptic testimony. We here commence a series of narratives of events of which Peter was unquestionably an eye-witness. All the narratives of events recorded by Mark, where we can certainly infer the presence of Peter, are distinguished by peculiar vividness of description. Tradition has asserted that Peter was in some way or other concerned with the authorship of this Gospel. There are one or two facts mentioned in the Gospel, which point to the presence of Mark himself. But wherever we find the indications of ocular testimony strongest, Peter is always a witness of the scene. The descriptions are also characterized by touches which we should expect from a man of his peculiar temperament. Although, therefore, the numerous passages of this description will not justify us in inferring that Peter dictated the Gospel, yet they are of such a nature as to lead to the almost certain inference that they were derived from him. The chief descriptions of this gospel, therefore, may be assumed, as containing the direct autoptic testimony of Peter. These descriptions bear the strongest indications of having been derived from one and the same mind.

3. Matthew's narrative contains nothing but a bare statement of facts. His purpose in writing the history seems to have been simply to prove that Jesus was the Messiah: it is impersonal. Luke's account gives us touches of autoptic testimony, but neither so close nor minute as those of Mark. This agrees with Luke's historical position. He compiled the con-

tents of his gospel, not from the testimony of a single witness, but from many.

We will now examine the account of the healing of the paralytic. The following are the notes of time. After having described the miracle at Gadara, Matthew writes: "And going into the vessel, he crossed over and came into his own city; and, behold, they bring unto him a paralytic," etc. St. Mark: "And again he entered into Capernaum after some days," etc. Luke: "And it came to pass on one of those days." Such a mode of dating proves the entire independence of the writers of the Gospels, one of the other. Matthew merely informs us that they brought to our Lord a paralytic lying on a bed, and that Jesus seeing THEIR FAITH, said to him, Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee. But from Mark we learn, *that as soon as our Lord had entered the house, and he was known to be there, the people came together in such numbers, that there was no room to contain them, no, not even at the door.* Luke adds, that *Pharisees and others were assembled from many places, and were sitting there.* Matthew even omits all notice of the house, which gives the whole force to the narratives of Mark and Luke. Mark tells us that the paralytic *was carried by four men, who not being able to get near our Lord on account of the multitude, uncovered the roof of the place over which he was, and breaking it through, they let him down on his bed before Jesus.* Luke's account is minute, but of a more general form than that of Mark. The three evangelists give the remainder of the narrative in nearly the same words. The only noticeable difference is, that Mark and Luke tell us that the *sick man rose up immediately* on our Lord's ordering him to carry his bed and walk.

These accounts give us one remarkable coincidence of statement, which strongly proves the historical accuracy of the transaction. Matthew uses the expression, "Jesus seeing THEIR FAITH, said to the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee." On reading such a statement as this, we naturally expect to find that some extraordinary faith was manifested on the occasion. We read Matthew's narrative, and we in vain look for anything remarkable. Mark and Luke, however, distinctly inform us that the great act of faith consisted in going up to the house-top, breaking through the roofing, and letting the man down before Jesus. Matthew's deficiency of detail is explained by the statement of two other independent writers.

This little delicate touch of truthfulness proves three things; (1st) the general historical accuracy of the account; (2nd) that such a coincidence cannot possibly be accounted for by the

mythic theory; (3rd) that the facts in Matthew cannot possibly be borrowed from Mark's narrative.

But the whole form of the narrative stands in hopeless contradiction to the mythic or legendary theory. A mythic narrative must be developed in many forms, or in one only, although it is hard to conceive how such a narrative could have been developed in a single form, when the requirements of the theory itself demand that many minds should have been concerned in its development. Now, in this narrative, the three evangelists present the peculiar phenomenon of having one portion of it very varied, while the remainder of it is nearly in the same *words*. Now, if it be supposed that the three Gospels contain three forms of the same mythic story, and the narrations in the earlier portions of the narrative be urged in proof of this supposition, how is the existence of the same words and forms of expression continued throughout the larger portion of the narrative consistent with such an idea? Is it possible for distinct bodies of men, when developing myths, to unfold them in the same words? But if it be urged, that the three evangelists repeat the same identical form of the mythic story, then the only mode of accounting for the most interesting and characteristic variations of Mark and Luke, is to pronounce them mendacious inventions of these evangelists. But if so, why were their powers of invention displayed in the opening of the narrative only, and why did they not equally adorn the concluding portions of it?

If we were guided by purely historical considerations, and had no theory which we felt it necessary to maintain respecting the origin of the gospels, we should certainly draw the conclusion from the phenomena of this narrative, that Mark and Luke were in possession of higher sources of information than Matthew, and that Mark slightly exceeded Luke in indications of ocular testimony. We should also certainly conclude, from the latter portion of the narrative, that all three evangelists were in possession of a common source of information; while the identity of words and phrases proves that they derived them from a previously existing account common to the three, the variations are no less distinct evidence that the identities are not the result of bare and simple copying. It cannot be too strongly urged that all questions as to the possibility or impossibility of miracles belong to a wholly different branch of knowledge from that of historical enquiry.

Matthew and Mark concur in placing the call of Matthew immediately after this event. Both narratives are nearly equal in the minuteness of their details, but Mark designates the

person called by the name of Levi. In close connection with the call of Matthew is placed the most remarkable history of the raising of Jairus's daughter. This will require our particular attention. Matthew tells us that Jairus made his appearance at the conclusion of a discourse, which is represented as following a feast made in his own house, in celebration of his call. Mark and Luke place the event immediately after our Lord's return from casting out the devils at Gadara. The following are the words of each, "While he spake these things unto them, behold there came a certain ruler and worshipped him." Mark, "And when Jesus had passed over by ship unto the other side, much people gathered unto him: and he was nigh unto the sea. And, behold, there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue," etc. Luke, "And it came to pass, that when Jesus was returned, the people received him, for they were all waiting for him: and, behold, there came a man named Jairus," etc.

Now our business is not to explain difficulties, but to observe particular modes of expression, and note what they suggest as to the authorship of the Gospels. Now this diversity of date is a proof, that neither Mark nor Luke could have read Matthew, nor have borrowed their accounts from his, or *vice versâ*. If Jairus made his appearance near the termination of a feast made at Matthew's house, it is impossible that Matthew, if he were the author of the Gospel, could have been mistaken in his note of time. The withdrawal of a considerable portion of the company would have impressed it on his memory. Many of the harmonisers prefer the order of Mark and Luke, even while they hold that Matthew is the author of the Gospel. If the date given in the Gospel is incorrect, it is only consistent with the supposition, that the title which the Gospel bears, "The Gospel according to St. Matthew," does not necessarily imply Matthew's authorship, but that it was composed by another hand as a general representation of the contents of his teaching.

But if Peter were present, as he certainly was, how can we account for Mark's date? We answer, that although the anecdotes in Mark's Gospel have every appearance of having been derived from the description of Peter, yet there is nothing whatever to imply that Peter reduced those anecdotes into chronological order, or arranged them as we now read them in this Gospel.

We will note the variations in the three accounts. Matthew simply tells us that there came a ruler and worshipped our Lord. Mark says that he fell at his feet and entreated him much. Matthew represents Jairus as saying, *My daughter has just died* (ἀρτι ετελεύτησεν), using the indefinite aorist, and not

the perfect, as we should have expected, leaving the impression that she was actually dead, and the whole narrative is constructed on that supposition. Accordingly Matthew knows *nothing of friends meeting Jairus on the road, and telling him that his daughter was actually dead, and that it was useless to trouble the Master any further, nor does he say one word of the encouragement given by our Lord to the father, not to be afraid, but to believe.* But the use of the aorist instead of the perfect tense implies a vagueness, which leaves room for the definite statements of Mark and Luke. These evangelists tell us that Jairus informed our Lord that *his daughter was at the point of death.* This Luke does not put into the mouth of the father, but states it in the narrative form, "*for he had an only daughter about twelve years old, and she lay a dying.*" Matthew then describes in a very brief narrative the cure of the woman with an issue of blood, as they were going to the house of Jairus. He does not even notice the presence of the crowd, but simply tells us that a woman, diseased with an issue of blood for twelve years, came behind our Lord and touched the hem of his garment, with the secret expectation that if she could do so, she would receive a cure. She does so, is cured, and is dismissed with commendations on her faith.

But what a change comes over the scene, as described by Mark and Luke. The woman *had suffered many things of many physicians. She had expended her all on them. She got no better, but worse. She came secretly in the crowd behind our Lord, hoping to get cured without any person knowing it.* St. Mark narrates the miracle in the following remarkable words: "*And immediately the issue of her blood was dried up, and she felt in her body that she was cured of that plague.*" Now how did Mark learn this, for the whole affair was transacted secretly? Have we here a little piece of invention, supplying the deficiencies of fact? We shall learn presently. As soon as the miracle had been performed, while the woman was attempting to escape unnoticed, *Jesus turns himself about in the crowd, and asks, Who touched my clothes?* The disciples, and, as we learn from Luke, and might naturally expect, Peter taking the lead, remonstrated, "*You see the multitude thronging thee, and do you ask, Who touched me?*" Our Lord perseveres, "*Somebody has touched me, for I know that power has issued from me.*" He then proceeds deliberately *to look round about him to see her who had done this thing. Whereupon the woman, being conscious of what had been done in her, trembling and fearing, came and fell down before Him, and told Him the whole truth.* This most wonderful description is simply given by Matthew in

the following words, "*And Jesus turning and seeing her, said.*" After our Lord had forced her to confess the miracle which he had wrought, he dismisses her with the blessing mentioned by Matthew.

Matthew, who represents Jairus as announcing to our Lord the actual death of the child, with strict propriety from his own point of view, takes Jesus direct to the house. Of any message received on the road, his narrative knows nothing. But Mark and Luke, who describe Jairus as informing our Lord that his daughter was dying, represent that friends came while our Lord was speaking to the woman, *who tell the father that his daughter was dead, and that it was useless to trouble the Master any further. Jesus, however, as soon as he heard the message, encourages the father, and tells him not to fear, but only to believe. He then goes to the house, and allows only Peter, James, and John to accompany him.* When he entered the house, the mourners were already present. Their loud lamentations are expressed in Mark by the expression κλαίοντας καὶ ἀλαλάζοντας. Our Lord remonstrates, but they treat him with derision. This is expressed in all three Evangelists by the strong term κατεγέλων αὐτοῦ, although there are various words by which the same idea might have been denoted. When the mourners had been expelled, *our Lord enters the chamber, accompanied by the three apostles and the child's parents, and on our Lord's uttering the words Talitha cumi, she immediately rose up and walked; and after having enjoined silence on the parents, he directed that something should be given her to eat.*

Now who were the witnesses of these two miracles? Peter, James, and John. At the healing of the woman, Matthew says, generally, his disciples; Mark, that much people followed him; and Luke recognizes the presence of a crowd on the occasion. Was Matthew present? There is no statement that he was, and the whole structure of his narrative, when compared with that of Mark, certainly implies that he was not an eye-witness of either miracle. It would seem to have been impossible that he could have written the account as he has, if he had been so. How then can we account for his absence, if Jairus came to our Lord before the conclusion of the feast in his house? As Matthew was the host on the occasion, he would probably be detained by domestic arrangements, and with this supposition, the phenomena of his Gospel agree.

Now it is no business of ours to attempt to reconcile the discrepancy between the account in Matthew, and those of Mark and Luke. We leave this to those who believe in the theory of verbal inspiration. According to our mode of reading

the different accounts, St. Matthew's narrative asserts the death of the child when Jairus came, and is evidently constructed on the supposition that she was so. Mark and Luke are no less clear that the child was dying and not dead.

Now variations on narratives in minor details, which are narrated by eye-witnesses, are among the most common events of life, and are to be found in those of the most unquestionable authority. We need only to refer to the different accounts which have been published of the minor details of the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes, composed by persons actually engaged in the affair, and one of them his own daughter, his companion in the flight. These narratives contain far more serious discrepancies than anything found in the Evangelists, and yet no writer has as yet ventured to hint that the events of that unfortunate flight, which cost the king both his crown and life, are not historical, but a myth. Why then should much less serious discrepancies be assumed as a proof of the legendary or mythic origin of the Gospels? As all human testimony is subject to discrepancies of this description, if the Gospels were entirely free from them, they would be destitute of one element, which proves their historical character. There would be then some reason for denying that they are the results of human testimony. The existence of the most remarkable discrepancy which we have noticed, affords the most certain proof that neither evangelist has copied from the other. It is equally destructive of the theory of those who maintain that Mark is the original authority for the facts, and Matthew for the discourses, and that Matthew's facts have been composed out of Mark's narrative. At what time or place did the tasteless compiler exist, who with Mark's narrative before him, wrote that of Matthew?

The whole narrative of St. Mark is instinct with the presence of an eye-witness. The description evidently comes from some one who was constantly watching our Lord's glances, and who should that be but Peter? It is one of great power, and of the nature of a complete portrait. The artist's touches are few, but pre-eminently striking. Luke's is very graphic, but inferior to Mark's; the variations exactly agree with Luke's historical position. As a compiler from the reports of others, we should expect that it would contain several roundings of expression and explanations. Of this kind are, "he was a ruler of the synagogue:" "He entreated him to enter the house." The reason is subjoined, not put into the father's mouth, but given in the Evangelist's person, "For he had an only daughter of twelve years of age, and she lay a dying:" "Told him for what cause she had touched him, and how she was healed

immediately:" "Knowing that she was dead," given as an explanation of the conduct of the mourners. Luke alone of the Evangelists uses the accurate word τέθνηκεν, Mark using the indefinite aorist, "And her spirit returned" a philosophical account of the transaction. Such little touches defy all forgery or imitation. Least of all would such proprieties occur in a story developed mythically. They are proofs of historical reality.

But how can we account for Matthew's extremely brief, impersonal, and concise narrative, if the Gospel bearing his name were really composed by an apostle? There is nothing to imply that all the apostles were present at each event of our Lord's ministry. But the character of Matthew's narrative is so marked, that its peculiarities require some other explanation. The frequent citations of the Old Testament Scripture render it indubitable that this Gospel was composed for the benefit of Jewish readers. The object of these citations and of the facts which it narrates, is evidently to prove to the Jewish people the Messiahship of Jesus. For this purpose there was only occasion to report the bare outline of the facts. Now the common narrative of the Evangelists certainly suggests that there must have been some written source of information in existence prior to the publication of either of the Gospels. On no other principle can the very frequent use of common words and phrases, often extending through whole paragraphs, be accounted for. The apostles might well have agreed on such leading facts of the evangelical history as were suited for convincing those whom they had to address of the Messiahship of Jesus, or for edifying the infant churches, which were to form the subject of their common preaching. These they may have jotted down in a very brief narrative. It would naturally be impersonal, and little distinguished by marks of ocular testimony. These indications would have to be supplied by individual witnesses. This narrative would naturally be constantly repeated, and thus become almost stereotyped on the memory of those who heard it. Nothing is more probable than that Matthew's narrative nearly sets before us the form of this *primitive Gospel.* The presence of the mourners on our Lord's arrival is worthy of remark. If the child were actually dead when the father left the house, their presence would be nothing wonderful. But how came they there, if she was only dying, as stated by Mark and Luke? This remarkable fact shews us how the idea that she was actually dead when the father left, might have arisen. They must have been sent for, on the supposition that she was at the last extremity and certain to die.

But the peculiarities of Matthew's account, although in no

way interfering with the historical credibility of the fact are most remarkable. The writer was evidently under the impression that the girl was dead when Jairus came, and not dying. The whole narrative is constructed on this supposition. We can easily see how probable it was that the presence of the mourners at the house when our Lord arrived, would produce the impression that the girl must have been dead for some interval. Now the absence of vividness of description is not in itself subversive of the possibility of the writer having been an eye-witness of an event. He may have been. He may have peculiar reasons for writing with conciseness. But if Mark and Luke give us the events as they actually occurred, and their accounts present the strongest indications of the presence of autoptic testimony, the peculiar form of the narrative in Matthew is inconsistent with the supposition that the writer of it witnessed the event. The phenomena, therefore, render one of two suppositions necessary. If Matthew be the author of the Gospel, he could neither have heard Jairus's address to our Lord, or have accompanied him on the occasion; or the Gospel was not directly composed by him, but is an epitome of his teaching given by another hand.

But how do these phenomena affect the mythic theory of the origin of the Gospels? If this narrative is mythic, it is evident that there must have been two forms of the mythic narrative, one of which that of Matthew, and the other of which those of Mark and Luke are the representatives. Matthew's being the more simple, must be either the original form of the myth, or a rationalized version of it. Now we always find that all mythic stories, as they grow from one development to another, become more and more miraculous and incredible, and all rationalized versions of myths eliminate out of them the miraculous element. But Matthew's narrative is equally miraculous with those of Mark and Luke. All that they have done is to throw the appearance of natural occurrences round the miraculous story. Many a life of a saint in its original outline was simple enough; but passing through the hands of a succession of monkish mythologists, it has grown into that which is monstrous, incredible, and grotesque. It is impossible, therefore, that Matthew's narrative can be either the original form of the myth, or the rationalized version of it.

If the narratives of Mark and Luke were destitute of a miraculous element, every feature which they present would lead the reader to the conclusion that they displayed the highest evidence of being derived from autoptic testimony.

We will now examine two narratives, which are placed by the Evangelists in direct sequence,—that of the transfiguration,

and that of the demoniac child. These narratives are distinguished by the most opposite phenomena. In that of the transfiguration, the accounts of Matthew and Mark are nearly coincident; in that of the demoniac child, their differences are remarkable.

Matthew says, "*His countenance shone as the sun, and his garments were white as the light:*" Mark, "*His garments were shining very white, so as no fuller on earth can white them:*" Luke, "*His countenance was changed, and his raiment white and glistering.*" Matthew and Mark then proceed in nearly the same words. Luke's account presents us with considerable additions: "*And, behold, two men were talking with them, who were Moses and Elias: who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. But Peter and those who were with him were heavy with sleep, but having awakened, they saw his glory, and the two men who were standing with him. And it came to pass, while they were in the act of departing, Peter said,*" etc. Here the three narratives become nearly coincident, Mark and Luke merely giving us the reason how Peter came to make the proposal of erecting the tabernacles, that he did not know what he said. Luke tells us the additional fact, that *the bright cloud overshadowed them while Peter was in the act of speaking:* we learn from Matthew, that *when the disciples heard the voice, they were greatly afraid, but that Jesus coming to them, touched them, and said to them, Rise, and be not afraid:* Luke adds, *that they were silent, and told no man in those days any of the things which they had seen.* He likewise omits the account of the descent from the Mount, but it is told by Matthew and Mark with very slight variation.

We see at once the accounts of Matthew and Mark to be substantially the same. Luke's appears to be derived from a different source. In the narrative which immediately follows, the three accounts are widely divergent. We also observe that Matthew's account presents the unusual phenomenon of being equally graphic as that of Mark.

Now is there anything in these peculiarities in accordance with the peculiar conditions of the history. We know for certain that there were only three witnesses of the transfiguration,—Peter, James, and John. The account, therefore, rests on their testimony alone. The fact was not mentioned by them till after the ascension. But James died early in the history of the Church, considerably before the date of either of the Gospels. The strong probability, therefore, is that only two accounts of this event would get currency, one that of Peter, and the other that of John.

Of the cure of the demoniac child, several of the apostles and great numbers of people were witnesses, and in conformity with this fact, the accounts of it in the three Gospels contain very considerable variations. But as the accounts in Matthew and Mark are identical, the three evangelists only give us two accounts of the transfiguration. Had they presented us with three widely different accounts, they would have been open to the suspicion of invention. But as the accounts are substantially two, they agree with the conditions of the history. If Matthew's and Mark's is that of Peter's, Luke's must be that of John.

But can any reason be given why Matthew's narrative should be equally graphic with Mark in this particular instance? St. Matthew's Gospel is certainly composed for the benefit of Jewish Christians. Of all the miracles of our Lord's ministry, none were so adapted to meet the prejudices of the Jews as the transfiguration. They were incessantly demanding of our Lord a sign from heaven. This was the nearest approach to such a sign which our Lord ever vouchsafed to them. Consequently, there was a peculiar propriety in the Jewish, Matthew giving the fullest details of this event.

But here again the verbal agreement in words and phrases is very striking, and is utterly inconsistent with the theory that the evangelists are three reporters of mythic narratives. Verbal agreement is the result of copying; but the small variations in the narratives are of such a nature as to be utterly inconceivable if one evangelist had that of the other before him. But as the variations are inconsistent with the theory that the evangelists copied from each other, so the verbal agreements are inconsistent with the theory that the evangelists had no common source from whence they derived any portion of their narratives. The chances are almost infinite against any three writers of a biography, without any communication between each other, sitting down and repeatedly composing parts of narratives, in the same words and phrases. But the existence of sameness, united with variation in the Gospels, is a fact, and requires to be accounted for. If the apostles agreed on a short general account of our Lord's ministry, which was to form the basis of their teaching, before their separation, and different apostles narrated portions of this narrative to the Church in the course of their preaching, the verbal agreements in the current narrative would naturally arise, by the words becoming, by frequent repetition, impressed on the minds of the hearers. But slight variations would arise, as it was recollected by different persons, especially if each apostle enriched the common account from his own personal recollections. Frequent repetition would give a permanence to the words; while

slight variations would spring up in the course of oral transmission: the fact itself is one which it is impossible to overlook or ignore in the study of the evangelists.

Strongly contrasted with the phenomena presented by the three accounts of the transfiguration, are those of an event in the closest sequence,—the cure of the demoniac child. Here, the account of Matthew is extremely meagre; that of Mark, full of the most graphic touches of an eye-witness; that of Luke, drawn from a high authority, but less full and rich than that of Mark. We must note these peculiarities.

Matthew writes, "*And when they were come to the multitude, there came to him a certain man kneeling down to him and saying, Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is lunatic, and sore vexed, and oftentimes he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water, and I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him.*" But what a change does the narrative of St. Mark present?—"*And when he was come to the disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the scribes questioning with them. And straightway all the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and running to him, saluted him. And he asked the scribes, What question ye with them? And one of the multitude answered him and said, Master, I have brought unto thee my son which hath a dumb spirit, and wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him: and he foameth and gnasheth with his teeth, and he pineth away: and I spake to thy disciples, that they should cast him out; and they could not.*" Luke's narrative is pictorial, but inferior to Mark. We learn from it the additional fact, that the lunatic *boy was an only child.*

In all three evangelists our Lord's answer is reported in the same words. The sequel is told by Matthew in two lines; "*And Jesus rebuked the devil, and he departed out of him, and the child was cured from that very hour.*"

But terrible is the reality as it is depicted by Mark, "*And they brought him unto him: and when he saw him, straightway the spirit tear him; and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming. And he asked the father, How long time is it ago since this came on him? And he said, Of a child. And oftentimes it hath cast him into the fire, and into the waters, to destroy him: but if thou canst do anything for us, have compassion on us, and help us. And Jesus said, If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth. And straightway the father of the child cried out, and said with tears, Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief. And when Jesus saw that the multitude came running together, he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.*

And the spirit cried, and rent him sore, and came out of him: and he was as one dead, insomuch that many said, He is dead. And Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted him up; and he arose."

The scene as depicted by St. Mark, if real, must have been one profoundly striking. Everything which is striking and graphic in Mark is wanting in Matthew. The comparison of the two introductory passages shews that its narrator had not been struck by the multitude which *was about the disciples, the scribes questioning them, the amazement which our Lord's appearance presented, the rush of the multitude to salute him, our Lord's demand of the scribes why they were questioning his disciples, and the answer to it returned by one of the multitude.* The one point in Matthew corresponding to all this is, *that a certain man came kneeling down to him, and saying.* St. Matthew's account of the words of the speaker are very general, and are a faint allusion to two portions of St. Mark's terrific description. How faint is the echo in the words, *He is lunatic and sore vexed,* to the depth of passion expressed in the words, *I have brought my son who hath a dumb spirit, and whenever he taketh him, he teareth him, and he foameth and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away.* Compare again Matthew's assertions; *Ofttimes he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water; and I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him,* with St. Mark's representation of our Lord *askiny the father, How long time is it ago since this came on him? And he said, Of a child. And ofttimes he hath cast him into the fire, and oft into the water, to destroy him; but if you can do anything for us, have pity on us, and help us. And I spake to thy disciples that they should cast him out, and they could not.* Compare again the two lines of Matthew: *And Jesus rebuked the devil, and he departed out of him, and the child was cured from that very hour,* with the great painting of Mark, where we see vividly depicted *the child advancing to Christ; the devil seizing him as soon as he caught sight of our Lord; the child in terrible convulsions, prostrate and foaming on the ground; the agony of the parent,—his faith almost expiring beneath the struggle; the calm self-possession of our Lord during the terrible commotion; his demand of faith; the struggles of the parent drawn asunder between efforts to believe and agonizing despair; the rush of the multitude; our Lord's command to the demon; the terrible convulsion into which he throws the child on his departure; the boy lying on the ground as dead; the observations of the multitude; and our Lord's lifting the child up by the hand, and his arising.* A description so graphic, so grand, and so real, could only have been drawn by an eye-witness of this scene.

This narrative disperses to the winds the theory that Mark's

Gospel is an epitome of Matthew's; and the other theory, that Mark is the original authority for the facts, and Matthew for the discourses; and that some compiler has enriched Matthew's discourses by adding the facts of Mark. Persons who can believe this should feel less difficulty as to the possibility of miracles.

Mark's narrative bears all the appearance of having been derived from a single mind. That mind would seem to have been one of the most profound impressiveness, and capable of the deepest emotions. Simon Peter was present; and the whole picture points to him as its author. But how do the indications which the narrative unquestionably presents, of having been derived from a single author, agree with the theory of its mythic origin? The only way in which it can be made to fall in with it, is by the supposition that it was a deliberate and mendacious invention. This, however, will not suit the views of those who assert the mythic origin of the Gospels. They will concede that the men who formed the conception of the Jesus of the evangelists were not consciously and deliberately false.

But if a myth, there must have been three forms of the same mythic story. The simpler is Matthew's, and therefore the original form of it; Mark must therefore have been its elaboration. But here again we are met with the difficulty, that the elaboration does not contain anything more miraculous than the original. On the contrary, instead of adding to the improbabilities, the elaboration gives a natural character to the miraculous original. Myths which are developments of original stories, add what is miraculous, not what is natural and real. The original history of St. Francis Xavier is credible when compared with the miraculous additions. The other St. Francis has gradually grown up into a Christ under the hands of mythologists. But supposing there was nothing miraculous in the story at all, what would the reader infer from the narratives as they stand? He would come to the conclusion, that if the author of St. Matthew's Gospel were an eye-witness of the scene, he must have been a man of singularly cold temperament, or that he had some particular reason for suppressing all that was graphic; he would also conclude that St. Mark's narrative bore all the marks of autoptic testimony, and that St. Luke's narrative, strongly characterized as it is, bears plain indication of a less near source of autoptic testimony than that of Mark.

(To be continued.)

EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

Luke xxii. 19.

Winer has not been able to trace the use of εἰ as a direct interrogative from its classical use as an indirect interrogative (almost=πότερον). We think we can supply the missing link. In Acts xxvi. 23, it is doubtful whether εἰ in εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστὸς is to be explained as=ὅτι, or whether it is to be considered as stating a question for discussion. If the latter, and if this mode of proposing questions were common in the Hellenistic schools, it is easy to see how εἰ would naturally become a mere interrrogative particle. That εἰ was thus used in the later Greek philosophical schools is placed beyond a doubt by the heading of several of the discourses of Maximus Tyrius. The eighth discourse (λόγος) of this writer is headed: *Εἰ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα ἱδρυτέον;* the ninth, *Εἰ καλῶς ἐποίησε Σωκράτης μὴ ἀπολογησάμενος;* and so forth. "Ought we to set up images to the gods?" "Did Socrates do well in refusing to defend himself?"

Acts i. 14, etc.

A correspondent of *J.S.L.* (Vol. VI., p. 468) justly objects to the stress laid by many on the article τοῦ before ἄρτου in Acts ii. 42, where, however, we prefer to his explanation, by means of the subjective force of the article, a recurrence to the well-known rule, that a genitive case dependent on a noun that has the article generally takes the article itself. For the article in ταῖς προσευχαῖς in the same verse we should refer to Act iii. 1, and consider the allusion to be to the regular services of the temple. But if our correspondent wishes to see an instance of the Greek article running completely away with a learned commentator, we must refer him to the article in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1863, on one or two of the singular statements and opinions of which we will proceed to make a few remarks.

In matters involving the Greek article we must be careful not to allow the use of the English article to mislead us. The Greek idiom in this respect frequently comes nearer those of the French and German languages than that of the English. When we meet with ἡ προσευχὴ, we must rather compare it with the French *la prière* than, like the *Quarterly* reviewer, imagine some special allusion to the Lord's Prayer. For the article is used in Greek, French, and German, not only to designate a particular object selected out of a class, but also to generalize the class itself. Thus ὁ ἄνθρωπος, *l'homme* and *der Mensch*, are not only equivalent to "*the man*," but also to "*man*," as representing the

whole class of men; *e.g.*, L'homme est mortel, der Mensch ist sterblich, *ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι θνητός*, "man is mortal." Idiomatic peculiarities must also be noticed as to the presence or absence of the article with certain words. Except when following the preposition *en*, as in "*Il se mit en prière*," the word *prière* in French, like *προσευχὴ* in the New Testament, is usually found with the article. The Frenchman does not say, "Je faisais prière," but "Je faisais LA prière," "I was praying." When the disciples (Acts ii. 14) are spoken of as *προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει*, "in constant devotion to prayer and supplication," it is simply ludicrous to suppose that *τῇ προσευχῇ* means the Lord's Prayer. For in that case *τῇ δεήσει* must mean some particular *δέησις* or supplication which is unknown to us. But *τῇ προσευχῇ* corresponds to the French *à la prière*, and *τῇ δεήσει* to *à l'oraison*, the article being used generically in Greek and French, but not in English. *Προσευχὴ* is the more general term for prayer, including praise and thanksgiving, while *δέησις* indicates petitioning for the supply of felt and urgent wants.

To take another passage: in Matt. xxi. 22, "Whatsoever ye shall ask, *ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ*, believing, ye shall receive." Is it possible to imagine that *ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ* can mean "in *the* prayer," *i.e.*, in the Lord's Prayer. If so, what becomes of Luke vi. 12, *καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "And he spent the whole night in prayer to God?" Is it possible for the wildest fanatic in interpretation to assert that this passage ought to be translated: "And he spent the whole night in *the* prayer of God," *i.e.*, in repeating the Lord's Prayer? Again, in Luke xxii. 45, our Lord is said to have gone to his disciples in the garden, *ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς*, "after rising up from prayer." Will any one pretend that this ought to be translated "from *the* prayer," *i.e.*, from the Lord's Prayer, when we know the actual words of our Lord's prayer and that it was not "the Lord's Prayer?" The only legitimate alternative is to have recourse to the subjective use of the article, and translate "after rising up from *his* prayer."

In Acts iii. 1, Peter and John go up to the temple, *ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐννάτην*. Did they go thither for the hour of *the* prayer, for the purpose of practising the Lord's Prayer at certain periods of the day, or for the form of common prayer, and to join in the regular temple service? And in Acts vi. 4, are the Apostles represented as saying that they will give themselves continually to prayer, and the ministry of the Word, or to the Lord's Prayer, and the ministry of the Word? All these follies, for they are no better, which are perpetrated by the *Quarterly* reviewer, come either from neglect of Middleton's

rules, or from simple ignorance, that the usage of the French language in the words *la prière* is more akin to that of the Greek, than is the English in its use of the word "*prayer*" without the article.

On referring to Ostervald's French translation of the *New Testament*, we find in Acts i. 14: "Tous ceux-là persévéraient d'un commun accord dans *la* prière et dans l'oraison;" in Acts iii. 1, "à l'heure de *la* prière;" and in Acts vi. 4, "nous continuerons à vaquer à *la* prière et au ministère de la parole."

Indeed, throughout the New Testament, προευχὴ in the singular is never found without the article, except where a distinct reason for the absence of the article can be assigned. It is absent in Matt. xvii. 21, and the parallel passages, in which it is stated that a certain kind of demons can only be expelled ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ, where the meaning is clearly either "by *some* prayer and *some* fasting," the amount of which is not stated, or "by an act of prayer and fasting." It is also absent in the quotation, Matt. xxi. 13, ὁ οἶκός μου, οἶκός προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, where the position of οἶκός προσευχῆς as a predicate rejects the article. It is also absent, Acts xii. 5, προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενὴς γινομένη, "but fervent prayer was made," where "prayer" is not spoken of generally, but *some* prayer, and that fervent prayer, is intended. It is absent in Ephes. vi. 18, διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς, where the required sense of πάσης rejects the article. It is absent in James v. 17, προσευχῇ προσεύξατο, where προσευχῇ is a mere adverbial adjunct to προσεύξατο, like ἐπιθυμίᾳ in ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα, representing the adverbial use of the Hebrew infinitive absolute, an idiom which regularly rejects the article. Lastly, in Acts xvi. 13, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, προσευχὴ is clearly "a place of prayer." Had it signified "prayer" we should have had γίγνεσθαι instead of εἶναι.

Perhaps the strongest instance of the generic use of the article with the singular noun is in John ii. 25, οὐ χρείαν εἶχεν ἵνα τις μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγίνωσκε τί ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, the French translation of which ought to run: "Il n'avait pas besoin que personne lui rendît témoinage de l'homme, car il connaissait par lui-même ce qui était dans l'homme." Here ὁ ἄνθρωπος, clearly = man = mankind, as in the Authorized Version. Compare the French translation of τὸ ψεῦδος in John viii. 44, ὅταν λαλῇ τὸ ψεῦδος, "Toutes les fois qu'il dit LE mensonge."

In commenting on 1 Tim. iv. 13, the *Quarterly* reviewer again returns to the article:—"τῇ ἀναγνώσει" is with him "*the* public reading of Scripture;" τῇ παρακλήσει, *the* hortatory

preaching, like our sermons, as distinct from that which immediately follows, *τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ*," etc. On referring to Ostervald's French translation of the New Testament, we find the article used exactly as in Greek, while the sense is that of the English without the article. "Applique-toi à la lecture, à l'exhortation, *et* à l'instruction." A careful study of French would throw considerable light on the doctrine of the Greek article, and assist in forming a correct judgment on many ambiguous passages.

Comparing the Greek of Homer with that of Thucydides and later writers, and considering the influence of Semitic immigrants on the civilization of Greece, and the importance of the article in Hebrew, which was nearly identical with Phœnician, as well as the absence of an article in Latin, Slavonic, Sanscrit, and the other primary Aryan dialects, we think we may safely conclude that the Semitic element in Greek is the article, that the Greek language is the real union of the Iapetic and Semitic modes of thought, and that hence arises its peculiar fitness to be the vehicle of a revelation conveyed to Iapetic nations by Semitic missionaries.

Acts v. 3.

We obtain some rather singular information from the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1863, as to the words *ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, of which we gave a very simple explanation in Vol. VI., p. 348. This writer explains the middle *ψεύσασθαι*, followed by the accusative case, as follows: "Wherefore did Satan fill thy heart to lie, not merely to, but *at, against, in defiance of*, the Holy Ghost?" On turning to his account of the accusative case we find no such meaning assigned to it as *at, against, in defiance of*. If we take at haphazard one of the numerous instances in classical Greek in which *ψεύδομαι* is used in the sense of "deceiving," or rather, as we explained it, "putting a deception upon" another, without stating whether the deception proceeded beyond the deceiver's mind, *i.e.*, without stating whether the deception was effectual or no, we shall find the *Quarterly* reviewer's principle utterly inapplicable. When Orestes says (Eurip., *Iph. in Taur.*, 711) *ἡμᾶς δ' ὁ Φοῖβος, μάντις ὢν, ἐψεύσατο*, does he mean to say that Phœbus, being a prophet, lied "not merely to, but at, against, and in defiance of him?" The idea is simply ridiculous, and the evident meaning is, "But Phœbus, prophet as he is, put a deception upon me." No doubt Euripides might have used *ἔψευσεν* in this passage, had it suited his verse, because the deception had been effectual. But, perhaps, his intention was to mark the supposed animus of Phœbus rather than the practical result upon Orestes.

Acts v. 17.

We have not been able to satisfy ourselves with the usual explanation of the construction in *ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὖσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου*, where it is generally said that *ἡ οὖσα=οἱ ὄντες*, and is attracted to the predicate *αἵρεσις*. No instances are cited by the commentators to justify this explanation, which appears to us to involve an extremely harsh attraction. We are inclined to think that the full epithet of *αἵρεσις* is *οὖσα τῶν Σαδδουκαίων*: that for euphonic reasons only a part of it, *οὖσα*, is put between the article and *αἵρεσις*, while the remainder is placed afterwards; *ἡ οὖσα τῶν Σαδδουκαίων αἵρεσις=ἡ αἵρεσις ἡ οὖσα τῶν Σαδδουκαίων*="the sect which is that of the Sadducees." Compare Acts x. 27, *ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, where it is quite certain that the epithet of *ῥῆμα* is *γενόμενον καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, although only a part, *γενόμενον*, is put between *τὸ*, the article, and *ῥῆμα*. Again, in Acts xiii. 32, we have *τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην*, where *γενομένην* certainly belongs to *πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας*, and is part of the epithet, although it is put after *ἐπαγγελίαν* for euphonic reasons.

Acts vi. 9.

The more we examine this passage, the stronger is our conviction, that the solution of the difficulty it contains is to be found in the application of the well-known principle of the omission of the article with proper names. All the genitives except *Λιβερτίνων* depend upon *τινες*, and we have three classes of people, not the members of three synagogues, represented as taking part against Stephen. The first class is *τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων*, the second [*τινες*] *Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων*, the third [*τινες*] *τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας*. The translation will run: "And there arose certain of those from the synagogue called the Libertines' synagogue, and of the Cyrenæans and Alexandrians, and of those from Cilicia and Asia," etc.

Acts ix. 7, compared with xxii. 9.

In Acts ix. 7, it is stated that "the men who were journeying with Paul were standing mute, *ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς*, but seeing no one." In Acts xxii. 9, it is stated by Paul himself, that "those who were with him saw the light, and became terrified," *τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι*. There is, therefore, a *primâ facie* discrepancy between the accounts,

which Ammonius endeavours to get rid of by saying, *τὸν ἦχον ἤκουον τῆς φωνῆς, οὐ μὴν συνῆκαν τὰ λεγόμενα,* "they heard the sound of the voice, but did not understand what was said." After citing this, Dr. Wordsworth proceeds to contend that *ἀκούειν φωνῆς* and *ἀκούειν φωνὴν* are different things, quoting the words of Valckenaer: "Dici possunt, *ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς, τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἀκούειν,* ut prius significet *sonum audire,* alterum *loquentis verba non intelligere.*" Dean Alford, on the other hand, cautions his readers against laying any stress on the difference between the accusative and genitive government of *ἀκόνω.* We observe, too, that neither Wordsworth nor Alford give the slightest grounds for distinguishing or refusing to distinguish between *ἀκούειν φωνῆς* and *ἀκούειν φωνήν,* but we trust that simple assertions, however eminent the assertors may be, go and will go for nothing with the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature.* Let us examine the question. (1) If *ἀκούειν φωνὴν* is to hear and understand an articulate voice, while *ἀκούειν φωνῆς* is merely to hear the sound of a voice without distinguishing the words, we should expect that *ἀκούειν φωνῆς,* and not *φωνὴν,* would be used of hearing the inarticulate sound of the wind. But on referring to John iii. 8, we find *τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις,* where the accusative and not the genitive is employed. (2) Only two verses above the latter of the passages under consideration, *i.e.,* in Acts xxii. 7, we find St. Paul himself *in the same speech* using the genitive in exactly the sense which Dr. Wordsworth, who does not draw the attention of his readers to this fact, ascribes exclusively to the accusative. The words are: *ἔπεσόν τε εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι· Σαοὺλ, κ.τ.λ.* (3) We find *γεύομαι* with a genitive in Luke xiv. 24, and an accusative in John ii. 9, without the slightest difference in signification. It is thus pretty manifest that Dr. Wordsworth's theory must be rejected, and he himself severely blamed for either great carelessness or great unfairness in his manner of supporting it.

Is there then no escape from the difficulty? Yes; Ammonius is perfectly right, but Wordsworth and his friends have gone to the wrong quarter to make out their case. It is not the case of *φωνῆς* as distinguished from *φωνὴν,* that will help them, or passages would be quoted in proof thereof, but the fact that *the word φωνὴ itself is ambiguous.* We find it used of inarticulate sounds not only in John iii. 8, but also in Acts ii. 6, *γενομένης τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης,* where the only reasonable reference of *φωνῆς* is to the "sound as of a rushing mighty wind" in ver. 2, and in 1 Cor. xiv. 7 and 8, where the reference is to the sound or note of musical instruments. Besides, in Acts xxii. 9, the meaning

of the word φωνὴ is carefully guarded by the additon of τοῦ λαλοῦντος, so that no fair reader can suppose the meaning to be other than that the bystanders did not hear and understand the words spoken. But in Acts ix. 7, there is nothing to determine whether φωνῆς refers to the mere sound of some one speaking, or to the actual words uttered by the speaker. Take the two passages together, and the sense of the former is properly settled by that of the latter. If it be said that this is careless and unguarded writing on the part of the author of the Acts, we cannot gainsay it; but we can point out that it is the carelessness and unguardedness of honesty, not the art of a σεσοφισμένος μῦθος. This is surely better than to have recourse to a principle of grammar solely invented for the occasion, utterly incapable of proof and directly in the teeth of the phenomena presented in a passage only two verses off in the self-same speech.

Acts xv. 24.

Ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν is translated in the Authorized Version "subverting your souls." Alford compares Thucyd., iv., 116, τὴν Λήκυθον καθελὼν καὶ ἀνασκευάσας, indicating that with other commentators he understands the words in the sense of "*dismantling* your souls." This, however, would not be a familiar metaphor under the Roman empire, and we think that a reference to Reiske's *Index to Demosthenes* will furnish us with one much more suitable. Reiske quotes three instances of the use of ἀνασκευάζω in Demosthenes, and three only, all agreeing in a peculiar technical sense, that of bankruptcy, the symbol of which was the public *upsetting* and overturning of the insolvent banker's *table* or counter. In page 895, 5, we have ἀνασκευασθείσης τῆς τραπέζης, "when his table was upset," *i. e.*, "when his bank broke and he became bankrupt;" in 1204, 20, ὀργίζεσθε τοῖς ἀνεσκευασμένοις τῶν τραπεζιτῶν, and in 1205, 2, διὰ τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνασκευάζονται αἱ τράπεζαι. How exquisitely this metaphor comes in in Acts xv. 24: "Whereas we heard that certain going out from us hath troubled you with words, *upsetting* your souls," and thus rendering them bankrupt: ἀναστατόω, in Acts xvii. 6 and Gal. v. 12, may very well be translated by the English word "unsettle."

Philip ii. 1.

A singular reading, εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, appears in A, B, C, D, and the Sinai MS. This is usually altered to εἴ τινα, κ.τ.λ. To us it appears that τις could not have appeared in so

many MSS. of ancient date without having been in the original document. It might have been an error of Paul's amanuensis, or it might have been an error of Paul himself, not arising from want of grammatical knowledge, but in all probability from casual interruption just after dictating the words *εἴ τις*. Perhaps *οἰκτιρμὰς* had originally been intended to follow, and Paul, when the interruption was over, went on with *σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ*, just as if he had previously written *εἴ τινα*. To our mind such a phenomenon is a considerable proof of the genuineness of the document in which it appears. In quoting, any reasonable person would, as Clement of Alexandria has done, naturally correct so obvious an error. We must not look for quite the same correctness in a letter dictated by a person unable to revise it from defect of eyesight, that we have a right to expect in printed books at the present day. As were the men, so also must their writings have been, *ὀστράκινα σκεύη*, "earthen vessels," containing a priceless treasure.

1 Peter iii. 21.

This is undoubtedly a very difficult and perplexing passage, and doctrinal considerations have, as is often the case, greatly tended to prevent its elucidation. In the preceding verse mention is made of the ark "in which few, that is eight, souls were brought safe through water." We must, of course, reject the interpretation, "were saved *by* water," both as being contrary to fact, for the eight were clearly saved *by* the ark *from* the water of the flood, and also because the *διὰ* before *ὕδατος* is manifestly intended to carry on the sense of the *διὰ* in *διεσώθησαν*. From the word *ὕδατος*, which concludes verse 20, an antecedent has generally been supplied to the relative *ὅ*, which begins verse 21, and which has always been considered as in the nominative case, and as the subject of *σώζει*. We thus get the following elegant sentence: *ὅ*[*ὕδωρ*] *καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον* [*ὄν*] *νῦν σώζει* [*ἤγουν*] *βάπτισμα . . . δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*—"which [water], [being] antitypical [*i. e.*], baptism now saves us also . . . through the resurrection of Jesus Christ." The extreme improbability of a plain prose writer like St. Peter making use of the double apposition of an adjective *ἀντίτυπον* and a substantive *βάπτισμα* separately to the undefined neuter *ὅ*, a construction far more congenial to a dithyrambic poet, has caused the correction of *ὅ* into *ᾧ* in many of the later MSS., a fact which indicates that the usual explanation of the grammatical construction of the passage was not considered satisfactory in early times.

Admitting that the water of baptism is antitypical to the water of the flood, we are met again by the difficulty, that the

water of the flood would have destroyed, had not the ark prevented it from destroying, Noah and his family, whereas the water of baptism is said to save us. And although we may see plainly enough that the allusion is to the symbolical death and resurrection implied in baptism, yet no analysis of the Greek words will enable us to extract this sense from them. Besides it is nonsense to say that ὅ=ὕδωρ=βάπτισμα, *i. e.*, "which"="water"="baptism;" for baptism cannot be termed water, but is an act performed with water, and represents, according to St. Peter, a passage through water.

Grammar then and logic being both against the received explanation, or rather muddle of the passage, let us commence anew, and see whether we cannot find a different grammatical construction, which will satisfy the requirements of both syntax and good sense. The neuter ὅ may be either nominative or accusative, and may be the cognate object of σώζει just as properly as its subject. We must remember too that this construction of two accusatives, one the direct and the other the cognate object of the verb, came more and more extensively into use in the decline of the language.

Let us then fill up the passage upon the principle above indicated. We thus have ὅ=ἣν σωτηρίαν, and the sentence will run: ἣν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον οὖσαν σωτηρίαν νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα . . . δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. "A salvation [with] which, being in the nature of a counterpart [to that procured by the ark], baptism now saves us also . . . through the resurrection of Jesus Christ." It is not very material whether, as we have done, we supply οὖσαν to ἀντίτυπον, and take it in apposition with ἣν σωτηρίαν, or ὄν, and take it in apposition with βάπτισμα.

No one will deny that a most excellent, simple, and natural sense flows from the words thus taken. Noah and his family were carried safe in the ark through the water of the flood into a new state of existence, in which they commenced life anew. We are carried safe in the mystical body of Christ through a symbolical death in baptism into a new state of life by virtue of our Lord's resurrection. Thus the ceremony of baptism, mystically and symbolically, confers upon us a salvation (or, literally, "saves us a salvation") precisely similar to that which was physically conferred upon Noah and his family by their passage in the saving ark through the water of the flood.

It is vain to argue against this explanation that σώζω is not set down in the grammars among the verbs that take this double accusative. Neither is ἀγαπάω, and yet we have the construction ἣν [ἀγάπην] ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς in Eph. ii. 4. Nor is

χαριτόω, yet we find in Eph. i. 6, ἧς [χαριτος] ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς, according to the best authorities, where ἧς is merely attracted into the case of its antecedent, and the clause would otherwise have run ἣν [χάριν] ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς. And many of the words recognized in the grammars as taking this construction are found once, and once only, in such a syntactical connection. The best instance is, perhaps, Thucyd., vi., 11, ὅπερ οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβοῦσι." "A fear which the Egestæans especially impress upon us."

Without committing ourselves to any opinion as to the nature of the descent into hell, supposed to be attributed by St. Peter to our Lord, we will conclude by a paraphrase of the whole passage, which appears to us likely to recommend our interpretation as exhibiting that union of grammar and common sense, without which it is equally vain and wicked to appeal to the faith of the many as against their reason. We begin with verse 17.

"For it is better, if the will of God will it, to suffer while doing good than while doing evil; because Christ also suffered once for all [as a sacrifice] for sins, a just *man* for unjust *men*, in order to bring us to God, being put to death in flesh, but vivified in spirit, in which he preached also to the spirits in prison, they having disobeyed formerly, when the long-suffering of God was waiting in the days of Noah, while the ark was being constructed, in which few, that is, eight, souls were brought safe through water; a salvation with which, being the counterpart [of the above], baptism now saves us also—not the putting away of filth of flesh, but a good conscience's covenant towards God—by virtue of the resurrection of Jesus Christ."

A. H. W.

The Walnut Tree and Canticles vi. 11.—"I went down into the garden of *nuts* to see the fruits of the valley." The Hebrew word here translated "nuts" is אֱגוֹז *ĕgōz*, and is found, somewhat modified in pronunciation, in Persian, Arabic, and Syriac. The Hebrew form only occurs in this one passage; and here in the singular form, "To the garden of nut," *i. e.* to the nut garden. The Syriac and some other ancient versions have the word in the plural, probably because it is equivalent to such. But the reference is to the *walnut tree.* This is supposed to be favoured by the LXX. translation and by various other circumstances. The Syriac word is still used, we believe, by the Nestorians; and we have the authority of Mr. Ferrette, of Damascus, for saying that the walnut is called *gauzo* in the Anti-Lebanon. Some think the word has a Persian origin, but this is mere assumption, and involves the assumption of the recent origin of the Song of Solomon.

"DANIEL THE PROPHET," BY DR. PUSEY.

Dr. Williams, in his part of *Essays and Reviews*, says in his page 69, "In the case of Daniel, he (Bunsen) may doubt whether all parts of the book are of one age, or what is the starting-point of the seventy weeks: but two results are clear beyond fair doubt, that the period of weeks ended in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that those portions of the book supposed to be specially predictive, are a history of past occurrences up to that reign."

In his *Daniel the Prophet*, in reply to *Essays and Reviews*, Dr. Pusey shews most clearly that there is no reason whatever to doubt that the Book of Daniel was written in the age which is commonly attributed to it, and that an age long before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Dr. Pusey also shews as clearly, that the period of weeks could not have ended in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Thus far Dr. Pusey has done great good service; but he utterly fails in his attempt to shew that Jesus Christ was the Messiah foretold by Daniel. That Jesus Christ was the Messiah foretold by Daniel, I dare not doubt; but Dr. Pusey utterly fails to shew it. This is clear to demonstration.

Weeks.	Years.		
		B.C.	
7	= 49	458. March or April.	Seventh of Artaxerxes.
		409. March or April.	Fifteenth of Darius Nothus.
62	= 434	A.D.	
		26. March or April.	
1	= 7		
		29. September or October.	Middle of one week.
70	= 490	33. Fifth of April.	The Crucifixion.

In his page 172 Dr. Pusey says; "Obviously, unless there had been a meaning in this division, it would have stood, 'shall be *threescore and nine weeks*, not 'shall be *seven weeks and threescore and two weeks*.' For every word in this condensed prophecy has its place and meaning, and the division would be unmeaning, unless something were assigned to its first portion. The text does assign it. It says, '*The street shall be restored and be builded; and that in troublous times.*"

To this rule of strictness I thoroughly subscribe, and hold that it must be applied to the seventy weeks and the one week, as well as to the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks, and that for everything assigned by Daniel the fulfilment must be shewn. But how does this agree with what the doctor says in his preceding page 171? "On the other hand, the subordinate periods,

as well as the whole, fit in with the Christian interpretation. *It were not of any account, if we could not interpret these minor details.* 'De minimis non curat lex.' *When the whole distance is spanned over, it matters not whether we can make out some lesser details.*" I hold that all the lesser details must be made out: but how does the doctor make them out?

He assumes that the seventy weeks are made up of the seven, the sixty-two, and the one, and that the whole form a period of four hundred and ninety years, beginning with B.C. 458, March or April (the seventh of Artaxerxes, according to the common chronology), and ending with A.D. 33, April 3, the date of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

With respect to the seven weeks, he makes them to begin with the seventh of Artaxerxes, B.C. 458, and end in the fifteenth of Darius Nothus, B.C. 409, which he regards as the completion of the restoration of the Jewish polity by Nehemiah. As he says in page 173, "We have anyhow, for the period of the two great restorers of the Jewish polity, Ezra and Nehemiah conjointly, a time somewhat exceeding forty-five years; so that we know that the restoration was completed in the latter part of the seventh week of years, and it is probable that it was not closed until the end of it. In regard to *the strait of times*, amid which the restoration was to take place, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are the commentary."

But from what evidence does Dr. Pusey infer that the restoration by Nehemiah extended to the time of Darius Nothus? Speaking of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in his page 172, the doctor says; "The mention of Eliashib's son, Joiada, being high priest then, in place of his deceased father (Neh. xiii. 28; compare xii. 10, 22), fixes this second visit probably in the reign of Darius Nothus, in whose eleventh year Eliashib is said to have died."[a]

In Nehemiah xiii. 28, to which the doctor refers us, we read, "And *one* of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me."

Now the inference which I draw from this is, not that Joiada, but that Eliashib was the high priest, when one of the sons of Joiada was chased by Nehemiah on his second visit to Jerusalem. Further; according to my edition of the *Chron. Alex.*, to which the doctor also refers us, Eliashib was high priest forty years, beginning with Olympiad 78, that is, B.C. 468. This would place his death in B.C. 428, the thirty-seventh of Artaxerxes,

[a] *Chron. Alex.*, *Olymp.* 78, p. 162-3.

and not the eleventh of Darius Nothus, as stated by the doctor. Further, the inference which I draw from Nehemiah v. 14; viii. 9; xiii. 6, 28, is that Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem was made, and his restoration of the Jewish polity completed, in the thirty-second of Artaxerxes, or not long after it.

At all events, I hold that the Book of Nehemiah is no authority for holding that the troublous times, during which the wall was built in the time of Ezra, extended beyond the thirty-second of Artaxerxes, B.C. 433 (Nehemiah iv.—v. 14; vi. 15). Thus the doctor's attempt to shew that his beginning of the sixty-two weeks in B.C. 409, was connected with *troublous times*, as foretold by Daniel, must be considered a complete failure.

We now come to his end of the sixty-two weeks. This was March or April, A.D. 26.

In his page 170 the doctor says, "*Unto Messiah the Prince* shall be *seven weeks and threescore and two weeks, i. e.*, the first four hundred and eighty-three years of the period, the last seven being parted off. But four hundred and eighty-three years from the month Nisan (March or April, as the year might be), B.C. 458, in which Ezra had his own mission from Artaxerxes, and began his journey, were completed at Nisan, A.D. 26, which (according to the ordinary belief that the nativity was four years earlier than our era) would coincide with John's baptism, soon after the beginning of which the descent of the Holy Ghost upon our Lord at His baptism manifested Him to be *the Anointed with the Holy Ghost, the Christ*."

If Jesus was (as suggested by the doctor) really thirty years of age in A.D. 26, I could not deny that this might have been what was foretold by Daniel as *Unto the Messiah the Prince*. But, if Jesus was thirty years of age in A.D. 26, He must have been thirty-seven years of age in A.D. 33, the year of His crucifixion, and His ministry must have lasted seven years. But what says the doctor? In his page 174 he says, "It seems to me absolutely certain, that our Lord's ministry lasted for some period above three years. For St. John mentions by name three passovers; and St. Matthew's mention of the disciples rubbing the ears of corn, relates to a time near upon a passover, later than the first, (for John had been cast into prison,) yet earlier than the last but one, for it preceded the feeding of the five thousand, which itself preceded that passover." From this passage the doctor must of course be held to confine the ministry of Jesus to something within four years. I quite agree with the doctor as to the duration of the ministry, and, to be consistent with this, ought not the doctor to say that to him it seemed absolutely certain that Jesus was not thirty years of age in A.D.

26, and that he could point out nothing in A.D. 26 which could answer Daniel's *Unto Messiah the Prince?*

Daniel further says that *after the threescore and two weeks*, that is, after March or April A.D. 26, as interpreted by the doctor, *shall Messiah be cut off.* Upon this the doctor says in his page 174, "Not *in*, but *after* those *threescore and two weeks*, it is said, *Messiah shall be cut off; and there shall not be to Him:* that is, as the context implies, the city and the sanctuary shall be His no more." But surely, with the doctor's rule of strictness, this ought to lead us to look for the crucifixion in A.D. 27, at the latest, if the cutting off of Messiah means the crucifixion.

Further, is it not incredible that Daniel should foretell both the coming and the cutting off of the Messiah, as about to happen at the end of his sixty-nine weeks? But we may let this pass. We now come to the one week,—the last week of the seventy. On this the doctor says in his page 174; "Then follows the subdivision of the last week, or seven years, wherein He was to be cut off, since He was to be cut off, and yet not in the sixty-nine weeks. *He shall make firm a covenant with many during one week; and in the midst of the week He shall make sacrifice and oblation to cease.* He speaks not of a temporary suspension of sacrifices, but of the entire abolition of all which had been offered hitherto,—*the sacrifice,* with the shedding of blood, and *the oblation,*—the unbloody sacrifice which was its complement. These the Messiah was *to make to cease three years and a half* after that new covenant began, whether this was at first through the ministry of the Baptist or His own."

In his page 188 the doctor says; "At a time within the four hundred and ninety years, but after the first four hundred and eighty-three, that is, in the last seven, *Messiah* was to be *cut off;* in the midst of those seven, He was to *make sacrifice to cease,* but to *confirm a covenant,* not with all, but with *the many.*" In his page 210 the doctor says, "*The cessation of the sacrifice was to be in the midst of the week, that is, after three and a half years, not at the close of the seven years.*"

This would place the cessation of the sacrifices in A.D. 29, September or October, according to the doctor's interpretation. But, that the sacrifices under the law were offered not only after A.D. 29, but also after the crucifixion of Jesus in A.D. 33, is evident from St. Paul.

In Hebrews viii. 3, 4, St. Paul says, "*Every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is necessary that this man (Jesus) have somewhat also to offer. For if He were on earth He should not be a priest, seeing there are the priests that offer the gifts according to the law.*" In Heb. x. 1

St. Paul also says, "*For the law, having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never, with those sacrifices which they offer year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect.*"

We also learn from Josephus,[c] that the daily sacrifice did not fail before the seventeenth of Panemus, in the second year of Vespasian, August, A.D. 70. How then can it be said that Jesus Christ in A.D. 29 (the middle of the one week, according to the doctor's interpretation) caused the sacrifice and the oblation to cease?

In his page 184 the doctor says, "The entire cessation of the bloody sacrifices of the law has a twofold aspect,—of mercy and of judgment. To those who have believed in Jesus, He *caused the sacrifice and oblation* of the law *to cease*, by replacing the shadows, which portrayed His atoning sacrifice, by Himself, the substance, *offering Himself once for all, to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.* To the Jews who rejected Him, He *caused sacrifice and oblation to cease*, by the destruction of the temple and city, and the dispersion of the people."

I am willing to admit this twofold aspect of the entire cessation of the bloody sacrifices of the law, and I might admit that those who believed in Jesus did not after His crucifixion look to the bloody sacrifices of the law for the atonement of their sins, and that therefore it might be said that the sacrifices under the law ceased to be offered for them after the offering of the body of Jesus Christ. But this could not have been said in A.D. 29, three years and a half before the crucifixion. Nor could it have been said in A.D 29 that Jesus had caused the sacrifice and oblation of the law to cease, by offering Himself once for all to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.

The aspect of the cessation of the sacrifices of the law, for which the doctor contends as the fulfilment of the prophecy, clearly requires that the crucifixion should have taken place in A.D. 29. There must therefore be something wrong in the doctor's interpretation, and is it not far more probable that Daniel pointed to something (such as the actual cessation of the Jewish sacrifices), which would lead men to believe in Jesus, than that he pointed to anything that they would cease to do (such as looking to the efficacy of the Jewish sacrifices) after their belief in Jesus?

Further, it is incredible that Daniel within so few verses should have foretold the crucifixion as about to take place both after the sixty-ninth week and also in the middle of the seventieth

[c] *Wars*, vi. 2, 1.

week, when in reality it occurred at the end of the seventieth week, according to the doctor's interpretation.

But let us look to Daniel's own words. "The people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and, that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate." With this vivid picture of desolation before us, where can we look for the one week but at the end of the Jewish polity? As the doctor remarks; "Daniel speaks not of a temporary suspension of sacrifices, but of the entire abolition of all which had been offered hitherto, *the sacrifice*, with the shedding of blood, and the *oblation*, the unbloody sacrifice, which was its complement."

We have learnt from Josephus that the daily sacrifice failed on the seventeenth of Panemus, in the second of Vespasian, August, A.D. 70, in the midst of the siege by the Romans, when the city and sanctuary were destroyed, and since that time no sacrifices have ever been offered by the Jews: nor has the temple, in which alone their sacrifices could be offered, ever been rebuilt, and its site is now occupied by the mosque of Omar. Hence A.D. 70 must be held to be the middle of Daniel's one week, whatever its length may have been. But we will speak also to its length.

We learn from Josephus,[c] that the war with the Romans had been going on for three years and five months up to the time of the death of Jesus, the son of Ananus, during the siege.

The end of the war is not so clearly defined by Josephus as its beginning; but we can collect with sufficient clearness from him that it must have lasted about three and a half years after, as well as three and a half years before the cessation of the daily sacrifice. The account of Josephus is that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews were pursued to Macherus in Perea, to Jarden and Masada in Judea, and to Alexandria in Egypt, and Cyrene in Lybia, and that nine thousand two hundred and sixty were slain after the siege. The last date of a year which is mentioned by Josephus is the fourth of Vespasian, A.D. 72,[d] After this,[e] Josephus relates that the slaughter at Masada was on the 15th of Xanthicus (April). We assume this to have been in the fifth of Vespasian, A.D. 73 (the seventh year of the

[c] *Wars*, vi. 5, 3. [d] *Idem*, vii. 7, 1. [e] *Idem*, vii. 9, 1.

war). After this the war extended to Alexandria and Cyrene, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it occupied the remainder of the year. Jews from the parts of Lybia about Cyrene were present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost immediately after the resurrection. This would place the cessation of the daily sacrifice in the middle of a seven years' war, a period which might well have been foretold by Daniel as a week.

Further, this putting an end to the Jewish polity—the old covenant—by a seven years' war, may well be regarded as the confirmation of the new covenant, which had been made with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

As Daniel says, "He shall confirm the covenant with many for one week." The old covenant with Abraham was also confirmed by a week of war,—the seven years occupied by Joshua in subduing the enemies of God's people in the land of Canaan. In Deut. vii. 20, Moses says, "Moreover, the Lord thy God will send the hornet (LXX. version, wasp) among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed." In the last week it was Vespasian, vespa, a wasp, who drove out the Jews from Canaan. St. Paul, Heb. x. 4—9, also says, "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me. . . . Above when he said, Sacrifice and offering and burnt offerings and offering for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein, which are offered by the law; then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first (the sacrifices which are offered by the law), that he may establish the second (the sacrifice of the body of Christ)."

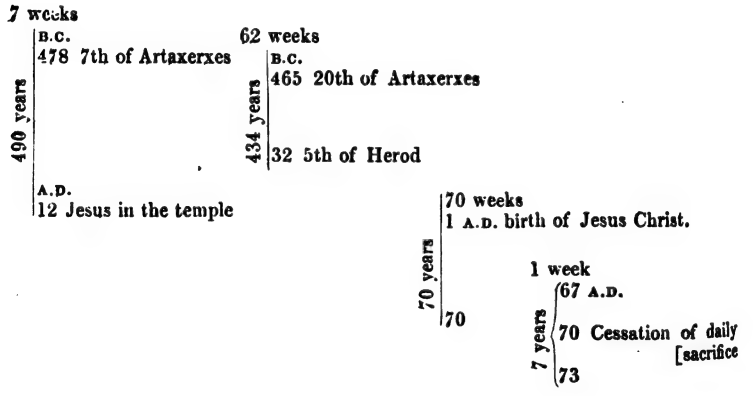
In Matt. xxiv. 15 we have Jesus also saying to his disciples, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand): then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains."

With this assurance of Jesus that Daniel had foretold the desolation of Jerusalem, I presume it will be readily admitted, not only that all interpretations which would confine this prophecy to the date of the crucifixion must be rejected, but also that I have rightly placed the one week between A.D. 67 and A.D. 73, in the time of Vespasian. Nor do I doubt that the fulfilment of each of the other periods of the prophecy may be clearly shewn. I cannot doubt that the prophecy came from God, nor can I doubt that God has handed down evidence by which its fulfilment may be proved.

By taking away the one week from the position to which it has been assigned by Dr. Pusey (to say nothing of his other untenable positions, which I have noticed), his whole system of interpretation must fall to the ground. It was held by Sir Isaac Newton, in his *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel*, that each of Daniel's periods of weeks referred to a separate and distinct period of time. In this we agree, but we differ materially as to the periods of time, to which Daniel's several periods should be referred. As to the one week, Sir Isaac says in his p. 136, "*Yet shall he confirm the covenant with many for one week.* He kept it, notwithstanding his death, till the rejection of the Jews, and calling of Cornelius and the Gentiles in the seventh year after his passion."

I presume this needs no refutation. As to the middle of the one week, Sir Isaac also says in his p. 136: *And in half a week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease;* that is, by the war of the Romans upon the Jews, which war, after some commotions, began in the thirteenth year of Nero, A.D. 67, in the spring, when Vespasian with an army invaded them; and ended in the second year of Vespasian, A.D. 70, in autumn, Sept. 7, when Titus took the city, having burnt the temple twenty-seven days before: so that it lasted three years and a half."

Had Sir Isaac been aware that the war, instead of ending, as he supposed, in A.D. 70, was continued, as I have shewn, to A.D. 73, we may not unreasonably assume that he would have seen another half of a week in its last half, as clearly as he saw his half of a week in its first half, and that the two halves together must have been Daniel's one week. As it is, I am confirmed by Sir Isaac as to what was the cessation of the sacrifice foretold by Daniel:—



We now come to the seventy weeks. Sir Isaac holds with Dr. Pusey that they mean four hundred and ninety years, and began with the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem in the seventh of Artaxerxes, B.C. 458, and end at the crucifixion in A.D. 33. The best refutation is to produce Daniel's own words, ver. 24: "*Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.*" Surely no one, looking to these words only, could be led to conjecture that the beginning of the period had any connection with any going forth of a commandment to build Jerusalem.

Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, seems to point to the destruction of the people and the city, and as the setting aside the sacrifices of the law has been said to be the establishing of the sacrifice of the body of Christ, so it may be said to be the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, inasmuch as by the sacrifices of the law they brought in an annual righteousness. Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.*, viii., p. 191, says, "On the day on which the Jews were besieged in the time of Vespasian, they fulfilled the seventy weeks which were foretold by Daniel." The same was held by R. Jachias, Daniel ix. 24. This was in A.D. 70.

We assume that *to anoint the most Holy* points to Jesus Christ, and as the period from his birth to the destruction of Jerusalem was seventy years, we conclude that this was the period foretold by Daniel as seventy weeks. Speaking of the seventy weeks, Dr. Pusey says in his p. 164, "The interval which God assigned had an evident reference to the seventy years of the captivity. That number had a bearing on the broken sabbaths, in punishment of which Moses had foretold the *land* should *enjoy her sabbaths* in the captivity of his people. Seventy years were the term of their captivity; seven times seventy years was to be the main sum of their new period of probation in the possession of their land and of their restored city." The doctor here seems to have a glimmering of light, but to carry out his views, ought not the seventy weeks to run on to the time when the possession of their land and of their restored city was taken from the Jews?

In the prophecy of Daniel the seventy weeks evidently have reference to the seventy years of the captivity, and as at the end of the seventy years' captivity the people and city of the enemy of God's people (Babylon) were overthrown, and a new universal kingdom (Persia) was set up, so at the end of the

seventy weeks (as I interpret them) the people and city of the enemy of God's people (Jerusalem) were overthrown, and a new universal kingdom (the kingdom of Jesus Christ) was established. Neither was the freedom of God's people in either case obtained by their own valour: but in the one case by Cyrus and Darius, and in the other by Vespasian and Titus. The seventy years from the birth of Jesus to the destruction of Jerusalem may also in a certain sense be said to be the captivity of the Christian Church.

We now come to the seven weeks. "*Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks.*" Upon this Sir Isaac says, in his p. 132, "The former part of the prophecy related to the first coming, being dated to his coming as a prophet: this being dated to his coming to be prince or king, seems to relate to his second coming." "This part of the prophecy being therefore not yet fulfilled, I shall not attempt a particular interpretation of it. . . . Let time be the interpreter." Time must be the interpreter of prophecy: but, surely at the second coming of Jesus Christ, no prophecy will be needed to convince the world that he has been sent by God to be their Judge.

We must therefore assume that this part, like all the other parts of the prophecy, refers to the first coming of Jesus Christ, and must have been given to convince the world then, and as now, that He to whom it referred was really and truly a messenger sent by God to give light to the world, as to its future condition.

Dr. Pusey, in his p. 171, says, "The Jews put the main stop under *seven*, meaning to separate the two numbers, seven and sixty-two." The Jews may be right. Nor do I doubt that the commandment which was given in the seventh of Artaxerxes for the restoration of Jerusalem, was the commandment to which Daniel refers. But if Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah foretold by Daniel, the seven weeks must mean more than forty-nine years. We will assume them to mean seven times seventy, or four hundred and ninety years. These, reckoned from B.C. 458 (the seventh of Artaxerxes, according to the common chronology) would, as we have already noticed, reach A.D. 33, the year of the crucifixion: nor could I *à priori* deny that the resurrection of Jesus might have been the coming of the Messiah, which was foretold by Daniel.

We now come to the sixty-two weeks, ver. 25, "*And three score and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times; and after the three score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself.*"

Upon this Sir Isaac says in his page 135:—

"Now Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of this same Artaxerxes, while Ezra still continued there (Nehem. xii. 36), and found the city lying waste and the houses and wall unbuilt (Nehem. ii. 17; vii. 4); and finished the wall the 25th day of the month Elul (Nehem. vi. 15), in the twenty-eighth year of the king, that is, in September, in the year of the Julian period 4278 (B.C. 436). Count now from this year threescore and two weeks of years, that is, 434 years, and the reckoning will end in September in the year of the Julian period 4712 (B.C. 2), which is the year in which Christ was born, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and other ancients; and this was the general opinion till *Dionysius Exiguus* invented the vulgar account, in which Christ's birth is placed two years later. If with some you reckon that Christ was born three or four years before the vulgar account, yet his birth will fall in the latter part of the last week, which is enough. *How after these weeks Christ was cut off, and the city and sanctuary destroyed by the Romans, is well known.*"

That the beginning of the sixty-two weeks ought to be connected with the troublous times described in Nehemiah I dare not doubt. Nor could I *à priori* deny that it ought to be connected with the finishing, and not with the beginning of the building of the wall, and we learn from Josephus[f] that the wall was finished in the twenty-eighth of Xerxes (Artaxerxes). Nor do I doubt that Jesus Christ was born in the latter end of B.C. 2: but surely it is quite incredible that the cutting off of Jesus by the crucifixion could be the event foretold by Daniel, if it did not happen (as it did not according to Sir Isaac's interpretation) until thirty-four years after the end of the threescore and two weeks.

The accuracy with which the fulfilment of the other periods has been shewn, leads us fully to expect the same amount of accuracy in the fulfilment of this. We must shew the fulfilment of each period with equal accuracy, or we cannot be said to have shewn the fulfilment of the prophecy.

It may be that some other meaning must be given to the expression, *Messiah shall be cut off:* nor is it probable that Daniel should have foretold the crucifixion as about to happen after his threescore and two weeks, if it was really the event foretold by him, as *unto the Messiah the Prince* at the end of his seven weeks.

In this text the LXX. version differs materially from the Hebrew. Instead of saying, *And after the threescore and two weeks Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself,* the LXX.

[f] *Ant.*, xi. 5, 8.

says, "*And after the threescore and two weeks anointing shall cease, and there is no judgment in it.*"

Upon this Eusebius, in his *Chronicon* (186 Ol. 4, page 153), says:—

"Down to the time of Herod, Christs, that is, high priests, were kings of the Jews. They began to reign from the sixty-fifth Olympiad (65 Ol. 4, B.C. 517—the fifth of Darius Hystaspes), and the restoration of the temple under Darius, and continued to Hircanus in the hundred and eighty-sixth Olympiad (186 Ol. 4, B.C. 33, the first year of Herod). The intervening years were four hundred and eighty-three. These Daniel foretold, when he said, 'Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem to the government of Christ, or the Anointed Ruler, shall be seven and sixty-two weeks.' These sixty-nine weeks make the four hundred and eighty-three years, during which Christs, that is, high priests, consecrated by anointing, reigned until Hircanus. He was the last of all, and on his being taken by the Parthians, Herod the son of Antipater received from the Emperor and the senate Judea, which did not at all belong to him; and after him his sons reigned until the last captivity of Jerusalem. Nor were the high priests any longer appointed out of the sacerdotal family by succession: nor did they continue to serve God during life, according to the law of Moses. But some to fame unknown, and they for various lengths of time, some for a year, others for a little longer, purchased the high priesthood of the Roman emperors. Also Daniel the prophet foretold these things, saying, '*And after seven weeks and sixty-two weeks the anointing shall cease, and there is no judgment in it.*'"

In *Demonst. Ev.*, 398, Eusebius also says, "It may well be said, '*There is no judgment in the anointing,*' when you consider the want of judgment in the appointment of the high priests after Herod." In this comment of Eusebius, we see very clearly what might have been the fulfilment of the cutting off of Messiah after the threescore and two weeks, as foretold by Daniel,—namely, the interference of Herod with the high priesthood. Eusebius held that this was at the end of the seven weeks and sixty-two weeks united: but it could not be; for we find nothing in the beginning of the reign of Herod which could answer Daniel's "*Unto the Messiah the Prince:* and further, according to Eusebius, the sixty-two weeks must have begun in B.C. 467, the nineteenth of Xerxes, twenty-two years before the beginning of the troublous times, during which the wall was built. The edict for the building was issued by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, B.C. 445, according to the common chronology. Thus successful as Eusebius seems to be in pointing out the end of the sixty-two weeks, he quite fails as to their beginning.

Nor can this be avoided, except upon the supposition that the common chronology of this period is wrong. Upon this

conviction (at which I had arrived more than fifteen years ago), I have gone into the grounds of ancient chronology with much care and labour for many years, and have come to the unhesitating conclusion, upon the most satisfactory evidence, that the reign of Artaxerxes is commonly placed twenty years too low. Thus the twentieth of Artaxerxes, in which he issued his edict for the rebuilding of the wall, which was built in troublous times, must have been B.C. 465; and sixty-two weeks, or four hundred and thirty-four years, reckoned from this, would end with B.C. 32, the second year of Herod, according to Eusebius. But, according to Josephus, B.C. 32 must have been the fifth year of Herod, and though Josephus is not very explicit, we can collect from him with sufficient accuracy that it must have been in or about the fifth year of Herod that he caused Aristobulus, the last high priest of the Asamonean family, to be drowned.

The expression in the LXX. version is *μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑξηκονταδύο*. But *μετὰ* here need not necessarily mean *after*. In reference to the resurrection, *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας* must mean *on the third* day, that is, *after three days begun, not after three days ended*. Thus the sixty-two weeks must be considered as well fitted in regard to time, both as to their beginning and their end, and the interference of Herod with the high priesthood might well have been made a subject of prophecy. On the appointment of Herod as their king, the Jews must have seen the beginning of their final fall. Josephus complains of his having been made their king by the Romans, as he was only half a Jew, and when in the time of his son Herod II., Pontius Pilate asked the Jews whether he should crucify their king (meaning Jesus), the chief priests answered, We have no king, but Cæsar.

We must now consider how the seven weeks will be affected by my chronology. With the twentieth of Artaxerxes in B.C. 465, the seventh of Artaxerxes must have been in B.C. 478, and seven weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, reckoned from this, would end with the very memorable year A.D. 12,—memorable in the first place for being the only year of Jesus which is mentioned in the New Testament, with the exception of his thirtieth year. But why was it mentioned? This year is also memorable as being the year in which His parents, after seeking Him three days, found Him in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions, and all that heard Him were astonished at His understanding and answers.

Further, when his mother said unto Him, Son, why hast Thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I have sought

Thee sorrowing, He said unto them, How is it that ye sought Me? *Wist ye not* that I must be in My Father's house?

From the expression, *Wist ye not*, we infer that there was then in existence evidence by which, if properly understood, His parents might have known that He was then to be found in the temple, and if that evidence be still in existence, it must be the prophecy of Daniel, as to the seven weeks. This passage of St. Luke is rendered in our English Version *about My Father's business*: but we have the authority of Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, Spencer, Grotius, Ottius, Krebs and Keuchenius for rendering it *in My Father's house*. Further: this year is memorable as having been foretold by Malachi iii. 1: "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: *and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple*, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in."

But have we anything like authority for interpreting seven weeks, as meaning seventy times seven, or four hundred and ninety years? Daniel, in ver. 13 of his chap. ix., speaking of the evils of the seventy years' captivity at Babylon, says, "*As it is written in the law of Moses, All this evil is come upon us*: yet made we not our prayer before the Lord our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth." In Lev. xxvi. we have this law of Moses plainly foretelling the evils of the seventy years' captivity. But how does Moses speak of them? In verses 27, 28 Moses says, "And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk contrary unto me; then will I walk contrary unto you also in fury: and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins." In Baruch vi. 3 we also read, "So when ye be come to Babylon, ye shall remain there many years and for a long season, namely, *seven generations*."

If then the seventy years' captivity at Babylon were foretold by Moses as seven times, and mentioned in Baruch as seven generations, it is not *à priori* improbable that the seven weeks (forty-nine days) of Daniel meant seventy times seven (four hundred and ninety) years. Further: the period granted to the Jews, from the restoration of their temple to the coming of the Messiah, was to prepare them to look to Jesus, and not to the sacrifices under the law for the forgiveness of their sins, and if they looked not to Jesus, there would be no hope of forgiveness. So when Peter came to Jesus and said, "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him, till seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, until seven times: but until seventy times seven," that is, four hundred and ninety times, the exact number of years granted to the Jews, from the

restoration of their temple to the coming of Jesus to the temple in A.D. 12.

I should notice that my interpretation of the seventy weeks and the one week would not be affected by my chronology. But it may be objected that in the periods of seven weeks and seventy weeks, I give a different value to the weeks from that which I give them in the sixty-two weeks and one week.

Dr. Pusey, in his p. 164, speaking of our redemption, which was to be wrought by the death of our Redeemer at His creatures' hands, says,—

"Perhaps it would have been impossible for man to have fulfilled this, which lay in the councils of God, had he known what he was doing; or, if he had, the sin would have been irremediable. Jesus pleads it as a ground of forgiveness, that His executioners knew not what they did. We are told of those who stirred up their passions, *had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory*. It may be that on these grounds He did not declare, so that it might be certainly known beforehand, the precise year when the Messiah should come and should be cut off."

When the disciples asked of Jesus after his resurrection, saying, "Lord, *wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?* He said unto them, *It is not for you to know the times, or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.*"

Thus the different values which have been given to the different weeks may have been rendered necessary by the intended secresy.

FRANKE PARKER.

GEORGIAN VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By Rev. S. C. Malan.

The few lines of information on the Georgian Version of the Bible which De Wette gives us,[a] may be summed up in Tischendorf's own words:—

"Georgiana s. iberica (versio) sæculo fere post armenam facta videtur et quidem ex ipsis græcis codicibus. Perexigui adhuc usus critici erat. Codices satis antiquos, quos ipse vidi, monasterium S. Crucis prope Hierosolymam possidet. Docte de hac versione disseruit additis lectt. var. Alter Vindob. 1798. Prodiit editio Mosquæ 1743, quam ea interpretatione Slavonica interpolotam dicunt; ibidem alia prodiit 1816, unde cl. Petermann, linguarum orientalium longe peritissimus, epistolam ad Philemonem hausit. cf. Pauli epist. ad Philem. speciminis loco ad fidem V.V. orientalium veterum una cum earum textu originali græce edita à Petermann, Berol. 1844. Metallo expressum. Inde 'iber' ad Philem. 9. citavimus."[b]

This is, assuredly, little enough about one of the oldest versions of Holy Scripture, made for a country of the East that was among the first to embrace the Christian faith. Moreover, the authorities here given scarcely deserve the name; for Petermann's Epistle to Philemon is so poor a specimen of caligraphy as to be hardly of use; while Adler's work, *Uber Georgianische Litteratur*, Wien, 1791, shews that he did not know much of the subject he treated. He does not once allude to the main object of interest,—the age of the Georgian Version: but only gives a few scraps of information respecting printed books and MSS. now no longer of any value; with thirty-six readings of the Old Testament and forty-seven of the New, from the Georgian Bible printed at Moscow in 1743; wherein he shews abundantly that his criticism is not to be depended on. We may pass over the readings taken from the Old Testament, as of less value than those of the New, since they are renderings of the Greek Version; but the passages Adler gives of the New Testament, beginning with S. Matthew, deserve some attention, as renderings from the original, and specimens of Adler's criticism on them.

In St. Matt. iii. 4, says Adler, the Georgian Bible reads: *ἡ δὲ τροφὴ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἀκρίς;* whereupon he quotes the following gloss from a MS. of the Pseudo-Zonaras: *ἀκρὶς, βοτάνη τις οὕτως λεγομένη καὶ σολομῶν ἡμᾶς διδάσκει λέγων· ἀνθήσει τὸ*

[a] *Einleit.*, vol. i., p. 81, and ii., p. 26; ed. 1852.
[b] *Proleg. in Nov. Testamentum*, ed. MDCCCXLIX., p. 78.

ἀμύγδαλον καὶ παχυνθήσεται ἡ ἀκρίς· ταῦτα οἶμαι καὶ τὸν βαπτιστὴν Ἰωάννην καὶ πρόδρομον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐσθίειν. After which he quotes Eccles. xii. 5 from the Slavonic and Armenian, that render *ἀκρίς* in the singular; evidently connecting this *ἀκρίς* of the Georgian Version with *ἀκρίς*, said to be a herb; and he ends his note by referring us to the "Hierobotanicum Bocharti," whereby he meant, of course, "Celsii."

This gloss, however, whosesoever it be, is of little value; for nowhere in any of the authorities I have at hand, is there mention made of this *ἀκρίς, βοτάνη τις*, but in Theophylact *ad l.*, and in Euthymius, who copies him. These *ἀκρίδες* have at various times been made into *καρίδας, ἀχράδας, ἀκρόδρυα, ἀκρίσματα, ἐγκρίδας, κεράτια*, etc., alternately fish, land-crabs, sprouts, wild pears, and pods of the carob-tree,—ejusdem farinæ as *ἄκανθος* for *ἄκανθαι* in our Saviour's crown, thus made *ἐξ ἀκάνθων* instead of *ἐξ ἀκανθῶν*, of acanthus and not of thorns! a recent discovery, worthy of the times. We may, however, refer such scholars to treatises like those of J. Ludolf, *De Locustis*, Francof. 1694, and Bocharti, *De Locustis*, Hierozoic., lib. iv.,—Cyclopean remains of learning compared with the brick, mortar, and "compo" of the present day,—only to say that Adler's criticism rests on an incorrect rendering of the Georgian words, *khōlō sazodelad misa iqō mkali*, wherein *mkali*, *ἀκρίς*, is, according to the idiom of the language, always used in the singular; except when intended to express a number of individuals, and not the locust as a scourge. Thus, throughout Exod. x., etc., *mkali* is singular; but in Isa. xl. 22, and like passages, where the number and not the kind is considered, we find *ṁkalni* in the plural. The same idiom occurs in other cases, *e. g.*, our Saviour is said to have found on the fig-tree *p'hurtseli khōlō*, "leaf only," instead of "leaves only;" like the idiom, "to be in leaf," and not "in leaves."

Likewise does Adler say that in St. Matt. xv. 16, the Georgian reads *ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε*, and leaves out *ἀκμὴν καὶ*. But here again he overlooked the suffix *tsa* in *thqwentsa*, and the final *a* in *khartha*, which in this case is more than merely interrogative. Taking *ἀκμὴν* (whence the mod. Greek *ἀκόμη?*) to mean *ἔτι*, it is expressed by *tsa* in *thqwentsa*; and some of the force of *καὶ* in this place may also be rendered by the suffix *a* in *khartha*.

Adler mentions the reading *ἕως τοῦ αἵματος ζαχαρίου υἱοῦ βαρούχ*, xxiii. 35, but he quotes xxvii. 16, 17, 18, and xxviii. 9, which agree with the Greek, only to shew the disagreement of other versions; and remarks correctly that the Georgian has not at xxviii. 18 the addition which the Armenian and other versions have, "as my Father sent me, even so send I you:" he is also

right in noticing the omission of *ἀπέχει*, and the addition of *ἦλθε τὸ τέλος*, at St. Mark xiv. 41; but the discrepancies he finds at ver. 67, and chap. xvi. 3, 4, 5, are only imaginary, and are owing to the difference of idiom which in Greek makes use of the participle and of the genitive absolute, both generally rendered in Georgian by the indicative.

But Adler makes a mistake in saying that the Georgian reads *εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν*, in St. Luke i. 28, leaving out *εἶ*; for it has *curtkheūl khar shen dedatha shōris*, *εὐλογημένη εἶ σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν*; he is right, however, in noticing the omission of *ἐκ σοῦ* in chap. i. 35; but again wrong in fancying a difference between the Greek and the Georgian at chap. xxii. 43, 44, and xxiv. 13.

Adler further notices that the Georgian has *ἐν βηθαβαρᾷ* at St. John i. 28; and that it also has chap. v. 4; and that it reads *ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω*, *κ.τ.λ.*, at chap. vii. 8. But he is wrong in saying that the Georgian has "*ὅπου εἶμι ἐγώ* (eo, proficiscor)" at ver. 34; for it reads *da sada igi me viqō*, *καὶ ὅπου ἐγώ εἰμι*, or rather *ἔσομαι*. And he ends his recension of the Gospels by noticing that the Georgian Version agrees with the Greek in chap. vii. 39, 50, and viii. 1—11.

Adler's work and the translation of St. John from the Georgian with the notes relating to it,[c] is all that has yet appeared respecting a version that possesses higher claims to our notice than others of which much more is made.[d] For it is older than the Slavonic, the Arabic, and the less important Persian and Anglo-Saxon; since it was made in the early part of the fifth century, by the command of king Archil, for the special use of his queen, according to P. Ioselian. The circumstance is thus told by him in his *History of the Georgian Church* (in Russian), at p. 26 *sq.*:—

"Archil (A.D. 413—446), son of Miridat, eschewed his father's vices, and, after removing from his dominions the last traces of heathenism, did all he could to purify the Church of Georgia of heresy and of rites and ceremonies not Christian, but still in use; he expelled from the country the worshippers of fire, turned their place of worship into a church, and ended happily a war begun with the Persians at the instigation of the magi, who were endeavouring to maintain the worship of fire in Iberia. By leave and with the blessing of his bishop, he took to wife Sandukhta, a heathen woman, whom he converted to the Christian faith; and for her sake and for her own especial use the New Testament was

[c] In *The Gospel according to St. John, translated from the eleven oldest versions, etc.* 1862.

[d] Except, perhaps, some general remarks upon it, in Eichhorn's *Allgem. Bibl.*, to which De Wette refers, but which I have not seen.

then for the first time translated into the Georgian tongue. Thus strengthened in the truths of the Gospel, she built at Mtskhetha a church dedicated to St. Stephen, which she called Sion."

And in a note on this the writer says:—

"When Christianity was first introduced into Georgia, the church service books were read in Greek. Afterwards some were translated in schools set up by Greek preachers, in which the Greek language was taught with the view of forming church ministers in the first principles of Christianity; of absolute necessity in a country just converted to the Gospel. To the time when these schools were established, must we refer the first translators of Holy Scripture from the Syriac language and of church service books from the Greek, namely, David and Stephen, who studied at Jerusalem, under the protection of, probably, Tatian, the Georgian prince, who built there a convent in the fifth century. This circumstance, though not noticed by historians, does not hinder us from numbering among the translators of Holy Scripture, and of all church books, from Greek into Georgian, Euthymius and Georgius Sviatogorets, who both lived in the tenth century, and wrote in a pure, well-rounded, and correct style, which is still a pattern of devotional and of secular literature. The necessity of having service books for use in the Church of Iberia, could not hinder kings who were attentive to their people from early supplying that Church with books calculated to establish the common people in religion, and to spread among them both faith and good works.

"Georgian historians ascribe the invention of the Georgian alphabet to Pharmabaz I., cotemporary of Alexander the Great. But according to Moses of Chorene, the Georgian alphabet was invented by the Armenian teacher Mesrob, who came over to Georgia in the reign of king Archil (A.D. 413—446), and who fixed the alphabet of thirty-eight letters, together with Zalei, a man learned in the Georgian and the Greek languages. They were aided in this work by the then king of Georgia, called by Moses of Chorene, Bakur; and by the bishop Moses. Then Mesrob, after establishing a school, left in Georgia two of his disciples, Khortsneni and Moses Tarone, for the purpose of dividing that school in two sections, and then went himself into Albania, to the king thereof, Arzval, and to the bishop Jeremiah. It is most probable that until that time the church service was read in Greek in the churches of Georgia, as it was then also done in those of Armenia. (Moses of Chorene, lib. iii., chap. lv.) The Georgian alphabet is twofold—civil and ecclesiastic." [The former dates probably from the fourteenth century; the latter may have been invented by Mesrob, though it bears no resemblance to the Armenian characters, as some people think. These ecclesiastic characters are trying to read from their apparent uniformity, and from the very small difference in the respective form of many of them.—*Transl.*]

So writes P. Ioselian of the translation of the New Testament under king Archil; he seems, however, to be at fault in the history of his own country; for in the *History of Georgia (Karthlis Tskhōvreba,* vol. i., p. 109) we read that this Sagdukht

was daughter of Barsabod, Eris-thaw, or feudal chief of Qarabagh (Rani), and rival of Archil; that she was remarkably handsome, and that Mirdat, Archil's son, fell in love with her, and requested his father to ask her of her father for him, under the plea of strengthening their mutual position against the Persians, who constantly threatened Georgia.

"'*Mashin Archil mep'heman aghusrula thkhrōva misi, tsargzavna mōtsikuli Barzabodissa, da thkhōva asuli misi tsōlad dzisa misisa.*' Then king Archil granted him his request, and sent an ambassador to Barzabod, and asked of him his daughter as wife for his son. Barzabod was greatly pleased, because his country was being laid waste and in a great strait; he asked a pledge of peace and goodwill; he gave the same in return, and to his daughter a handsome dowry; she was brought to Mtskhetha, at that time the capital of Karthli or Georgia, and the wedding took place, with great rejoicings for many days. Then Archil gave to his son Samshwilde for Eristhawat to govern, and there he (Mirdat) dwelt with Sagdukht. Meanwhile queen Sagdukht became acquainted with the Christian religion, owing to her husband having fetched men learned in the faith, who translated the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shewed her that truly Christ is God, who was made man in order to save us. Then Sagdukht understood and received the true faith; she abandoned the worship of fire, was baptized, and having become a faithful Christian, built the church of Sion at Samshwilde."

This account, though different from that of P. Ioselian, tends nevertheless to shew like it that the translation of at least the New Testament from the Greek into Georgian was made under the reign of king Archil, towards the beginning of the fifth century. It is true that Armenian writers, such as Moses of Chorene (lib. iii., chap. liv.), make Mesrob go into Iberia during the reign of Bakar; a statement repeated by Mich. Tchamtchean, vol. i., p. 494 *sq.*, and by Indjidjean, *Antiq. Arm.*, vol. iii., p. 107 *sq.*, and alluded to by the author of the *Life of Mesrob*, Venice, 1854, p. 12, 20; that is, about a century before king Archil, and say, that by the divine grace he devised the Georgian alphabet, and founded schools. But, on the one hand, nothing is said by the Armenians of the translation of Holy Scripture into Georgian by Mesrob and his disciples; and on the other hand, the history of Georgia is silent as to Mesrob's visit either to Bakur (Bakar), or to Varaz-Bakar, Bakar's grandson, and twenty-seventh king of Georgia.

Until greater light be thrown on the subject, we may then abide by the native and popular account, and ascribe the translation of the New Testament to the reign of Archil. What MSS. were used, and how far this version may or may not have been revised either on the Armenian and on the Syriac, are

questions to be answered only by a careful study of the Georgian text. For the Georgian idiom is in many respects so different from the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Slavonic, that the grammatical construction of a sentence, oftentimes unusual and difficult, must needs be well ascertained, and the Georgian idiom taken into consideration, ere it can be pronounced to differ in meaning from the Greek. For instance, different tenses govern different cases of subject and object; the participial construction is hardly ever admissible; and the particles more numerous and brighter than in Greek may be overlooked, and a verse be thus said to differ from the original, when, in fact, it renders it exactly. This, however, is what should be done in collating any version on the original; a task at times impossible, as, for instance, between the Greek and versions like the Latin, the Slavonic, the Georgian, the Armenian, etc., that either have no definite article, or express it only by suffixes or by pronouns, when it is to be taken as a demonstrative; how can it then be said that the Greek article, which is the life-blood of the language, is or is not omitted in the texts of those versions subject to criticism? Thus, *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, or *σύ εἶ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, tell the truth in Greek, though it be differently expressed; likewise, "Thou art the Son of God," and "Thou art Son of God;" but "Thou art a Son of God," as the latter Greek sentence has been rendered by a translator of the New Testament, is wrong in doctrine, in grammar, and in scholarship. In such things lies the spirit and character of a version: it requires some knowledge even in English, and no less, assuredly, in Syriac, Armenian, and other such versions.

How far, then, the Georgian Version may have been altered after the Slavonic, as De Wette says, and as Tischendorf repeats after him, can only be ascertained by a careful collation of both texts. Meanwhile, we find at the end of the Georgian Bible, printed at Moscow in 1743, in folio, at the instance of king Bakar, and with the help of the archbishop Joseph Samebeli, and of Wakhusht, son of king Wakhtang VI., that the principal alterations and revision were made on parts of the Old Testament, the MS. copies of which were most imperfect. At p. 1094 we read that the Slavonic Version being very unevenly translated from the Greek, the Book of Genesis especially was revised on the Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Latin, etc. This revision was completed the first year, with the assistance of learned divines, for Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, two of Chronicles, the three of Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobith, Judith, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Jesus, son of

Sirach, and the three books of Maccabees. But the Psalms, the Prophets, and the New Testament were reprinted from the edition published with great care by king Wakhtang VI. at Tiflis, in the beginning of last century. These, however, were collated, chapter for chapter, and verse by verse, on the Slavonic, leaving untouched the Georgian expressions most idiomatic, and the names of animals, trees, etc., unknown to the revisers.

On the whole, then, the Georgian Version of the New Testament is the most valuable for criticism, inasmuch as that of the Old was made at various times and by different individuals. And of this version of the New Testament, the edition printed at Tiflis by command of king Wakhtang VI. must be preferable for study to the revision thereof made by archbishop Joseph Samebeli and his coadjutors for the Moscow Bible. This Bible, however, is very rare: it is not at the Bodleian; I know not if it be at the British Museum; the only copy I have succeeded in examining, after long and fruitless inquiry in other quarters, is the copy belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Tiflis edition is mentioned by Adler in his work above quoted, at p. 119, as existing in the Imperial Library at Vienna. I have never seen it; but I give here the Georgian readings of the edition published in 1816, a reprint of that of 1743, collated on the Slavonic, shewing how little the Georgian has been altered, if at all, and how entirely it has preserved its original character, apart from all Slavonic influence.

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
CHAP. I.	
2. Omits δέ.	The Slavonic has δέ throughout.
3. Ἰούδας δέ. Except in this place δέ is omitted throughout from ver. 2 to. ver. 16, according to idiom.	
6. ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου γυναικός.	Slav. omits γυναικός, but has the femin. patron. *Urinuĭ.*
16. ὅν λέγουσι, idiomatically.	Slav., "called," λεγόμενος.
17. Ὅλη ἡ γενεά—omits οὖν—γενεὰ ιδ'.	πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ.
18. ἕως τοῦ συνελθεῖν αὐτῶν, *i. q.*, ver, 25, ἕως οὗ.	πρὶν ἢ.
19. δίκαιος ὤν. This construction is here and elsewhere generally rendered according to idiom—δίκαιος ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησε.	δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων.
20. καὶ ὡς ἐνεθυμήθη; καὶ ἔλεγεν.	αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος, etc. Throughout the particip.

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
AP. I.	
	construction is like the Greek.
ὅ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγένηται, i. q., [illegible] 5, 6, *ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχάβ, Ῥούθ*, etc.	*τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθέν.*
21. *καὶ καλέσουσι.*	*καὶ καλέσεις.*
22. Omits *δέ—διὰ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πρ.*	*τοῦτο δὲ—διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος.*
23. *μεθερμηνευομένη(ως)* adv.	*ὅ ἐστι λεγόμενον.*
24. *Διεγέρθη—καὶ ἐποίησεν ὡς—καθώς.*	*διεγερθεὶς δέ.*
AP. II.	
1. *παρεγένοντο—καὶ ἔλεγον.*	*παρεγένοντο—λέγοντες.*
3. *ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἤκουσε.*	*ἀκούσας δὲ.*
4. Lit., "where then is Christ to be [illegible]," rendering *γεννᾶται* by *shōbad.*	*ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται.*
6. *οὐδέποτε*, rather than *οὐδαμῶς.*	*οὐδαμῶς.*
9. *ἀκούσαντες τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως.*	*παρακούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως, i. e.*, hearkening to; following his directions.
11. Lit., *καὶ ὡς ἦλθον εἰς.* This construction generally renders the aor. part. [illegible]ss., or mid.	*καὶ ἐλθόντες.*
12. Lit., *καὶ ἔλαβον ἐντολὴν κατ' ὄναρ.*	Lit., *καὶ ἀγγελίαν λαβόντες.*
16. *οἵτινες ἦσαν ἔν βηθλ.*	*ὄντας.*
18. *φωνὴ—θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ* [illegible]*υρμοῦ μεγάλη.*	Sl. follows the Greek.
19. *ἐφάνη τῷ Ἰωσ.*	*ἐφάνη τῷ Ἰωσ.*
23. *ἦν καλοῦσιν Ναζ.—διὰ τοῦ προφητοῦ.*	*προφηταῖς*, instrum.
HAP. III.	
1. *παρεγένετο—κήρύσσειν.*	*παραγίνεται—κηρύσσων.*
4. *ἀπὸ τριχός—ὀσφύας.*	*ἀπὸ τριχῶν—ὀσφύας.*
7. *καὶ ὡς εἶδεν.*	*ἰδὼν δὲ.*
8. *καρπὸν ἄξιον.*	*καρπὸν ἄξιον.*
9. *καὶ μὴ δόξητε καὶ λέγετε.*	*καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν.*
10. Omits *οὖν—μὴ ποιήσῃ—ἐκκοπήεται.*	*οὖν—ὃ μὴ ποιεῖ—ἐκκόπτεται* (lit., *ἐκκοφθὲν γίνεται*).
11. *ἱκανός* is rendered by *shemzlebel* ble, capable; "worthy" would have een *ghirs*, as in chap. viii. 8.	*emuje niesm' dostoin' sapogì ponestî*, "for whom I am not worthy to bear the shoes."
12. *Οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ιακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ.*	*οὗ τὸ πτύον—καὶ διακαθαριεῖ.*
17. *Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο—καὶ ἔλεγε.*	*καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγουσα.*
HAP. IV.	
2. *Καὶ ἐνηστ.—καὶ ὕστερον.*	*καὶ νηστεύσας—ὕστερον.*

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
CHAP. IV.	
3. *προσῆλθεν*, omitting *καὶ*.	*καὶ προσῆλθεν.*
4. *ἐκ τοῦ στόματος.*	*ἐκπορευομένῳ—ἐκ τῶν χει[illegible] λέων Θεοῦ* (lit., *θείων*).
5. *παρέλαβεν—ἔστησεν.*	*τότε παραλαμβάνει—καὶ ἔστη[illegible] σεν.*
6. *Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ.*	*καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ.*
8. *πάλιν παρέλαβεν—καὶ ἔλεγεν.*	*πάλιν παραλαμβάνει — κα[illegible] ἔλεγεν.*
10. *τότε ἔλεγεν.*	*τότε ἔλεγεν.*
11. *τότε ἀφῆκεν αὐτ.*	*τότε ἀφῆκεν αὐτ.*
12. *ὅτε δὲ ἤκουσε.*	*ἀκούσας δέ.*
13. Omits *τὴν παραθαλασσίαν*; but the omission may be owing to the similarity of *zghwa*, "sea," and *sazghwa*, "borders."	*ἐν παραθαλασσίᾳ.*
14. *τὸ ῥηθὲν Ἡσαΐου.*	*τὸ ῥηθὲν Ἡσαΐᾳ προφήτῃ* instr., *i. e.*, *διὰ Ἡσ. τοῦ προφ.*
16. *ἐν τάφῳ καὶ σκίᾳ θανάτου.* The reading *ἐν τάφῳ*, *saplavsa*, may be an error of copyist for *sopelsa*, *ἐν χώρᾳ*,—*aghmōubrtsqinda*, rather *ἀνέλαμψε*, than *ἀνέτειλε*, which would be *aghmō'khda*, as in James i. 11, etc.	*ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκίᾳ.*
18. *τὸν καλούμενον*, or better *ὅστις ἐκλήθη.*	*vozsiyà*, *ἀνέλαμψε*, or *ἐκλαμψε*. Both Georg. and Slav. rather agree with the LXX. of Isa. ix. 1. Yet *vozsiyà* is said of the sun, James i. 11, and of the day star, 2 Pet. i. 19, etc.
CHAP. V.	
1. *τὸν ὄχλον.*	*τοὺς ὄχλους.*
2. *καὶ ἤνοιξεν.*	*καὶ ἀνοίξας.*
13. *ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ ἅλες—ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας*, or *ὁ ἅλς*, etc.,—*εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσι ἔτι.*	*ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλας.*
14. *ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ φῶτα.*	*ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς.*
18. *ἕως ἂν πᾶν γένηται.*	*ἕως ἂν πᾶν γένηται.*
22. *ὅτι ὅστις ὀργίζεται—ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐξελθεῖν.*	*πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος—ἔνοχός ἐστι τῷ συνεδρίῳ.*
24. Omits *ἐκεῖ.*	*ἄφες ἐκεῖ.*
28. *ἤδη* is rendered by *munve*, *ἐκεῖθε.*	*ἤδη*, *uje*, "already."
29. Omits *δέ.*	*εἰ δὲ.*
32. Instead of *ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχᾶσθαι*, the Georgian reads *man imrusha igi*, *αὐτὸς ἐμοίχευσεν*,—*αὐτὴ ἐμοίχευσεν.*	*ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχᾶσθαι.*
45. *ὅπως γένησθε ὑμεῖς—ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῦ ἀνατ.*	*ὅπως γένησθε—ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει.*
CHAP. VI.	
1. *προσέχετε τὴ ἐλεημοσύνη ὑμῶν ἵνα*	Follows the Greek.

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
CHAP. VI.	
μὴ ποιῆτε (ποιεῖτε) s.c. αὐτὴν; or, seeing *ποιεῖν* in the pres. ind. governs the dative in Georgian, it may read exactly like the Greek, making *qwelis-saqmesa τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ*, to agree with *hqōth ποιεῖτε*, instead of being governed by *ecrzalebith προσέχετε*, which also governs the dative of the subject (St. Luke xii. 1) with the ablative of the object; *ecrzal. thawtha thwistha—sagan.*	
7. *μὴ βαττολογήσητε* is rendered *nu mravalsa itqwith*, "do not say much;" *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνικῶν.*	*ne lishshe glagolite*, "do not say over much," or "more than is meet."
8. *ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε.*	*ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε.*
24. *οὐδεὶς δύναται Θεῷ δουλεύειν.*	*οὐ δύνασθε Θεῷ δ.*
CHAP. VII.	
4. *ἄφες καὶ ἐκβάλω.*	Id.
12. *οὕτως γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος.*	*τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.*
15. *εἰσι λύκος ἅρπαξ,—i. e., ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.*	*λύκοι ἅρπαγες.*
24. Omits *οὖν.*	*πᾶς οὖν ὅστις.*
29. *ἡ γὰρ διδακὴ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν ὥς τις ἐξουσίαν ἔχων.*	*ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων.*
CHAP. VIII.	
10. *καὶ εἶπεν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὁ ἠκολούθ.*	Follows the Greek.
11. *ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς.*	Follows the Greek.
14. *βεβλημένην πυρετῷ.*	Follows the Greek.
17. *τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦ Ἡσαΐου.*	*τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ*, instr., *i. e., διὰ τοῦ Ἡσ.*
29. Omits *ἰδού.*	Follows the Greek.
32. *οἱ δὲ ἐξῆλθον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τούτων.*	Follows the Greek.
33. *πάντα τὰ περὶ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων.*	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. IX.	
7. *καὶ εὐθέως ἠγέρθη.*	*καὶ ἐγερθείς.*
8. *ὁ ὄχλος ἐθαύμασε.*	Follows the Greek.
10. Omits *ἐλθόντες.*	Follows the Greek.
23. *καὶ ὄχλον συνηγμένον, καὶ θόρυβον.*	Follows the Greek.
30. *καὶ εὐθέως ἀνεῳχθησαν.*	Follows the Greek.
33. *ὁ ὄχλος καὶ ἔλεγεν.*	Follows the Greek.
36. *τὸν ὄχλον.*	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. X.	
12. *ἀσπάσασθε* is rendered *καὶ εἴπατε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ.*	"And going into a house, salute it, saying, Peace to this house."

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION
CHAP. X.	
42. *ψυχροῦ ὕδατος.*	*studenŭi vodŭi,* "of water."
CHAP. XI.	
10. *τὰς ὁδούς σου.*	Follows the Greek.
21. *σάκκῳ ἐπὶ σποδῷ καθημέναι.*	Follows the Greek.
23. *οὐχ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,* as if it read *μὴ* or *οὐ* for *ἡ.*	Follows the Greek.
25. *ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας τοῦτο — καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτό.*	Follows the Greek.
27. *ἀποκαλύπτεται* or *ἀποκαλυψήσεται; i. e.,* "to whomsoever the Son will, he is revealed."	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. XII.	
11. *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.*	Follows the Greek.
16. Adds *καὶ ἀπῆλθεν.*	Follows the Greek.
17. *τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦ Ἡσαΐου.*	*τὸ ῥηθεν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ,* i *i. e., διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου.*
23. *ὁ ὄχλος.*	Follows the Greek.
46. *τῷ ὄχλῳ.*	Follows the Greek.
47. *ζητοῦντές σοί τι λαλῆσαι.*	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. XIII.	
2. *ὄχλος πολύς — ὄχλος* is always used in the sing. idiomatically for *ὄχλοι.*	Follows the Greek.
6. *καὶ ὅτι αἱ ῥίζαι οὐ δᾳδουμέναι ἦσαν.*	"And because they ha roots,"—*i zanè ne i yakhu koreniya.*
11. *γνῶναι τὸ μυστήριον.*	Follows the Greek.
19. *ἁρπάζει τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας.*	Follows the Greek.
21. *οὐκ ἔχει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.*	Follows the Greek.
28. *θέλεις οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἐκλέξωμεν (yamōvartchiōth) αὐτά;* but ver. 29, *συλλέγειν* is correctly rendered *shecrebasa.*	Follows the Greek.
35. *τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λελεγμένον.*	*τὸ ῥηθὲν τῷ προφήτῳ* (i *λέγοντι.*
38. *τὰ δὲ καλὰ σπέρματα, οὗτοί εἰσιν.*	Follo[illegible]e Greek.
CHAP. XIV.	
33. *ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ σύ.*	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. XV.	
6. *οὕτως ἠκυρώσατε.*	Follows the Greek.
8. *αἱ δὲ καρδίαι αὐτῶν πόῤῥω ἀπέχουσιν.*	Follows the Greek.
9. *ὅτι διδάσκουσι.*	Follows the Greek idi tically; using the ir mental case.
22. *ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ μου.*	Omits *ὅτι,* and follow Greek.

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
ι κράζει, καὶ ἀκολούθει ἡμῖν.	Follows the Greek.
ὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ,—as at ver. 28.	Follows the Greek.
ὲ ἐδόξαζον.	Either imperf. or aor.
:κάριος εἶ σύ.	Follows the Greek.
mits δέ.	κἀγὼ δὲ σοὶ λέγω.
ὲ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος.	Follows the Greek.
ιτὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ.	Follows the Greek.
ιι.	
αρέλαβεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.	Follows the Greek.
ιὶ ἔσω τούτου εὑρήσεις.	Follows the Greek.
ιιι.	
' τῷ ἀβύσσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης. But λάγει τῆς θ., properly means "in ι" or "high sea;" and means depth of the sea," only by im-	*v' putchinyè*, "into the depth of the sea."
'α ἢ δύο ἄλλους.	Follows the Greek.
hkhar crebulsa, εἰπὲ τῇ συναγωγῇ er. 20), "to the assembly," or gation," as ἐκκλησία is rendered περ ὁ τελώνης καὶ ὁ ἐθνικός.	*povyèd' tserkvi*, "tell *it* to the church."
mits πάντα, and reads καὶ ὅσα	Follows the Greek.
δὲ οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ.	Follows the Greek.
ἵν τὸ ὅ δὴ γέγονεν.	Follows the Greek.
ιρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας βα-	Follows the Greek.
ς.	
ησοῦς δὲ εἶπεν ἀυτοῖς.	Follows the Greek.
ἰν χεῖρα ἐπιθῇ—idiomatically.	ἵνα τὰ χεῖρε ἐπ. (dual) *da rutsyè vozeogit' na nikh'*.
πεν αὐτοῖς—ἄφετε τὰ παιδία nless τὰ were taken by the translator as demonstrative, and e article.	Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.
ς χεῖρας, also idiomatically. In the act of imposition of hands *elisa dadeba* is mentioned; but fact is related which actually e, namely, the laying of both our hands on the children's heads. idiom occurs in Greek.	τὰ χεῖρε.

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
CHAP. XIX.	
18. *οὐ φονεύσεις*, etc. The Georgian renders this correctly by *ara* with feet; a positive order, and not only dissuasive as *μὴ φονεύσῃς*, etc., in St. Mark x. 19, and St. Luke xviii. 20, which the Georgian renders also correctly by *nu catsclav*, etc. The *τὸ* before *οὐ φονεύσεις* is rendered by *vitarmed, ὡς*.	Follows the Greek here, also in St. Mark and Luke *l. c.*
20. *πᾶν τοῦτο*, idiomatically.	Follows the Greek.
22. *ὅτι ἦν πλούσιος σφόδρα*.	Follows the Greek.
24. The Georgian renders *κάμηλον* in this place by *aglemi*, "camel;" but in St. Luke xviii. 25, it has *manqanisa sabeli*, "a machine rope."	The Slavonic reads *velbud'*, "camel," here and in St. Mark and St. Luke.
CHAP. XX.	
15. *ποιῆσαι ὃ θέλω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ*.	*vo svoikh' mi*, "with mine own (things)."
23. *λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*.	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. XXI.	
21. *ὡσαύτως γενήσεται*.	Follows the Greek.
22. *καὶ πᾶν ὅσον*.	Follows the Greek.
37. *αἰσχυνθήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου*.	*usramyatsya sŭina moego*. Agrees with the Georgian rather than with the Greek.
CHAP. XXII.	
4. *ἄρτον μου ἡτοίμασα*.	*ǎristón mov*—with the Greek.
7. *πυρὶ ἐνέπρησε*.	Follows the Greek.
11. *ἔνδ. γαμικόν*, and ver. 12.	*ěnd. gamikón*, as at ver 12.
12. *ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα*. But *ἐφίμωσε* is well rendered by *dauqō piri*, "shut the mouth," at ver. 34.	*on' je umoltcha*, *ὁ δὲ ἐσίωπα*, but at ver. 34 *ἐφίμωσε* is rendered *posrami*, "put to shame."
44. *ὑπὸ τοὺς ποδάς σου*.	Follows the Greek.
CHAP. XXIII.	
2. *ἐπὶ τῶν Μωσέως καθέδρων*. The pl. used evidently with regard to "the Scribes and the Pharisees," is also idiomatic, for a seat of honour; like a throne, etc. See chap. xxv. 31; xxvii. 19.	Follows the Greek.
3. *πᾶν οὖν ὅσον*,—idiomatically.	Follows the Greek.
10. *καθηγητής*,—sing. idiom.	Follows the Greek.
35. *υἱοῦ Βαρούχ*.	Follows the Greek.
36. *πᾶν τοῦτο*.	Follows the Greek.
37. *mph'rinweli*, *ὄρνις*, in the sense of "bird;" "hen" would be *qathami*.	*kokosh'*, a hen that rears a brood of chickens.

GEORGIAN VERSION.	SLAVONIC VERSION.
xiv.	
τᾶν τοῦτο,—as in ver. 6, 8, etc., ically.	Follows the Greek.
προσέχετε, as in chap. vi. 1, etc.	*blindite*, "watch, take care."
ψυγήσεται is rendered by *gankhmes*, ήσεται, "shall wither away."	Like the Georgian, "shall wither away."
ἐκλάμπει for ἐξέρχεται.	Follows the Greek.
καὶ πᾶν ἤρθη.	Follows the Greek—*ἅπαντας*; but in some copies, owing to a different form of the same letter, it may read *ἅπαντα*.
ἵν καταστήσει.	*αὐτὸν δὲ καθίστησι.*
xvi.	
ὸ *πάσχα* is rendered here and elsey *vneba*, *τὸ πάσχειν*, "passion."	*πάσχα*, as in Greek.
άντοτε γὰρ πτωχοὶ εἶσιν μεθ'	Follows the Greek.
Here and at ver. 18, 19, *τὸ πάσχα* ered *pask'ha ese*; *τὸ*, or *τοῦτο a.*	Follows the Greek.
καὶ παραστήσει μοι νῦν ἐκεῖ.	Follows the Greek.
ί ὑμεῖς θέλετε.	Follows the Greek.
xvii.	
εἰς τὸν ἁγιασμόν.	Follows the Greek—*v' korbanu.*
λην τὴν σπεῖραν, is rendered s σπορὰς, the whole races, *i. e.*, tribes," *nathesavebi qoveli.*	*vse mnojestvo voin'*, "the whole multitude of soldiers."
κ τῶν μνημείων αὐτῶν.	Follows the Greek.
xviii.	
προσέπεσον πρὸς τοὺς ποδὰς αὐτοῦ.	Follows the Greek.

ese few remarks shew evidently that the Georgian version New Testament has a character of its own, and that it ıt moulded on the Slavonic, which, in many instances, closer the Greek; so that no critical edition of the Greek n be thought complete without the various readings of this ı. I offered a well-known firm to collate the whole New ıent for their next edition of the Greek Testament; but eclined it, saying "it would not be profitable in a comıl point of view." Such are the prospects of scholarship in ıd in this boasted nineteenth century!

METAPHYSICAL SCHOOLS AMONGST THE JEWS, SINCE THE TIMES OF MOSES MAIMONIDES.

THE Kabbala, as a speculative work, had since the thirteenth century obtained the greatest popularity. What was its origin? How can it be accounted for? Its enthusiastic admirers tell us that the doctrines with which it is identified were brought down from heaven by angels, for the purpose of teaching to fallen man the way of recovering his original dignity and happiness;[a] others have imagined that Moses received it from God himself during the forty days which he spent on Mount Sinai. He then communicated it to the seventy elders, who in their turn transmitted to others, and thus the Kabbalistic tradition was handed down, until Esdras received the order of committing it to writing at the same time as the law.[b] But, as M. Franck remarks: "Let us examine with the most scrupulous attention the books of the Old Testament; we shall not find there a single word suggesting aught about a secret teaching, a profounder and purer doctrine reserved exclusively for a small number of initiated."[c] It is towards the third century before the Christian era that we perceive the earliest manifestation of certain ideas which afterwards were fully developed in the Kabbala; but if we wish to study Kabbalistic literature, properly so called, we must come to the two books *Yecîrâ* and *Zohar*, which represent it in its most complete shape. Respecting the former we may say briefly, that its author is unknown, but that it was composed at the time when the first doctors of the Mischna flourished. It contains a system, not of natural philosophy, but of cosmology, such as might be expected in an age and locality where physical phenomena were explained by an immediate reference to the primary Cause of all things. As a necessary result, the spirit of observation would be destroyed, and certain general and superficial relations perceived in the exterior world would be deemed to constitute the science of nature. The *Yecîrâ* is marked throughout with this stamp, and we shall presently endeavour to shew, by a brief review of its contents, how mys-

[a] Cf. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalist.*

[b] Pic. Mirandul, *Apolog.*, p. 116, seq., vol. i.

[c] *La Kabbale*, p. 52. I would take this opportunity o recommending to the reader a book with which I unfortunately became acquainted only after the present article was well nigh finished. I mean Dr. Etheridge's *Jerusalem and Tiberias*. It is an admirable guide to the history of Jewish literature, and the portion devoted to the Kabbala deserves special attention. The complete title is as follows: *Jerusalem and Tiberias, Sora and Cordova: a survey of the religious and scholastic learning of the Jews, designed as an introduction to the study of Hebrew literature.* London: 1856. 8vo.

ticism is blended in it with ideas and teachings derived from the Old Testament Scriptures.

The question of the authorship of the book *Zohar* is beset with great difficulties; various opinions have been proposed as to the date which can be ascribed to it, and the persons who have had any share in compiling it. The problem cannot yet be considered as solved, and we shall here quote M. Munk's remarks on the subject:—

"Whatever may be the antiquity of certain doctrines developed in the *Zohar*, it appears to us beyond a doubt that the *ensemble* of the work, such as we possess it now, is a compilation not anterior to the thirteenth century, and the authors of which lived in Spain. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century the authenticity of this work was seriously compromised by the critical observations of Jean Morin; and in our own days the opinion of the celebrated Oratorian has been strengthened by a number of remarks, bearing upon points of detail which had escaped his erudition and his sagacity. On the other hand, it is impossible for us to admit that the *Zohar* was only a trick and a work of fancy. It seems indeed evident to us that the compiler made use of ancient documents, and particularly of certain *Midraschîm*, or collections of traditions and Biblical expositions which are no longer extant. We believe also, and we shall shew presently, that striking analogies can be noticed between the *Sephiróth* and the doctrines of some of the Gnostic philosophers, especially Basilides and Valentinian. But several hundreds of passages protest against the opinion, by virtue of which it is supposed that the traditions collected in the book *Zohar* are spread over a period beginning with the first and ending about the seventh century of the Christian era. We must confess that the arguments alleged against the antiquity of the *Zohar* in its *ensemble*, are at least as strong as those which have been brought forward in support of that antiquity; hence it naturally follows that we have to deal with a compilation of relatively modern date, in the preparation of which use has been made of documents belonging to several periods. This question is too complicated for us to discuss it here."

If we now attempt to give an idea of the principal contents both of the *Yecîrâ* and of the *Zohar*, we may observe, in the first place, that the standpoint at which the authors of these works have placed themselves, is a system of allegory or of mystical interpretation most arbitrary in its character, and which allows the commentator to discover under the text of Scriptures anything that suits his fancy.

"Thus it is," says M. Franck, "that by the supposition, sincere or not, of a mysterious sense hidden from the profane, the Kabbalists have at once placed themselves above the historical facts and the positive precepts which constitute the Scriptures. It was the only manner by which they could secure the utmost liberty, and yet abstain from breaking

openly with religious authority; perhaps also did they need thus to quiet their own conscience. In the following passage we find this view expressed with remarkable clearness. 'If the law was composed merely of ordinary words and narratives, such as the discourses of Esau, Agar, and Laban, such as those which were pronounced by Balaam's ass, and by Balaam himself, why should it be called the law of truth, the perfect law, the faithful witness of God? Why should the wise man deem it more precious than gold and pearls? But it is not so; under each word lies a higher meaning: each narrative teaches us more than the events which it seems to contain. And this superior and holier law is the true one.'"[d]

M. Franck then goes on to shew that this system of interpretation was not confined to the Kabbalists. Origen, for instance, says clearly: "Si adsideamus litteræ et secundum hoc vel quod Judæis, vel quod vulgo videtur, accipiamus quæ in lege scripta sunt, erubesco dicere et confiteri quia tales leges dederit Deus: videbuntur enim magis elegantes et rationabiles hominum leges, verbi gratiâ, vel Romanorum, vel Atheniensium, vel Lacedæmoniorum."[e] And in another place: "Cuinam, quæso, sensum habenti convenienter videbitur dictum quod dies prima, et secunda et tertia, in quibus et vespera nominatur et mane, fuerint sine sole, et sine lunâ, et sine stellis; prima autem dies sine cœlo? Quis vero ità idiotes invenitur ut putet, velut hominem quemdam agricolam, Deum plantasse arbores in Paradiso, in Eden, contra Orientem, et arborem vitæ plantasse in eo, ita ut manducans quis ex eâ arbore vitam percipiat? et rursus ex aliâ manducans arbore boni, et mali scientiam capiat?" etc.[f]

Returning now to the *Yecîrâ*, we find in it the numbers (*Sephirôth*), and the letters of the alphabet, as elements of the divine Word, represented as the principles of all things, and considered as the general forms of *being;* they compose together the thirty-two *marvellous paths of wisdom*, at the origin of which is the unity, or God, the *principium et fons*, the common source of all creatures. "The *Sepher Yecîrâ*," observes M. Franck, "that is to say, the *Book of Creation*, is a kind of soliloquy placed in the mouth of Abraham, and where we learn how the father of the Jews had to understand nature before he could be converted to faith in the true God." This singular composition consists only of a few pages written in a style enigmatical and sententious like that of oracles; but through its studied obscurity and the veil of allegory it allows us to perceive the fundamental idea of the Kabbala. It shews us all

[d] *Zohar*, part iii., fol. 152, verso.
[e] Homil. vii. in Levitic.
[f] Περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. iv., cap. 2. Kust, *Origeniana*, p. 167.

created beings both spiritual and corporeal, the angels as well as the brute elements of nature, emerging gradually from the incomprehensible unity, which is the beginning and the end of existence. To these degrees, which are ever the same, despite the infinite variety of creatures, to these immutable forms of being, the *Sepher Yecîrâ* gives the name of *Sephirôth*. They are ten in number. The first is the spirit of the living God, or eternal wisdom, identical with the Word. The second is the *afflatus* which proceeds from the Spirit, or the material sign of the thought and the word; to speak more clearly, it is the air, in which, according to the figurative expression of the text, have been engraved and carved the letters of the alphabet. The third is water produced by air, just as air is produced by the voice or the word; water, thickened and condensed, produces the earth, clay, darkness, and the grossest elements of this world. The fourth *Sephira* is fire,—the subtle and transparent part of water, as earth is its coarse and opaque part. With fire God has created the throne of his glory, the heavenly wheels, that is to say, the globes scattered throughout space, the seraphim and the angels. With all these elements combined He has built His palace and His temple, which is nothing else than the universe. Finally, the four cardinal points and the two poles represent the six last *Sephirôth*. The world, according to the *Sepher Yecîrâ*, is not separated from its principle, and the last degrees of creation constitute one whole with the first. "The end of the *Sephirôth*," says the work, "is connected with their beginning like the flame with the burning wood; for the Lord is One, and there is none other besides Him. Now, in the presence of the *One*, what is the use of numbers and of words?"[g]

The doctrine of emanation, which is the fundamental principle of the *Sepher Yecîrâ*, presents itself under a new form in the *Zohar*, where, as we shall see, the *Sephirôth* have been symbolized in a different manner. Leaving altogether unnoticed the positive or dogmatic part of the Kabbala, which belongs rather to the domains of faith than to those of speculation, we shall limit ourselves here to a consideration of its metaphysical teaching, such as it was gradually developed since the apparition of the book *Zohar*. Now the object of the teaching is to reconcile monotheism and the dogma of creation with the great axiom or ancient philosophy: *ex nihilo nihil fit.*

The non-materialist philosophers admitted two fundamental principles—mind and matter; but in this dualism the two prin-

[g] *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philos.*, s. v. Kabbale.

ciples are limited, the one by the other; the Spirit or the Deity is not free to act, and cannot manifest itself according to its will. On the other hand, this system had the advantage of explaining the existence of evil both moral and physical, which was ascribed to the intervention of matter; whereas by admitting only one principle endowed with absolute perfection, the presence of evil could not be accounted for. In the doctrine of Zoroaster the problem is not solved, but merely shifted; for although if we admit that scheme, the principle of evil (Ahriman) is *subordinate* to that of good (Ormuzd); still we ask, how evil originated in the world presided over by Ormuzd? In order to clear away the difficulty, the doctrine of *emanation* was suggested. The whole of creation, it was said, has gradually *emanated* from the divine light; in proportion as it is removed from its origin it approaches darkness, and that portion of matter which is at the farthest extremity is the seat of evil. This doctrine, which introduces us into a fresh puzzle, was popular amongst the philosophers of the Alexandrine school; and of that school the speculative Kabbala formed one of the ramifications. We shall give now a *résumé* of the system taught by the Kabbalists.

No substance has sprung from absolute nothingness; everything that is, has derived its origin from the source of eternal light, which is God. God is comprehensible to us only through his manifestations; a God non-manifested would be for us a mere abstraction. "Before God was manifested," says the book *Zohar*, "when all things were still concealed in Him, He was the least known amongst all the unknown. Viewed in this state, He has no other name except that which expresses interrogation. He began by forming an impereeptible point; this was His own thought: then with His thought he constructed a mysterious and holy form; this form He finally clothed with a rich and shining vestment,—we mean the universe, the name of which enters necessarily in the name of God."[A] Another quotation will further illustrate this view of God's manifestation. "The Ancient of Ancients is at the same time the Unknown of Unknown; He separates Himself from all without being really separated; for everything unites itself to Him, as He likewise unites Himself to everything; there is nothing which does not exist in Him. He has a form, and yet we can say that He has none. By assuming a form he has given birth to everything that is; in the first place he has produced ten lights which shine in consequence of the form they have received from him, and which diffuse on all sides a dazzling splendour: thus a lighthouse sends

[A] *Zohar*, fol. i. and ii., part i.; fol. 105 *recto*, part ii.

forth on all sides its luminous rays. The Ancient of Ancients, the Unknown of Unknown, is an elevated lighthouse which we know merely by the lights which shine forth before our eyes with so much lustre and abundance. What we call his holy name is nothing else than these lights."[i]

God exists from all eternity, and as such He is also called nothingness *(Ayin)*; thus it is that the world created by him is also said to have sprung from nothingness. This nothingness is unique; it is the indivisible and infinite unity; hence its other name, *En-Sóph* (without end). The *En-Sóph* is limited and determined by nothing, for it is all, and nothing exists out of it; it manifests itself freely, and by its wisdom thus becomes the primary cause, the cause of causes. The primitive light of the God-nothingness filled the whole of space; it is space itself. Everything was virtually in it; but in order to manifest itself it must create, that is to say, be developed by emanation. Through a kind of contraction it produced a void which it afterwards filled gradually by a temperate light ever more and more imperfect. This concentration or contraction of the light of the *En-Sóph*, is called in Kabbalistic language *çimçoum*. By means of such a theory grounded upon purely material phenomena—the way, that is, of considering the physical effects of the rays of light, the Kabbalists fancied they saved the infinite character of divine light; for in the other systems identified with emanation, the light appeared limited from the fact of being ultimately lost in darkness. After this concentration the *En-Sóph* manifested itself first in an original principle, the prototype of creation, or *macrocosm*, which is called the Son of God, or the primitive man *(Adam Kadmón)*. It is the human figure which hovers above the symbolic creatures in the prophecy of Ezekiel. From the *Adam Kadmón* creation emanated in four degrees forming four worlds, which the Kabbalists call *Aciłâ, Beriâ, Yecîra, 'Asiyyâ*. The world *Aciłâ* represents the operating qualities of the *Adam Kadmón;* they are powers or intelligences emanating from him, and forming at the same time his essential qualities, and the powers by which he operates. These qualities are reduced to ten, and constitute the holy decad of the *Sephirôth*, which is composed of the two sacred numbers *three* and *seven;* the three first *Sephirôth* are essentially intelligences, whilst the seven others are mere attributes. They emanate from each other in the following order: 1. *Kether* (crown); 2. *'Hokhmâ* (wisdom); 3. *Binâ* (intelligence); 4. *'Hesed* (grace), or *Guedulłâ* (greatness); 5. *Gueboorâ* (force); 6. *Tiphereth* (beauty); 7.

[i] *Idra Suta*, part iii.; fol. 288 *recto*.

Neça'h (triumph); 8. *Hód* (glory or majesty); 9. *Yesód* (foundation); 10. *Malkouth* (reign).

From this first world of emanation proceeded successively in the same manner the three other worlds, the last of which, *'Asiyyá*, is in some sort the refuse of creation and the seat of evil.

Man, by his nature, participates in the three created worlds, and for this reason he is called the *microcosm ('olam katán)*; for man contains in reality whatever the *Adam Kadmón* or the *macrocosm* contains virtually. By his soul, which is the vital principle, he belongs to the world *'Asiyyá;* by his spirit (rational soul) he forms part of the *Yecírá;* and by his intellect he belongs to the world *Beriá;* this last element in man is part of the Deity, and has the gift of pre-existence. With a view to express this triplicity the Hebrew language has three words which signify *soul*, viz., *nephesh* (breath), *rua'h* (spirit), *neshamá* (soul). Isaiah alludes to this division when he says (chap. xliii., ver. 7): "I have created him *(berâthîw)* for my glory; I have formed him *(yeçarthîw);* yea, I have made him *(af asîthîw).*" Man, then, is composed of two principles, the one good, and the other bad; it depends upon him to make the one prevail over the other; and after his death he is rewarded according to his works, for the *neshamá* is immortal.

Such in substance is the system of the Kabbala. Difficulties, far from being solved by it, are only eluded; the transition from spirit to matter, from absolute good to evil, remains clothed in an impenetrable veil. Through its results Kabbalism completely wanders away from the Mosaic doctrine, and ends in Pantheism; instead of a free God, creating by the action of his will, we find nothing in this system of emanation but deified nature carrying out fatally its plans of organization.

It was not in accordance with M. Munk's views to institute in his learned work a parallel between the doctrines of the Kabbala and those of the other metaphysical schools of antiquity; we cannot, however, allow this subject to pass entirely unnoticed, and we shall as briefly as we can touch upon the principal points of resemblance. If we examine the readings of the Neo-Platonists, we find in the first place the following ideas prominently brought forward. 1. God is essentially the immanent cause and the substantial origin of all things. Everything emanates from him, and into him everything returns.[j] He is everywhere and nowhere; everywhere, for all beings are in him and by him; nowhere, for he is contained neither in any particular being,

[j] *Procl. in Theolog. Platon.*, i. 3; ii. 4; *Element. Theolog.*, xxvii.—xxxiv.; and in the *Comment. on Plato.*

nor in the sum of all beings.[k] 2. God can be conceived only under the form of a trinity. We have at first a general trinity consisting of the three following terms borrowed from Plato:—The unity or the good (*τὸ ἕν, τὸ ἀγαθὸν*), the intellect (*νοῦς*), and the soul of the world (*ψυχὴ τοῦ παντός, τῶν ὅλων*), or the Demiourgos. Each of these three terms produces in its turn an inferior trinity.[l] 3. The intellect is the essence itself of being, existence and intellect are absolutely identical in the bosom of unity; hence it follows that all the existences of which the universe is composed, and all the aspects under which these existences can be considered, are nothing but the development of the absolute thought; they are a kind of creative system of dialectics which, in the infinite sphere of its action, produces at the same time light, reality, and life.[m] These three propositions, for the full illustration of which we must refer the reader to M. Franck's volume, are sufficient to shew that between the system of the Kabbala and that of Neo-Platonism there is a similarity which cannot be accounted for on the ground, as our author aptly remarks, of "the identity of the human faculties, or of the general laws of thought."[n]

Passing over the works of Philo, where the Kabbalistic views have left deep traces, we come to the founders of the various Gnostic schools. Here points of resemblance are both numerous and extremely striking. To mention only the *Codex Nazareus*,[o] which M. Franck calls the Bible of Gnosticism, when we read it we can fancy we are studying some fragments of the book *Zohar*. Thus God is always called the king and the master of light. He is himself the purest splendour, the eternal and infinite light. He is also beauty, life, justice and mercy. From Him emanate all the forms which we perceive in this world; he is their Creator and their Maker; but as for his own wisdom and his own essence, no one knows them. All creatures ask one another what His name is, and they are obliged to answer that He has none. The King of light, the infinite light, having no name that can be invoked, no nature that one can know, the only way to arrive at Him is by a pure heart, an upright soul, and a faith full of love. The gradation by which the doctrine contained in the *Codex Nazareus* descends from the Sovereign Being to the last limits of creation, is exactly the same as the one given by the book *Zohar*. Witness the following passage quoted from Norberg's

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[k] Porphyr., *Sent. ad intelligib.* Cap. xxxii.

[l] *Plot. Ennead.*, ii., lib. ix., cap. i.—iii.; lib. v., cap. iii., etc.; Proclus, *Theolog. Plat.*, i. 23.

[m] *Proclus*, l. c. lib. iii., cap. i.; v., cap. 30. [n] *La Kabbale*, p. 292.

[o] Published with a translation by Mathieu Norberg. Three vols. 4to. 1815.

translation: "Omnes genii, reges et creaturæ, precationi et hymno insistentes, celebrant regem summum lucis, a quo exeunt quinque radii magnifici et insignes; primus, lux quæ illis orta; secundus, flatus suavis qui eis adspirat; tertius, dulcedo vocis quâ excellunt; quartus, verbum oris quod nos erigit et ad confessionem pietatis instituit; quintus, species formæ cujusque, quâ adolescunt, sicut sole fructus."[p] M. Franck carries out his parallel study into details, for which we can afford no room here; but we may add that an attentive enquiry into the theories of Marcion, Valentinian, Bardesanes, and the other Gnostic leaders, would produce the same results.

Beyond the civilization of Syria and of Palestine, we find that of Persia. Now when we think of the captivity of Babylon, and of the long stay of the Jews in the land of exile, we shall not be much astonished at seeing them almost unconsciously adopting some of the metaphysical ideas supposed to have been taught by Zoroaster. M. Franck goes so far as to say that "the materials of the Kabbala were derived from the theology of the ancient Persians."[q] Without adopting so absolute a view, we are inclined to admit that Parsism contributed a large proportion of ideas to the speculations of the Kabbalists. Our author quotes from the *Zend-Avesta*, the *Bun-Dehesh*, M. Burnouf's commentary on the *Yaçna*, and other works of the same kind; extracts which shew a number of points of resemblance, especially in questions of psychology, angelology, and with reference to the origin of our ideas.

It is curious to see what influence the Kabbala has had upon Christianity itself. A great number of Kabbalists became converts to the true faith; we may name, amongst others, Paul Ricci, Conrad Otto, Rittangel, and the son of the celebrated Abrabanel, Leo Hebræus, author of the *Dialogues of Love*. At a more recent period, towards the end of the last century, another Kabbalist, the Pole Jacob Frank, after having founded the sect of the *Zoharites*, embraced Roman Catholicism with several thousands of his disciples. The Jewish Rabbis discovered long ago the danger which arose from the indiscriminate study of the Kabbala. Some denounced it altogether, whilst others endeavoured to keep away the profane from it, as from the entrance to the holiest of holies. Leo of Modena, who wrote against the authenticity of the book *Zohar*, a work recently discovered and published in Germany,[r] does not entertain much hope of the salvation of those who publish the principal Kabbalistic treatises. On the contrary, the Christians who have been busy on the same

[p] Franck, *La Kabbale*, p. 347. [q] *Idem*, p. 389.
[r] *Ari Nohem* (the roaring lion). Leipzig. 1840.

subject, for instance Knorr von Rosenroth, Reuchlin and Rittangel, after his conversion, have seen in the Kabbala the most efficacious means of throwing down the barrier which separates the synagogue from the church.[s]

We have now endeavoured to give, from the learned writings of Messrs. Munk and Franck, a sufficient account of one of the most extraordinary systems of philosophy which have prevailed in the history of the world. When we consider that the tradition of Kabbalism has been perpetuated from the time of Reuchlin by men such as Van Helmont, Paracelsus, Cornelius Agrippa, Henry More, down to Jacob Behmen and Saint-Martin, we are justified in affirming that it well deserves attentive study. But, leaving others to discuss it in detail, we must hurry on to the end of our task.

The most profound and learned Jewish philosopher of the thirteenth century is unquestionably Shem-Tob, son of Joseph ibn-Falaquera,[t] whom we have already mentioned as translator of the *Fons Vitæ*, and who composed several very remarkable works. Let us also name Jedaïa Penini, surnamed *Bedersi*, because he was a native of Béziers. He lived about the close of that century, and took a conspicuous part as a promoter of metaphysical studies. His *Be'hînath 'ólam* (survey of the world), is an ethical book on sublunary vanities; the elegant style in which it is written procured to the author the qualification of *eloquent*. Several Christian *savants* have noticed, and Philip d'Aquin published, the text together with a French translation (8vo, Paris, 1629). Jedaïa proves that man's happiness consists in the practice of religion and of science, and he ends by advising the reader to take for his guide the works of Moses ben-Maïmon, the greatest doctor belonging to the synagogue. In an apologetic letter addressed to Solomon ben-Adrath, Jedaïa defends warmly metaphysical studies against the anathemas hurled by the Rabbis of Barcelona. We have also from the pen of Jedaïa a paraphrase of Al-Farâbi's treatise, *De Intellectu et Intellecto*, and several other writings of the same kind.[u]

Joseph ibn-Caspi may likewise be named amongst the philosophers who flourished during that epoch. Born at l'Argentière in Languedoc, he composed numerous works, such as two com-

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[s] For the literature of the *Kabbala* see the excellent articles in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*.

[t] Shem-Tob ben-Joseph ibn-Falaquera, a Spaniard by origin, was born between 1224 and 1228. For a list of his works, with critical appreciations, cf. M. Munk's *Mélanges*, pp. 494—6.

[u] For a notice of several unpublished treatises of Jedaïa Penini, cf. the *Archives Israelites* for 1847, pp. 67—72. The notice is by M. Munk.

mentaries on the *Ductor Perplexorum*,* and an analysis of Aristotle's *Organon*. Isaac Albalag, celebrated for his bold opinions and for his version of Al-Gazâli's *Makacid*, deserves not to be forgotten. But the man who, as a metaphysician and a critic surpassed all his contemporaries, was Levi ben-Gerson of Bagnols, better known by the name of *Master Leon*, who was undoubtedly one of the most eminent Peripatetics of the fourteenth century, and the boldest of all the Jewish philosophers. His works have had immense success amongst his fellow-religionists, almost all of them are in print, and several have even gone through many editions. This amount of popularity is the more surprising, because the author acknowledges Aristotle's teaching as being absolute truth; and without adopting the precautionary qualifications which Maimonides had deemed necessary, he wrests both the Old Testament and the articles of the Jewish faith in order to make them fit his peripatetic notions. It would seem that his merits as an exegetical writer made people overlook his errors in the paths of theology and of philosophy: or, perhaps, it was that, at an epoch when metaphysical studies had fallen into decay, and when disputes had ceased, the numerous works of Levi, so attractive by the beauty of the style and the variety of the questions discussed, were read by persons who scarcely understood their complete bearing. Ben-Gerson composed extensive Biblical Commentaries, in which he allowed the lion's share to metaphysical interpretation. His philosophical works, properly so called, are: 1. Commentaries—not on Aristotle, as it is erroneously stated in most manuals of rabbinical lexicography, but on some of the paraphrases or explanations of Ibn-Roshd. Many of these are to be found amongst the MSS. of the Paris Imperial Library. Those referring to Porphyry's *Isagoge*, to the *Categories*, and to the treatise *De Interpretatione*, have been translated into Latin by Jacob Mantino, and printed in the first volume of the two later editions of Aristotle's works containing the commentaries of Averroes. 2. *Milhamôth Adonaï* (the wars of the Lord), a treatise of philosophy and of theology. Here the author develops his metaphysical system, which is in general pure peripatetism, such as we find it in the Arab doctors. He endeavours to shew that with this scheme the teachings of Judaism are in exact agreement. The *Milhamôth*, finished on the eighth of January, 1329, is divided into six books, which treat of

* These commentaries have been published by M. Solomon Werbluner, under the following title: *Josephi Kaspi commentaria Hebraica in B. Mosis Maimonidis tractatum* Dalalat Al-Haiirin, *sive ductor perplexorum* (Francf.-s.-M., 1848. 8vo). To this edition M. Kircheim has prefixed a notice (written in German) on the life and works of Ibn-Kaspi.

the nature and the immortality of the soul, the knowledge of futurity and the prophetic spirit, the knowledge which God has of particular or accidental things, of divine providence, of the heavenly bodies, and of creation. In the edition published at Riva di Trento in 1560, the first part of the fifth book has been suppressed; it forms a very extensive treatise of astronomy, and contains calculations peculiar to the author. Amongst the Jewish philosophers of the middle ages whose works have been handed down to us, Levi ben-Gerson is the first who ventures openly to combat the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*. After having proved at some length that the world can have been produced neither from absolute nothingness, nor from determined matter, he concludes (lib. vi., part i., cap. 17) that it has originated at the same time from nothing and from something. That *something* is original matter which, being destitute of form, is at the same time nothing. By analogous reasonings, Levi on many other questions seeks to harmonize philosophy with received dogmas. Such bold opinions, although, as we have said, they did not excite universal distrust, were criticized very severely by the orthodox rabbis. Isaac Abrabanel, in several of his writings, especially in his commentary on Joshua (cap. x.), mourns over the errors of the Jewish philosophers who, admitting primary matter, deny the action of divine Providence with respect to individuals, and see in the immortality of the soul nothing but its union with the active intellect, which they substitute in the place of God. He blames particularly Levi ben-Gerson, who, says he, has not even thought it necessary to disguise his theories, but on the contrary explains them with the greatest clearness, broaching on primary matter, the soul, prophecy, and miracles, discourses such that it is a sin to listen to them, much more to believe them. Before Abrabanel, Isaac ben-Shesheth had expressed himself in like manner, but more respectfully, towards Levi ben-Gerson, whom he calls a distinguished Talmudist, although, he adds, philosophy has turned him aside from the paths of truth, and he has given utterance to doctrines of which it is not allowable to take cognizance.[w] Moses of Narbonne did not leave so many works as Ben-Gerson, but he equalled him in depth of thought, and his compositions are more interesting for the student of the history of metaphysics than those of the rabbi whom we have just considered. Moses ben-Joshua, or *Maitre Vidal* as he was often called, belonged to a family originally settled at Narbonne, but which had afterwards taken up its residence at Perpignan. It was in this last-named place

[w] On Ben-Gerson, cf. M. Munk's note, p. 199.

that he pursued his studies under his father's direction. We do not know the date of his birth, but it may be assigned with something like probability either to the last years of the thirteenth century, or to the beginning of the fourteenth. As for his death, it must have taken place very shortly after the year 1362.[x] His commentaries on the principal Arab philosophers contain a number of useful particulars, and are extremely instructive. He has elucidated or explained Al-Gazâli's *Makâcid*, the treatise of Ibn-Roshd on the *Hylic Intellect and the possibility of Conjunction* (1344), the physical disquisitions of the same author, and especially his treatise *De Substantia Orbis* (1349), the *'Hayy ibn-Yakdhân* of Ibn-Tofail (1349), the *Ductor Perplexorum* of Maimonides (1355—1362). All these commentaries exist in several MSS. at the Imperial Library, as well as a treatise by our author on the soul and its faculties.[y] He quotes, besides, an exposition which he had written of the *Physics* (probably on Ibn-Roshd's intermediate commentary). The style of Moses of Narbonne is concise, and often obscure; his opinions are not less bold than those of Levi ben-Gerson, but he does not state them with the same clearness and the same frankness.

At the epoch we are now alluding to, our attention is again drawn towards the East by a member of the sect of the Karaïtes, which we had lost sight of since the tenth century. Ahron ben-Elias of Nicomedia, probably settled at Cairo, finished in 1346, under the title of the *Tree of Life*, a work of religious philosophy which can be placed side by side with the *More Nevochim*. Ben-Elias had evidently taken Maimonides as his model, and he has borrowed largely from him. The *Tree of Life* has been published by Messrs. Delitzsch and Steinschneider, who have added to their version learned prolegomena, and fragments from Arab authors, very important for the history of metaphysics.[z]

If the fifteenth century can boast of some remarkable scholastic doctors belonging to the Jewish persuasion, we must at the same time note the gradual decay of Peripatetism, and a return to teaching more in harmony with the tenets of Judaïsm. In 1425, Joseph Albo, of Soria in Castille, rendered himself celebrated by his *Sepher 'Ikkarîm* (book on the fundamental principles of the Jewish faith); he there reduces the thirteen articles of faith which Maimonides had enumerated, to three cardinal principles: the existence of God, revelation, the immortality of the soul.[a] This work marks an epoch in the history

[x] Cf. M. Munk's note, p. 502. [y] Idem, p. 504.
[z] Cf. a notice by M. Franck in the *Archives Israelites* for 1842, p. 173.
[a] Cf. the works enumerated by Dr. Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias*, p. 264.

of Hebrew theology, but as a contribution to that of metaphysical philosophy it is of little value. Abraham Bibago composed in 1446, at Huesca in Aragon, a commentary on the latter Analytics;[b] some time after, about the year 1470, he was established at Saragossa, where he acquired much reputation as a theologian by a work entitled the *Road to Faith*. Joseph ben Shem-Tob, whose father had written against philosophers and even against Maimonides, obtained the greatest popularity through several theological and metaphysical works, amongst which we notice a very detailed commentary on the Nicomachean ethics (written in 1455 at Segovia), and another one on Ibn-Roshd's treatise on the hylic intellect.[c] His son, Shem-Tob, is the author of several philosophical treatises on primary matter, on final causes, etc., as well as of commentaries on the *Ductor Perplexorum*, and the Physics of Aristotle (1480). At the same epoch Italy could boast of a celebrated Hebrew philosopher in the person of Elias del Medigo, who taught metaphysics at Padua, and had for his pupil the well-known Picus Mirandulensis, on whose behalf he composed several erudite treatises, and amongst others a work *On the Intellect and on Prophecy* (1482), and a commentary on the disquisition *De Substantia Orbis*, by Ibn-Roshd (1485). His questions on various metaphysical subjects have been published in Latin. In a small Hebrew work entitled *Enquiry into Religion*, composed in 1491, he endeavoured to shew that the study of philosophy cannot have the effect of destroying religious principles, provided one knows thoroughly to distinguish the questions which belong to the sphere of reason from those which are accessible only to faith.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century (in 1492), the expulsion of the Jews from the whole of the Spanish empire destroyed the focus of Hebrew civilization. Then, the downfall of scholasticism contributed to strike a blow at metaphysical studies amongst the persecuted children of Israel, who crushed down everywhere under a terrible system of oppression, were prevented from taking a part in the revival of intellectual life now dawning throughout Europe. Judæo-Spanish civilization disappeared, and for a long time nothing took its place. Isaac Abrabanel and his illustrious son were the two solitary exceptions to the general decay; they may be termed the last torches of Jewish philosophy during the middle ages, and as such they deserve here a somewhat detailed notice. Respecting the former, we cannot do better than quote Dr. Etheridge's remarks:—

[b] Cf. M. Munk's note, p. 507.

[c] Cf. a detailed catalogue of Joseph Shem-Tob's works in M. Munk's volume, p. 508.

that he pursued his studies under his fat[illegible]ugal (1436), was denot know the date of his birth, but [illegible]he Abrabanels of Seville, something like probability either to [illegible]yal house of David. Distecenth century, or to the beginnin[illegible]ddress, Isaac received many his death, it must have taken [illegible], who appointed him a privy-1362.* His commentaries o[illegible]his patron his prosperity at the contain a number of usefu[illegible]ge. Under the succeeding reign of structive. He has elucid[illegible]nself in some political movements which the treatise of Ibn-Ro[illegible]ting, and obliged him to retire with his *bility of Conjunction*[illegible] was occupied solely with learned pursuits, same author, and [illegible]ntary on the prophets. He acquired, not only (1349), the *'Hay*[illegible] his own people, but enjoyed the favour of *Perplexorum* of[illegible]. But it was now that a dismal revolution was taries exist in[illegible]nances of the Jews in Spain. A popular feeling had treatise by[illegible] the country, that the privileges granted to the Jews besides, [illegible] the other portions of the community. They had been bably o[illegible] equality with the nobles, and by the tenure which Mose[illegible] to obtain of the financial offices, as stewards to landed are [illegible] farmers of the revenue, and even ministers of finance, they sta[illegible] proprietors, and nearly all the money of the kingdom under their control, and the jealousy and suspicion thus excited were aggravated by the rigorous and exorbitant usury demanded by them in their monetary transactions. But [illegible] in addition to these causes of popular odium, there was now brought into a fatally opportune activity that theological hatred which had so long smouldered in the breasts of the Roman Catholic priesthood against them. At length the storm which had been so long brewing began to break upon their heads. The power of the Inquisition proved itself stronger than the wavering will of the king and queen, and their expulsion from the country was decreed on the eve of this disastrous blow. Abrabanel sought an audience of the royal pair. He threw himself at their feet, and poured forth in agonizing prayers his intercession for his people. Ferdinand and Isabella were moved to relenting, when at this critical moment the chief inquisitor, Turre Cremata, who had been the soul and spirit of this act of persecution, entered the royal presence with the outstretched crucifix, and warned them against the guilt of being untrue to the Catholic Church in shewing mercy to his adversaries. The result is matter of history. A hundred and sixty thousand families were made desolate by a stroke of the pen (March, 1492), and this sweeping expatriation was carried into effect under circumstances of robbery, oppression, and heartless or rather devilish cruelty, which, vivid as are some of the statements which have come down to us, have never been adequately described.

"Abrabanel and his family first took refuge at Carthagena, from whence he found his way to Naples. There he met with kind treatment from the old King Ferdinand. This support, however, failed on the death of the king. Naples was taken and sacked by the French, and Don Isaac found a new asylum in Corfu, when, amongst other works, he published his commentary on Deuteronomy, which had been written in Portugal. From Corfu he removed again to Naples and Monopoli, and

thence to Venice, and spent nearly all the remainder of his life in the service of the state, and the composition of his commentaries on the first four Books of Moses, and some of the prophets. He died in his seventy-first year, and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery at Pavia."[d]

The eldest son of Isaac Abrabanel, by name Leo or Judah, and more usually known under the designation of *Leo Hebræus*, has left a reputation even greater than that of his father. He was born at Lisbon, probably between the years 1460 and 1470; after following the vicissitudes of his family, he settled as a physician, first at Naples, and then at Genoa. In 1502 he finished the work which has immortalized his name, and which he composed in Italian under the title *Dialoghi di Amore*. The other details of his life, as well as the date of his death, are unknown.

Some authors have maintained that Leo Hebræus embraced Christianity, but this fact has not the slightest foundation. It is true that in a passage of the first dialogue, Saint John the Evangelist is introduced with Enoch and with the prophet Elijah, who are represented as immortal in body and in soul; and it is precisely from this passage that persons imperfectly acquainted with the *Dialoghi* have assumed the hypothesis of our author's Christianity. But we must necessarily admit, together with Wolf,[e] that the words *et ancora san Giovanni Evangelista* have been interpolated by the Roman censors; for it is certain that Leo was a Jew when he wrote his *Dialoghi*. Not to insist upon the improbable character of the philosopher's conversion whilst his father was living (Isaac Abrabanel died in 1509), we may notice the number of passages contained in the *Dialoghi*, which prove that the author professed Judaism; several times, speaking of Maimonides, he calls him "*il nostro* rabbi Moïse;" in the same way, alluding to Avicebron, he says, "*Il nostro* Albenzubron nel suo libro *de Fonte vitæ*." When he fixes the epoch of the creation, he makes use of the Hebrew computation, which he calls "*the Hebrew truth*;"[f] finally, in another passage, the author states as plainly as possible what his religion is: "Noi tutti che chrediamo la sacra legge Mosaica,"[g] etc. Nothing more is wanted to shew that the author of the *Dialoghi* had remained faithful to the Jewish religion. We cannot, on the other hand, admit his having afterwards changed, for he is most honourably mentioned by the Rabbis Guedalia Yâhya (in the *Shalsheleth ha-Kabbala)*, and Azaria de 'Rossi (in the *Meôr' enaïm)*, both belonging to the sixteenth century;

[d] Dr. Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias*, pp. 290-2.
[e] *Biblioth. Hebræa*, vol. iii., p. 318.
[f] Edit. of Venice, fol. 151, *a*. [g] *Ibid.*, fol. 147, *a*.

and Immanuel Aboab, in his *Nomologia* (beginning of the seventeenth century), passes upon him a magnificent eulogy.

Leo Hebræus is the sole representative amongst the Jews of that Neo-Platonism which, introduced into Italy by the Byzantine Gemistus Pletho and by his disciple Cardinal Bessarion, was propagated with enthusiasm under the auspices of Marcilius Ficinus, and combined by Picus Mirandulensis with the mysticism of the Jewish Kabbala. The *Dialoghi* have for their subject love in the widest and highest acceptation of the term, love considered under its different aspects, in God and in the universe, in mankind and in the vilest creatures, in the intellect and in the senses; around this centre are grouped the most varied considerations and doctrines, interpretations of the Biblical traditions and of the Greek fables, between which the author often makes ingenious parallels.

The work consists of three dialogues between Philo and his mistress Sophia. The first dialogue treats of the *essence of love:* Philo having said to Sophia that the acquaintance he had of her excited in him love and desire, Sophia maintains that these two sentiments are incompatible with each other; and thus the author is led to examine them and define them separately, enumerating the particulars in which they differ. With this view he studies them from three standpoints, distinguishing their various objects according to the principles of, 1st, usefulness; 2nd, agreeableness; and 3rd, honesty. He goes through the different things which deserve to be loved and desired: the love of what is honest is the highest of all; the love of God, consequently, transcends everything else in sublimity, for God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all honest or moral actions. But God can be known by our mind and loved by our will only in a very imperfect manner. Seeking then what constitutes man's true felicity, the author refutes several opinions proposed on the subject, and concludes that our real happiness is brought about by the union of *our* intellect with the *active intellect, i.e.*, God. This union is the result of contemplation, and can only be incompletely realized in this life, but it will be perfect and everlasting in the life which is to come. Then our author passes on to an appreciation of sensual love, which he reproves, as producing nothing but satiety and disgust. True love is essentially intellectual by nature; it is the father of desire, and the offspring of reason and knowledge.

The second dialogue treats of the universality of love. There are five causes of love which are common to man and to the other animals: 1st, The desire of generation; 2nd, the relations between parents and children; 3rd, benefits or gratitude; 4th,

similarity of species; 5th, habitual intercourse. The intellect renders these five causes in man either stronger or weaker; in him love is more perfect and more noble. Besides this, man has two causes of love which the other members of the animal creation do not enjoy in common with him, viz., 1st, the conformity of natural disposition and of temper in two individuals, and 2nd, the moral and intellectual qualities by which man gains the affection of his fellow-men. Philo next treats of inanimate beings, which have certain natural inclinations susceptible of being also called love. Love in the inanimate creation is only a species of natural attraction; in animals it is both natural and sensible; in man it is natural, sensible, and rational. This new classification affords to Philo the opportunity of surveying the whole domains of natural philosophy and of cosmology, and he represents man as the *microcosm*, or the image of the universe. When discussing the loves of the heathen gods, he explains several allegories connected with a great number of Greek myths, and characterizes *en passant* the respective methods of Plato and of Aristotle, the former of whom, whilst discarding the fetters of rhythm, and writing in prose, has nevertheless enlivened his works by all the graces of poetry and of fiction, whilst the latter has preferred a severe and purely scientific style. Finally, Leo Hebræus treats of love as considered in the pure intelligences, the celestial spheres. The reason why these intelligences move in their respective spheres is to be found in God, the object of this love. To conclude, the quickening spirit which penetrates the world, and the bond which keeps the universe together, is love, without which there would be neither happiness nor existence.

The third dialogue is devoted to the origin of love; and here the author grapples with the abstrusest metaphysical questions. After a preliminary discussion on *ecstasy*, and on the power which the soul possesses of throwing off the influence of our bodily organs, he examines successively the five following questions: whether love exists at all, and, if so, when, how, from whom, and why it does exist. In the first place, as a consequence of what has just been said, it results that love exists; it is the desire which attracts us to what is pleasing. Examining the definitions of love given by Plato and by Aristotle, the author developes the notion of the beautiful, and that of the good; and he shews that Aristotle's definition, more general and more complete, includes divine as well as human love. Love evidently proceeds from something else; it is the product of the object loved, and of the person who loves: the former is the agent or *father*, the latter may be viewed as the passive matter, or the

mother. The beautiful, the divine, does not reside in him who loves, but in the loved object, which consequently is superior to the other. Indeed it happens often that what is superior loves some inferior thing, but then the superior always lacks a certain perfection which exists in the inferior, and this has in this respect a certain superiority. In God alone, who is absolute perfection, love cannot suppose any defect; and in point of fact the love which God has for created beings is nothing else than the will He has of increasing their perfection and their happiness. In order to establish *when* love began to exist, our author explains the three principal systems adduced to account for the origin of all things. 1. Aristotle maintains the eternity of the world; 2. Plato believes in an eternal chaos, but thinks at the same time that the world has had a beginning; 3. The faithful admit the creation *ex nihilo*. Plato's opinions agree with those of the Kabbalists, who say that the world lasts only a certain time, after which it returns into chaos and is re-created. The inferior world always exists for six thousand years, and as the duration of chaos is one thousand years more, it follows that after every seven thousand years a new creation takes place. The superior world, or heaven, lasts for seven periods of the inferior world, or forty-nine thousand years; it is likewise subject to a chaotic period of a thousand years, therefore it is renewed at intervals of fifty thousand years. After this cosmological digression, the author returning to his subject, studies what may be called the *amor princeps*, which is the love that God has for himself, the love of God knowing and willing towards God considered as supreme beauty and supreme goodness. This first love is as eternal as God himself. God is the unity of love, of the loving and of the loved; or, as the Peripateticians state it, of the intellect, the intelligent, and the intelligible. The second manifestation of love is that which God has for the universe. Here three kinds of love meet together: 1. The love of God for the father and mother of the world, created by God, and which are identified with the first intellect and the chaos, respectively; 2. The reciprocal love of these parents of the world; and, 3. The mutual love of all the parts of the universe. According to the opinion of Aristotle, these three loves are eternal; if we believe Plato, the first alone is eternal, whilst the two others originated at the beginning of time, when creation took place; believers, and the author classes himself amongst them (*come noi fideli crediamo*), assert that these three loves were born successively at the beginning of creation. The question of knowing *where* love originated is thus reduced to the third of the manifestations just alluded to, or to the mutual love of the parts which con-

stitute the universe; and Philo proves to Sophia that this love was first produced in the sphere of the angels or the pure intelligences. There is to be found the most perfect knowledge of the divine beauty; from thence it communicated itself to the celestial world, and afterwards to the sublunary one. At this place the author gives a statement of the doctrine of emanation, as it had obtained amongst the Arabs; he shews how Averrhoes differed from the other philosophers of that nation, and explains by what succession the divine beauty communicates itself to the various degrees of creation, till it reaches the human intellect. The fourth question, that of knowing from whom love originated, leads Leo Hebræus to interpret the various fables of the ancient poets on the birth of Eros or Cupid, the allegories of the double Eros, the *ἀνδρογύνος*, *πόρος* and *πενία*, which we find in Plato's *Convivium;* the myth of the *ἀνδρογύνος* is borrowed, says Leo Hebræus, from the Mosaic account of the creation of man and woman. Finally, the author comes to the conclusion that the beautiful and knowledge are the father and mother of love. Whilst considering the beautiful from every point of view, he speaks of Plato's ideas; he shews that between Plato and Aristotle there is a complete harmony, and that both philosophers express the same notions under different forms. The fifth and last question relates to the final end of love; this end is the pleasure which he who loves discovers in the loved object (*la dilettatione dell' amante nella cosa amata*). Pleasure is considered with reference to the good and the beautiful, to moral and intellectual virtues; and the author shews that the true end of the love of the universe is the union of created beings with God, who is the sovereign beauty.

So imperfect an analysis can only give a very feeble idea of the suggestive character of the thoughts developed in the *Dialoghi di Amore,* and of the depth with which the most varied notions are there discussed. The defects of Leo Hebræus are those of his time and of the school to which he belonged. His work is not without importance for the history of philosophy, because it is perhaps the most perfect representative of that Italian school of metaphysics which endeavoured to reconcile Plato with Aristotle under the auspices of the Kabbala and of Neo-Platonism. Italy rendered full justice to the merits of the *Dialoghi*; and these merits were great enough to atone for verbal defects, excusable, besides, in a foreigner. The best proof of the sensation produced during the whole of the sixteenth century by Leo's dialogues is to be found in the number of editions and translations that were published of them. Besides the *editio princeps* issued at Rome in 1535, 4to, five or six others appeared

at Venice, and have all become very scarce. The one we have made use of is a small octavo of two hundred and twenty-eight leaves, entitled *Dialoghi di Amore, composti per Levi medico hebreo, in Venegia,* M.D.LII., *Aldi filii.*[i] An elegant Latin translation by Jean Charles Sarasin *(Saracenus)* was printed at Venice in 1564, 8vo, and included in the well-known collection of John Pistorius: *Artis Cabalisticæ, hoc est et reconditæ theologiæ philosophiæ scriptorum,* tom. i., fol., Basil, 1587. On the three Spanish versions, two of which are dedicated to Philip II., the reader can consult Rodriguez de Castro, *Bibliotheca Española,* tom. i., p. 371, 372. There are also two French translations; the one by Pontus de Thiard, and the other by Denys Sauvage, seigneur du Parc. This latter, inscribed to Catherine de Medici, is entitled, *Philosophie d'Amour de M. Léon Hébreu, traduite d'Italien en Françoys, par le Seigneur du Parc, Champenois.* 12mo, Lyon, 1559.

We do not know whether Leo Hebræus has written other works.[j] De Rossi ascribes to him the pastoral drama of Drusilla,[k] composed, according to Tiraboschi, by *Leone Ebreo.* But the name of Leon was very common amongst the Jews of Spain, of Provence, and of Italy; in general, those who in Hebrew were called Judah adopted the name of Leo or Leone, by allusion to the passage in Gen. xlix. 9, "Judah is a lion's whelp.... he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion." The *Leo Hebræus* mentioned by Picus Mirandulensis[l] as author of a collection of astronomical canons, and whom Wolf mistakes for our author,[m] was certainly Levi ben-Gerson.

Another Leo Hebræus, or Judah, sometimes called Messer Leone of Mantua, made himself known during the fifteenth century by several works on philosophy. We have by him commentaries on certain portions of Aristotle's *Organon,* and a treatise of logic under the title *Mikhlal Yóphi,* finished in 1455. These works are to be found amongst the Hebrew MSS. of the Paris Imperial Library.

We have now come to the last days of metaphysical speculation in connection with Judaism. By trying to harmonize Arabic philosophy with their religion, the descendants of Abraham had given to Peripatetism a special character, which made of it, so to say, their national philosophy. If since the sixteenth century

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[i] *Disputationes in Astrologiam.* Lib. ix., cap. viii. *et passim.*

[j] A Hebrew poem, written by Judah Abrabanel in honour of his father Isaac, has been printed at the beginning of the latter's commentary on the minor prophets.

[k] *Dizionario Storico degli autori Ebrei,* i., 29.

[l] M. Munk quotes from the Venice edition of 1572.

[m] *Bibliotheca Hebræa.* Vol. i., p. 436.

metaphysicians have appeared amongst the Jews, they belong to the history of civilization in general, and had, as thinkers, no special influence over their fellow-religionists. Spinosa was rejected by the Jews; he had wounded without any consideration the religious feelings of a community formed in great majority of Spanish and Portuguese refugees, victims of the Inquisition. Moses Mendelssohn himself, who took up so nobly the cause of his brethren, and who can be regarded as the founder for them of modern civilization,—Mendelssohn never would or could open a new metaphysical era.

To conclude, the Jews, as a nation or as a religious society, play only a secondary part in the history of philosophy; that was not their mission. However, they certainly share with the Arabs the merit of having preserved and propagated metaphysical science during ages of barbarism, and for a certain time they exercised over the European world a mental influence which cannot be questioned.

GUSTAVE MASSON.

Calendar and Curmudgeon, whence derived.—It may interest our philological readers to see some illustrations which we have from a correspondent of the very curious derivation of the word CALENDAR. In Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia*, book i., p. 5 (ed. 1622), we find—"Arcadia, of which country we are, is but a little way hence, and even upon the next confines there dwelleth a gentleman by name Kalander." Here it seems that Sidney had *καλόγερος* in view. Those who wish to investigate this etymology should refer to Cave: *Hist. Lit. Diss.*, p. 185, ed. 1720. We have the word in an intermediate form in the following passage from Fleury:—"As to superstitions, the history of Byzantium furnishes us in every page with examples of them. There is no emperor mounts the throne or descends from it without presages or predictions. There is always one *Caloger* or another in an island, famous for his austere way of life, who promises some great captain the empire; and the new emperor, in return, makes him the Bishop of a great see. But these pretended prophets were often impostors."—Fleury, *Discourses on Eccl. Hist.* (Transl.), 1721, p. 137. *Caloyer* is a term familiar to readers of Curzon and other writers of travels or history on the confines of Europe and Asia."

With reference to a remark of our reviewer as to a mistake which he attributed to the ignorance or otherwise of a *subordinate* who may have been employed by Dr. Latham in the compilation of his English Dictionary, Mr. Sockett, of Sutton Petworth, sends us the following illustration:—"In Ashe's Dictionary, now lying before me, published 1775, I find the word *Curmudgeon* derived, and rightly so, I imagine, from the French *cœur* and *mechant*. The etymology appears to have been suggested by some *unknown correspondent* of the compiler; whereupon he doubtless writes thus upon a slip:—'Curmudgeon' from *cœur* and *mechant* (unknown correspondent), which the *subordinate*, not well up in his French, *improves* as follows:—'Curmudgeon' from *cœur* unknown! and *mechant* correspondent! a churl, etc. But your readers will hardly believe this unless they see it.—*Guardian*, *April* 19, 1865.

" Speaking of Zante, Sandys says it has "a monastery of *Caloieros*; for so are their monks called" (*Travels in* 1610, p. 8, third edition, 1627).—ED. *J.S.L.*

THE METONIC CYCLE AND CALIPPIC PERIOD.

[Continued from p. 108.]

TABLE I.

The Metonic Cycle and Calippic Period, according to Hipparch and Ptolemy.

			Diodorus.				
B.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Aps- eudes.	Pel. War.	B.C.
							Spring 432
316	432	87·1	Apseudes	1	1		Spring 431. New M. Feb. 7, at 1
7	1	2	Pythodorus ..	2	2	1	Spring 430 noon: Ecl. of S. Aug
8	430	3	Euthydemus ..	3	3	2	Spring 429 3, at 4 p.m. *Thu*
9	9	4	Apollodorus ..	4	4	3	*cyd.*, ii., 4; iv., 52.
320	8	88·1	Epaminondas..	5	5	4	
1	7	2	Diotimus	6	6	5	
2	6	3	Euclides	7	7	6	
3	5	4	Euthydemus ..	8	8	7	
4	4	89·1	Stratocles	9	9	8	Ecl. of S. 21 Mar. 424
5	3	2	Isarchus	10	10	9	Spring 423 [at 8 a.m
6	2	3	Aminias.....	11	11	10	Spring 422
7	1	4	Alcæus	12	12	11	
8	420	90·1	Ariston	13	13	12	Peace between Athens and Sparta
9	9	2	Aristophylus ..	14	14	13	420 B.C. 25 Elap. 30 Mar. *Thu*
330	8	3	Archias	15	15	14	*cyd.*, v., 19, 20
1	7	4	Antiphon	16	16	15	
2	6	91·1	Euphemus	17	17	16	
3	5	2	Aristomnestus .	18	18	17	
4	4	3	Chabrias	19	19	18	
5	3	4	Pisander	1	20	19	Ecl. of M. 27 Aug. 4 h
6	2	92·1	Cleocritus	2	21	20	Spring 412 [at 11¼ p.m.
7	1	2	Callias	3	22	21	Spring 411
8	410	3	Theopompus ..	4	23	22	
9	9	4	Glaucippus ...	5	24	23	
340	8	93·1	Diocles	6	25	24	
1	7	2	Euctemon	7	26	25	
2	6	3	Antigenes	8	27	26	
3	5	4	Callias	9	28	27	
4	4	94·1	Alexias	10	29		
5	3	2	Anarchy.....	11	30		
6	2	3	Euclides	12	31		
7	1	4	Micion	13	32		
8	400	95·1	Exœnetus	14	33		
9	9	2	Laches	15	34		
350	8	3	Aristocrates ..	16	35		
1	7	4	Ithycles.....	17	36		
2	6	96·1	Lysiades	18	37		
3	5	2	Phormion	19	38		
4	4	3	Diophantus ..	1	39		
5	3	4	Eubulides	2	40		
6	2	97·1	Demostratus ..	3	41		
7	1	2	Philocles	4	42		
8	390	3	Nicoteles	5	43		
9	9	4	Demostratus ..	6	44		
360	8	98·1	Antipater	7	45		

TABLE I.—*continued.*

Diodorus.

J.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Apsides.		
1	7	2	Pyrrhion	8	46		
2	6	3	Theodotus....	9	47		
3	5	4	Mystichides ..	10	48		
4	4	99·1	Dexitheus	11	49		
5	3	2	Diotrephes....	12	50	Summer 382	Ecl. M. 23 Dec. 383
366	382	3	Phanostratus..	13	51	Summer 381	Ecl. M. 18 June 382
7	381	4	Menander	14	52	Summer 380	Ecl. M. 12 Dec. 382
8	380	100·1	Demophilus ..	15	53		
9	9	2	Pytheas.....	16	54		
370	8	3	Nicon.....	17	55		
1	7	4	Nausinicus....	18	56		
2	6	101·1	Callias	19	57		
3	5	2	Chariander ...	1	58		
4	4	3	Hippodamus ..	2	59		
5	3	4	Socratides	3	60		
6	2	102·1	Asteias	4	61		
7	1	2	Alcisthenes ..	5	62		
8	370	3	Phrasiclides ..	6	63		
9	9	4	Dyscinetus ...	7	64		
380	8	103·1	Lysistratus ...	8	65		
1	7	2	Nausigenes ...	9	66		
2	6	3	Polyzelus	10	67		
3	5	4	Cephisodorus..	11	68		
4	4	104·1	Chion.....	12	69		
5	3	2	Timocrates ...	13	70		
6	2	3	Chariclides ...	14	71		
7	1	4	Molon	15	72		
8	360	105·1	Nicophemus ..	16	73		
9	9	2	Callimedes....	17	74		
390	8	3	Eucharistus ..	18	75		
1	7	4	Cephisodotus..	19	76		
2	6	106·1	Agathocles....	1	77		
3	5	2	Elpines	2	78		
4	4	3	Callistratus ..	3	79		
5	3	4	Diotimus	4	80		
6	2	107·1	Eudemus	5	81		
7	1	2	Aristodemus ..	6	82		
8	350	3	Thessalus	7	83		
9	9	4	Apollodorus ..	8	84		
400	8	108·1	Callimachus ..	9	85		
1	7	2	Theophilus ...	10	86		
2	6	3	Themistocles..	11	87		
3	5	4	Archias	12	88		
4	4	109·1	Eubulus.....	13	89		
5	3	2	Lyciscus	14	90		
6	2	3	Pythodotus ...	15	91		
7	1	4	Sosigenes	16	92		
8	340	110·1	Nicomachus ..	17	93		
9	9	2	Theophrastus..	18	94		
410	8	3	Lysimachides..	19	95		
1	7	4	Charondas....	1	96		
2	6	111·1	Phrynicus	2	97		
3	5	2	Pythodorus ...	3	98		
4	4	3	Evænetus	4	99		
5	3	4	Ctesicles	5	100		

TABLE I.—*continued.*

	E.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Archons. (*Diodorus.*)	Met. Cyc.	Aps-eudes.	Cal. Per.	
From the Death of Alexander.	6	2	112·1	Nicocrates	6	101		Cal. P. I.
	7	1						
	8	330	2	Niceratus	7	102		Summer Solst. 330 B.C.
	9	9	3	Aristophanes..	8	103	1	
	420	8	4	Aristophon ...	9	104	2	
	1	7	113·1	Cephisophon ..	10	105	3	
	2	6	2	Euthycritus ..	11	106	4	
	3	5	3	Chremes	12	107	5	
	424	4	4	Anticles	13	108	6	
1	5	3	114·1	Sosicles	14	109	7	Summer 323 B.C. Alex. ob. 21 Ap.
2	6	2	2	Agesias	15	110	8	Summer 322.
3	7	1	3		16	111	9	
4	8	320	4		17	112	10	
5	9	9	115·1		18	113	11	
6	430	8	2		19	114	12	
7	1	7	3		1	115	13	
8	2	6	4		2	116	14	
9	3	5	116·1		3	117	15	
10	4	4	2		4	118	16	
11	5	3	3		5	119	17	
12	6	2	4		6	120	18	
13	7	1	117·1		7	121	19	
14	8	310	2		8	122	20	
15	9	9	3		9	123	21	
16	440	8	4		10	124	22	
17	1	7	118·1		11	125	23	
18	2	6	2		12	126	24	
19	3	5	3		13	127	25	
20	4	4	4		14	128	26	
21	5	3	119·1		15	129	27	
22	6	2	2		16	130	28	
23	7	1	3		17	131	29	
24	8	300	4		18	132	30	
25	9	9	120·1		19	133	31	
26	450	8	2		1	134	32	
27	1	7	3		2	135	33	
28	2	6	4		3	136	34	
29	3	5	121·1		4	137	35	
30	454	4	2		5	138	36	36 Cal. P. I.=454 E.N.
31	5	3	3		6	139	37	
32	6	2	4		7	140	38	
33	7	1	122·1		8	141	39	
34	8	290	2		9	142	40	
35	9	9	3		10	143	41	
36	460	8	4		11	144	42	
37	1	7	123·1		12	145	43	
38	2	6	2		13	146	44	
39	3	5	3		14	147	45	
40	4	4	4		15	148	46	
41	465	3	124·1		16	149	47	47 Cal. I.=465 E.N.
42	466	2	2		17	150	48	48 Cal. I.=466.
43	7	1	3		18	151	49	
44	468	280	4		19	152	50	50 Cal. P. I.=44 from ob. Alex.
	469	279	125·1				51	[=152 Apseudes.
	470	8	2				52	
			3				53	

TABLE I.—*continued.*

B.C.	Oly.	Cal. Per.	
7	4	54	
6			
5	126·1	55	
4	2	56	
3	3	57	
2	4	58	
1	127·1	59	
270	2	60	
9	3	61	
8	4	62	
7	128·1	63	
6	2	64	
5	3	65	
4	4	66	
3	129·1	67	
2	2	68	
1	3	69	
260	4	70	
9	130·1	71	
8	2	72	
7	3	73	
6	4	74	
5	131·1	75	
4	2	76	
3	3	1	Cal. P. II.
2	4	2	
1	132·1	3	
250	2	4	
9	3	5	
8	4	6	
7	133·1	7	
6	2	8	
5	3	9	
4	4	10	
3	134·1	1	
2	2	2	
1	3	3	
240	4	4	
9	135·1	5	
8	2	6	
7	3	7	
6	4	8	
5	136·1	9	
4	2	20	
3	3	1	
2	4	2	
1	137·1	3	
230	2	4	
9	3	5	
8	4	6	
7	138·1	7	
6	2	8	
5	3	9	
4	4	30	
3	139·1	1	
2	2	2	
	3	3	

E.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Cal. Per.	
7	1	4	4	
8	220	140·1	5	
9	9	2	6	
530	8	3	7	
1	7	4	8	
2	6	141·1	9	
3	5	2	40	
4	4	3	1	
5	3	4	2	
6	2	142·1	3	
7	1	2	4	
8	210	3	5	
9	9	4	6	
540	8	143·1	7	
1	7	2	8	
2	6	3	9	
3	5	4	50	
4	4	144·1	1	
5	3	2	2	
6	2	3	3	11th Ecl. of Moon.
7	201	4	54	54 C.P.II.=547 E.N. =22 Sep. 201 B.C.
548	200	145·1	55	13th Ecl. of Moon.
9	9	2	6	
550	8	3	7	55 C. P. II.=548 E.N. [=12 Sep. 200 B.C.
1	7	4	8	
2	6	146·1	9	
3	5	2	60	
4	4	3	1	
5	3	4	2	
6	2	147·1	3	
7	1	2	4	
8	190	3	5	
9	9	4	6	
560	8	148·1	7	
1	7	2	8	
2	6	3	9	
3	5	4	70	
4	4	149·1	1	
5	3	2	2	
6	2	3	3	
7	1	4	4	
8	180	150·1	5	
9	9	2	76	
570	8	3	1	Cal. P. III.
1	7	4	2	
2	6	151·1	3	14th Ecl. of Moon.
3	5	2	4	
574	174	3	5	574 E.N.=1 May 174 [B.C.
5	3	4	6	
6	2	152·1	7	
7	1	2	8	
8	170	3	9	
9	9	4	10	
580	8	153·1	11	
1	7	2	2	
2	6	3	3	

TABLE I.—*continued.*

B.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Cal. Per.
3	5		
4	4	4	4
5	3	154·1	5
6	2	2	6
7	1	3	7
8	160	4	8
9	9	155·1	9
590	8	2	20
1	7	3	1
2	6	4	2
3	5	156·1	3
4	4	2	4
5	3	3	5
6	2	4	6
7	1	157·1	7
8	150	2	8
9	9	3	9
600	8	4	30
1	7	158·1	1
2	6	2	32
3	5	3	3
4	4	4	4
5	3	159·1	5
6	2	2	6
7	141	3	37
8	140	4	38
9		160.1	39
610		2	40
1		3	41
2	6	4	42
3	5	161·1	43
4	4	2	44
5	3	3	45
6	2	4	46
7	1	162·1	47
8	130	2	47
9	9	3	49
620	8	4	50

32 Cal. P. III. Vernal [Equinox=602 B.N.

15th Ecl. of Moon.

37 Cal. P. III.=607 [B.N.=27 Jan. 141 B.C.

50 Cal. P. III.=620 B.N.

TABLE II.

The Metonic Cycle and Calippic Period according to Diodorus.

B.N.	B.C.	Oly.	*Diodorus.* Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Aps-eudes.	Pel. War.	
315	433	86·4	Apseudes	1	1		Spring 433
6	2	87·1	Pythodorus ...	2	2		Spring 432
7	1	2	Euthydemus ..	3	3	1	Spring 431. N.M. Feb. 7 at 12 noon:
8	430	3	Apollodorus ..	4	4	2	Spring 430 Ecl. S. 3 Aug. at 4 p.m.
9	9	4	Epaminondas ..	5	5	3	*Thucyd.*, ii., 4; iv., 52.
320	8	88·1	Diotimus	6	6	4	
1	7	2	Euclides	7	7	5	
2	6	3	Euthydemus ..	8	8	6	
3	5	4	Stratocles	9	9	7	Spring 424 Ecl. S. 21 Mar. 424, at
4	4	89·1	Isarchus	10	10	8	Spring 423 [8 a.m.
5	3	2	Aminias	11	11	9	
6	2	3	Alcæus	12	12	10	Peace between Athens and Sparta,
7	1	4	Ariston	13	13	11	25 Elaph. 11 Ap. B.C. 421. *Thu-*
8	420	90·1	Aristothylus ..	14	14	12	*cyd.*, v., 19, 20
9	9	2	Archias	15	15	13	
330	8	3	Antiphon	16	16	14	
1	7	4	Euphemus	17	17	15	
2	6	91·1	Aristomnestus .	18	18	16	
3	5	2	Chabrias	19	19	17	
4	4	3	Pisander.....	1	20	18	Spring 413 Ecl. M. 27 Aug. 413, at
5	3	4	Cleocritus	2	21	19	Spring 412 [11½ p.m.
6	2	92·1	Callias	3	22	20	
7	1	2	Theopompus ..	4	23	21	
8	410	3	Glaucippus....	5	24	22	
9	9	4	Diocles	6	25	23	
340	8	93·1	Euctemon	7	26	24	1
1	7	2	Antigenes	8	27	25	2
2	6	3	Callias	9	28	26	3
							4

TABLE II.—*continued.*

Diodorus.

Ln.	B.C.	Oly.	Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Aps- eudes.	Pel. War.			
3	5	4	Alexias	10	29	27	5	1	Ægospot.
4	4	94·1	Anarchy.....	11	30			2	
5	3	2	Euclides.....	12	31			3	
6	2	3	Micion	13	32			4	
7	1	4	Ecœnetus	14	33			5	
8	400	95·1	Laches	15	34			6	
9	9	2	Aristocrates ..	16	35			7	
0	8	3	Ithycles.....	17	36			8	
1	7	4	Lysiades.....	18	37			9	
2	6	96·1	Phormion	19	38			10	
3	5	2	Diophantus ..	1	39			11	
4	4	3	Eubulides	2	40			12	
5	3	4	Demostratus..	3	41			13	
6	2	97·1	Philocles	4	42			14	
7	1	2	Nicoteles	5	43			15	
8	390	3	Demostratus ..	6	44			16	
9	9	4	Antipater	7	45			17	
0	8	98·1	Pyrrhion	8	46			18	Gauls at Rome
1	7	2	Theodotus	9	47		1	19	
2	6	3	Mystichides...	10	48		2	20	
3	5	4	Dexitheus	11	49		3	21	
4	4	99·1	Diotrephes....	12	50		4	22	
5	383	2	Phanostratus..	13	51		5	23	
56	382	3	Menander	14	52		6	24	
57	1	4	Demophilus...	15	53		7	25	
8	380	100·1	Pytheas	16	54		8	26	
9	9	2	Nicon.....	17	55		9	27	
70	8	3	Nausinicus....	18	56		10	28	
1	7	4	Callias	19	57		11		Bœotian War
2	6	101·1	Chariander....	1	58		12		
3	5	2	Hippodamus ..	2	59		13		
4	4	3	Socratides	3	60		14		
5	3	4	Asteias	4	61		15		
6	2	102·1	Alcisthenes....	5	62		16		
7	1	2	Phrasiclides ..	6	63				Leuctra
8	370	3	Dyscinetus....	7	64				
9	9	4	Lysistratus....	8	65				
80	8	103·1	Nausigenes....	9	66				
1	7	2	Polyzelus	10	67				
2	6	3	Cephisodorus..	11	68				
3	5	4	Chion.....	12	69				
4	4	104·1	Timocrates....	13	70				
5	3	2	Chariclides....	14	71				
6	2	3	Molon	15	72				
7	1	4	Nicophemus ..	16	73				
8	360	105·1	Callimedes....	17	74				
9	9	2	Eucharistus...	18	75				
90	8	3	Cephisodotus..	19	76				
1	7	4	Agathocles....	1	77				
2	6	106·1	Elpines	2	78				
3	5	2	Callistratus ..	3	79				
4	4	3	Diotimus	4	80				
5	3	4	Eudemus	5	81				
6	2	107·1	Aristodemus...	6	82				
7	1	2	Thessalus	7	83				

TABLE II.—*continued.*

Diodorus.

	B.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Aps. sudes.	Cal. Per.	
	8	350	3	Apollodorus ..	8	84		
	9	9	4	Callimachus ..	9	85		
	400	8	108·1	Theophilus....	10	86		
	1	7	2	Themistocles ..	11	87		
	2	6	3	Archias	12	88		
	3	5	4	Eubulus.....	13	89		
	4	4	109·1	Lyciscus.....	14	90		
	5	3	2	Pythodotus...	15	91		
	6	2	3	Sosigenes.....	16	92		
	7	1	4	Nicomachus...	17	93		
	8	340	110·1	Theophrastus..	18	94		
	9	9	2	Lysimachides..	19	95		
	410	8	3	Charondas	1	96		
	1	7	4	Phrynicus	2	97		
	2	6	111·1	Pythodorus....	3	98		
	3	5	2	Evænetus	4	99		
	4	4	3	Ctesicles.....	5	100		
	5	3	4	Nicocrates	6	101		
	6	2	112·1	Niceratus	7	102		Calip. P. I. B.C.
	7	1	2	Aristophanes ..	8	103		Summer Solst. 330
	8	330	3	Aristophon....	9	104	1	
	9	9	4	Cephisophon ..	10	105	2	
	420	8	113·1	Euthycritus...	11	106	3	
	1	7	2	Chremes.....	12	107	4	
	2	6	3	Anticles.....	13	108	5	
	3	5	4	Socicles.....	14	109	6	Summer 324 B.C.
	424	4	114·1	Agesias	15	110	7	Summer 323, Alex. ob. 21 Ap.
1	5	323	2		16	111	8	
2	6	2	3		17	112	9	
3	7	1	4		18	113	10	
4	8	320	115·1		19	114	11	
5	9	9	2		1	115	12	
6	430	8	3		2	116	13	
7	1	7	4		3	117	14	
8	2	6	116·1		4	118	15	
9	3	5	2		5	119	16	
10	4	4	3		6	120	17	
11	5	3	4		7	121	18	
12	6	2	117·1		8	122	19	
13	7	1	2		9	123	20	
14	8	310	3		10	124	21	
15	9	9	4		11	125	22	
16	440	8	119·1		12	126	23	
17	1	7	2		13	127	24	
18	2	6	3		14	128	25	
19	3	5	4		15	129	26	
20	4	4	119·1		16	130	27	
21	5	3	2		17	131	28	
22	6	2	3		18	132	29	
23	7	1	4		19	133	30	
24	8	300	120·1		1	134	31	
25	9	9	2		2	135	32	
26	450	8	3		3	136	33	
27	1	7	4		4	137	34	
28	2	6	121·1		5	138	35	

From the Death of Alexander.

TABLE II.—*continued.*

B.M.	B.C.	Oly.	Met. Cyc.	Apseudes.	Cal. Per.	
3	5	2	6	139	36	
4	4	3	7	140	37	
5	3	4	8	141	38	
6	2	122·1	9	142	39	
7	1	2	10	143	40	
8	290	3	11	144	41	
9	9	4	12	145	42	
60	8	123·1	13	146	43	
1	7	2	14	147	44	
2	6	3	15	148	45	
3	5	4	16	149	46	
4	4	124·1	17	150	47	
5	3	2	18	151	48	
6	2	3	19	152	49	152 from Apseud.=50 Cal. P. I.
7	1	4			50	
68	280	125·1			51	

TABLE III.

Metonic Cycle and Calippic Period, according to Franke Parker.

Oly.	Mar. Era.	*Diodorus.* Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Apseudes.	Pel. War.	
						Spring 453 B.C.
81·4	172	Apseudes.....	1	1		Spring 452
82·1	1	Pythodorus...	2	2	1	Spring 451. New M. Jan. 20 at 4
2	170	Euthydemus ..	3	3	2	Spring 450 a.m.: Ecl. S. Mar. 20
3	9	Apollodorus...	4	4	3	at 5·15 a.m. *Thucyd.*, ii., 4; iv., 52.
4	8	Epaminondas..	5	5	4	
83·1	7	Diotimus.....	6	6	5	
2	6	Euclides.....	7	7	6	
3	5	Euthydemus ..	8	8	7	
4	164	Stratocles	9	9	8	Spring 444
84·1	3	Isarchus.....	10	10	9	Spring 443 Ecl. S. 30 Ap. at 2·15 p.m.
2	2	Aminias.....	11	11	10	
3	1	Alcæus.....	12	12	11	Peace between Athens and Sparta,
4	160	Ariston	13	13	12	25 Elaph. 24 Mar. B.C. 441. *Thucyd.*, v., 19, 20
85·1	9	Aristophylus ..	14	14	13	
2	8	Archias.....	15	15	14	
3	7	Antiphon	16	16	15	
4	6	Euphemus	17	17	16	
86·1	5	Aristomnestus .	18	18	17	
2	4	Chabrias.....	19	19	18	
3	3	Pisander.....	1	20	19	Spring 433 Ecl. M. 8 Sep. 433, at
4	2	Cleocritus.....	2	21	20	Spring 432 [8·15 a.m.
87·1	1	Callias.....	3	22	21	
2	150	Theopompus ..	4	23	22	Lysias. Arundel Marble. Archons.
3	9	Glaucippus....	5	24	23	1 *Diocles*
4	148	Diocles	6	25	24	2 Euctemon
88·1	147	Euctemon	7	26	25	3 Dio.
2	6	Antigenes	8	27	26	4 (Lac.) Antigenes
3	145	Callias.....	9	28	27	5 1 Ægospot. (Dio.)
4	4	Alexias.....	10	29		

TABLE III.—*continued.*

B.C.	Oly.	Mar. Era.	*Diodorus.* Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Apa-eudes.	Lys.(Lac.)	Dio. Dem.(Lac.)	Arundel Marble. Archons.	
				11	30	6	2	Callias	*Ægospot.* (Marb.)
4		89·1	143 Anarchy	12	31	7	3	1 *Alexias*	
3		2	142 Euclides	13	32		4	2	
2		3	1 Micion	14	33		5	3	
1		4	140 Eccnetus	15	34		6	4 Micon	
420		90·1	139 Laches	16	35		7	5	
9		2	8 Aristocrates	17	36		8	6 Laches	
8		3	137 Ithycles	18	37		9	7	
7		4	6 Lisiades	19	38		10	8 Aristocrates	
6		91·1	135 Phormion	1	39		11	9	
5		2	4 Diophantus	2	40		12	10	
4		3	3 Eubulides	3	41		13	11	
3		4	2 Demostratus	4	42		14	12	
2		92·1	1 Philocles	5	43		15	13	
1		2	130 Nicoteles	6	44		16	14	
410		3	9 Demostratus	7	45		17	15	
9		4	8 Antipater	8	46		18	16	
8		93·1	7 Pyrrhion	9	47		19	17	
7		2	6 Theodotus	10	48		20	18	*Pyrrhion* Gauls at R
6		3	4 Mystichides	11	49		21	19	1
5		4	124 Dexitheus	12	50		22	20	2
4		94·1	3 Diotrephes	13	51		23	21	3
3		2	2 Phanostratus	14	52		34	22	4
2		3	1 Menander	15	53		25	23	5
1		4	120 Demophilus	16	54		26	24	6
400		95·1	9 Pytheas	17	55		27	25	7
9		2	8 Nicon	18	56		28	26	8
8		3	7 Nausinicus	19	57			27	9
7		4	116 Callias	1	58			28 Pytheas	10
6		96·1	5 Chariander	2	59			29 Nausinicus	11
5		2	114 Hippodamus	3	60				12
4		3	3 Socratides	4	61				13
3		4	2 Asteias	5	62			Asteias	14
2		97·1	1 Alcisthenes	6	63				15
1		2	110 Phrasiclides	7	64			Phrasiclides	1
390		3	109 Dyscinetus	8	65				
9		4	8 Lysistratus	9	66			Nausigenes	
8		98·1	107 Nausigenes	10	67				
7		2	6 Polyzelus	11	68				
6		3	5 Cephisodoras	12	69				
5		4	104 Chion	13	70				
4		99·1	3 Timocrates	14	71				
3		2	2 Chariclides	15	72				
2		3	1 Molon	16	73				
1		4	100 Nicophemus	17	74				
380		100·1	9 Callimedes	18	75				
9		2	8 Eucharistus	19	76				
8		3	7 Cephisodotus	1	77				
7		4	6 Agathocles	2	78	Arundel Marble. Archons.			
6		101·1	5 Elpines	3	79	Agathocles			
5		2	4 Callistratus	4	80				
4		3	93 Diotimus	5	81	Callistratus			
3		4	2 Eudemus	6	82				
2		102·1	91 Aristodemus	7	83				
1		2	90 Thessalus						

Diodorus.

TABLE III.—*continued.*

Diodorus.

B.C.	Oly.	Mar. Era.	Archons.	Met. Cyc.	Apseudes.	1st Cal. Per.	
370	3	9	Apollodorus ..	8	84		
9	4	8	Callimachus ..	9	85		
8	103·1	7	Theophilus....	10	86		
7	2	6	Themistocles ..	11	87		
6	3	5	Archias	12	88		
5	4	4	Eubulus.....	13	89		
4	104·1	3	Lyciscus.....	14	90		
3	2	2	Pythodotus ..	15	91		
2	3	1	Sosigenes	16	92		
1	4	80	Nicomachus ..	17	93		
360	105·1	9	Theophrastus..	18	94		
9	2	8	Lysimachides..	19	95		
8	3	7	Charondas	1	96		
7	4	6		2	97		
6	106·1	5		3	98		
5	2	4		4	99		
4	3	3		5	100		
3	4	2		6	101		
2	107·1	1		7	102		
1	2	70		8	103		
350	3	9		9	104		
9	4	8		10	105		
8	108·1	7		11	106		
7	2	6		12	107		
6	3	5		13	108		
5	4	4		14	109		
4	109·1	3		15	110		
3	2	2		16	111		
2	3	1		17	112		
1	4	60		18	113		
340	110·1	9		19	114		
9	2	8		1	115		
8	3	7		2	116		
7	4	6	Phrynicus	3	117		
6	111·1	5	Pythodorus ..	4	118		
5	2	4	Evænetus	5	119		
4	3	3	Ctesicles.....	6	120		
3	4	2	Nicocrates	7	121		
2	112·1	1	Niceratus	8	122	1	Summer Solst. 331 B.C.
331	2	50	Aristophanes ..	9	123	1	Arbela Ecl. M. 20 Sep. 331
330	3	9	Aristophon....	10	124	2	
9	4	8	Cephisophon ..	11	125	3	
8	113·1	7	Euthycritus ..	12	126	4	
7	2	6	Chremes.....	13	127	5	
6	3	5	Anticles.....	14	128	6	
5	4	4	Sosicles	15	129	7	Summer 324 B.C.
4	114·1	3	Agesias	16	130	8	Summer 323 Alex. ob. 21 Ap.
323	2	2		17	131	9	
2	3	1		18	132	10	
1	4	40		19	133	11	
320	115·1	9		1	134	12	
9	2	7		2	135	13	
8	3	8		3	136	14	
7	4	6		4	137	15	
6	116·1	5		5	138	16	

TABLE III.—*continued.*

B.C.	Oly.	Mar. Era	Met. Cyc.	Aps- eudes.	Cal. Per.	
5						
4	2	4	6	139	17	
3	3	3	7	140	18	
2	4	2	8	141	19	
1	117·1	1	9	142	20	
310	2	30	10	143	21	
9	3	9	11	144	22	. . .
8	4	8	12	145	23	
7	118·1	7	13	146	24	
6	2	6	14	147	25	
5	3	5	15	148	26	
4	4	4	16	149	27	
3	119·1	3	17	150	28	
2	2	2	18	151	29	
1	3	1	19	152	30	. . .
300	4	20	1	153	31	
9	120·1	9	2	154	32	
8	2	8	3	155	33	
7	3	7	4	156	34	
6	4	6	5	157	35	
5	121·1	5	6	158	36	
4	2	4	7	9	37	
3	3	3	8	160	38	
2	4	2	9	1	39	
1	122·1	1	10	2	40	
290	2	10	11	3	1	
9	3	9	12	4	2	
8	4	8	13	5	3	
7	123·1	7	14	6	4	
6	2	6	15	7	5	
5	3	5	16	8	6	
4	4	4	17	9	7	
3	124·1	3	18	170	8	End of 9th Met. Cyc.
282	2	2	19	171	9	Sum. Solst. 282 B.C.=50 Cal. P. 1=17
1	3	1			50	Aps.
280	4				1	
9	125·1				2	. .
8	2				3	
7	3				4	
6	4				5	
5	126·1				6	
4	2				7	
3	3				8	
2	4				9	
1	127·1				60	
270	2				1	
9	3				2	
8	4				3	
7	128·1				4	
6	2				5	
5	3				6	
4	4				7	
3	129·1				8	
2	2				9	
1	3				70	
260	4				1	
9	130·1				2	
	2				3	

TABLE III.—*continued.*

B.C.	Oly.	Cal. Per.	B.N.	B.C.	Oly.	Cal. Per.	
8	3	4	520	8	138·1	8	
7	4	5	1	7	2	9	
6	131·1	76	2	6	3	30	
5	2	1	3	5	4	1	
4	3	2	4	4	139·1	2	
3	4	3	5	3	2	3	
2	132·1	4	6	2	3	4	
1	2	5	7	1	4	5	
250	3	6	8	220	140·1	6	
9	4	7	9	9	2	7	
8	133·1	8	530	8	3	8	
7	2	9	1	7	4	9	
6	3	10	2	6	141·1	40	
5	4	1	3	5	2	1	
4	134·1	2	4	4	3	2	
3	2	3	5	3	4	3	
2	3	4	6	2	142 1	4	
1	4	5	7	1	2	5	
240	135·1	6	8	210	3	6	
9	2	7	9	9	4	7	
8	3	8	540	8	143·1	8	
7	4	9	1	7	2	9	
6	136·1	20	2	6	3	50	
5	2	1	3	5	4	1	
4	3	2	4	4	144·1	2	
3	4	3	5	3	2	3	
2	137·1	4	6	2	3	4	12th Eclipse
1	2	5	7	1	4	55	55 Cal. P. II.=548 B.N.=19 Mar.
230	3	6	548	200	145·1		[200 B.C.
9	4	7					

FRANKE PARKER.

BRIEF NOTES ON ROMANS I.—III.

In translating Greek it is often necessary to take the same word or words more than once. This is the case with the author, whose style most resembles that of St. Paul, Thucydides: from whom a few instances may be cited.—I. 2, "from ancient times *greater* (than other cities) they made *greater* still." Ibid. 31, "that the Attic should not, by adding itself *to the Corcyræan navy*, become an obstacle in addition *to* (that presented by) *the Corcyræan navy*." 84, "being *no more* pained by their blame (than we were pleased by their praise) were *none the more* brought round." 90, "the daring that *rose to meet* the Medic war—*still growing*." That the same principle was adopted by St. Paul might be proved from 1 Cor. xv. 41, alone; where, unless the last ἄλλη is repeated in the sense of "various, variegated," the last clause has no bearing on the preceding.

In Scripture, as in other writings, it is necessary to pay especial attention to emphasis; the force of a sentence often depending on it; *e.g.*, in St. Luke xxii. 25 the emphasis alone shews the second "them" to refer to "princes of the Gentiles."

The frequent play on words is also to be noticed. It is always to be kept in mind that this Epistle was *dictated, and evidently with accompanying gestures*. It appears to touch on every doctrine of Christianity.

Chapter I.

1. *Κλητὸς* repeated; *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κλητὸς δοῦλος*. Cf. ver. 6, *Ἰ. Χριστοῦ κλητοὶ*, and see Acts xxii. 15, 21. St. Paul's calls to faith and apostleship were simultaneous; both were involved in the one call on the road to Damascus—as Bengel observes. Cf. ver. 5. "Separated" from the general body of the Church; to be *actually* an apostle. Acts xiii. 2; but see also Gal. i. 15.—*εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ*: 1, the glad announcement of the coming of God in Christ to save the world; 2, the announcement sent by God. *Εὐαγγ.*, "*unexpected* glad tidings;" implies a message to *the Gentiles* as well as the Jews. See chap. x. 15.

2. *Ἐπὶ* in *προεπ.* has a sense of *continually*. The prophets prophesied to all succeeding generations through having committed their prophecies to writing.—*ἁγίαις*: 1, inspired; 2, regarded as holy, *and preserved intact as being such*. "The writings—not the *men*—were holy."

3. *τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*. Singular emphatic. "By His *many* prophets concerning His *one* Son."—*γενομ.*, "that grew from the unorganized seed of David."

4. ὁρισθέντος. At γεν.—σάρκα St. Paul perhaps pointed to the earth; at ὁρισθ. to heaven: ἀφωρ., separated from many like the person separated; ὁρισθ., made one *per se*, Bengel. —ἐξ ἀν.: 1, by raising the dead; 2, by rising from the dead. If required, ἐκ may be repeated before νεκρῶν.—Κατὰ πν. ἁγ., "with power, corresponding with the spirit of holiness that was in Him," *i.e.*, with *infinite* power; see Matt. xxviii. 18.—Ἡμῶν after τοῦ Κυρίου always means "of us, both Jews *and Gentiles*." Christ on his resurrection became Lord of all.

5. Δι', emphatic. "We were *called* of Christ to belief and apostleship; and *through* Him *received* grace (to enable us to obey) and apostleship (to enable others also to obey).—ἐλάβ., the plural used, probably not to indicate the dignity of His office, but to include all the apostles; meaning "*I* am one of the body of apostles." St. Paul was not sent to preach to all nations; he went to the west alone (Acts xxii. 15, πρὸς ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ἀνθρώπους, as being spoken before the call of Cornelius, may mean simply "to Jew *and Gentile*"). ἐλάβ. means also "received *voluntarily*, and still so receive" (aorist). It was not *forced* on us. Cf. chap. v. 11; see also 1 Cor. xiv. 32.—ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, to spread His name, the name of "Christian;" not, like the philosophers, to found sects called after our *own* names: ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόμ. is connected with ἀποστ. (εἰς ὑπ.—ἔθν. being parenthetical).—ΠΑΣΙ τοῖς ἔθν. includes *the unconverted Jews*; see chap. xv. 9—12. All nations are now on a level.

6. ΕΝ emphatic, in a new sense. "*Among* (not '*one with*') whom." "Ye are a peculiar (περιούστος) people" (Titus ii. 14). They surround you as it were. In 1 Cor. xii. 2, St. Paul tells the Corinthians that they are no longer "Gentiles." ΕΝ οἷς ἔστε καὶ ὑμεῖς then means, "Ye also—ye as well as others—are Christians." See also ἐν, ver. 13.—κλητοὶ sc. δούλοι, see ver. 1.

7. πᾶσι. Verses 2—6 are parenthetic, so that πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν goes with ver. 1.—πατρὸς ἡμῶν, "of us both Jews and Gentiles:" see chap. iii. 29, 30, ἡμῶν repeated with Κυρίου; πατρὸς is also repeated with Κυρίου, "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

8. Θεῷ μου, God as *my* God; that is, as having answered *my* prayers.—ὑπὲρ, "in behalf of." Thanksgivings for mercies received cause fresh mercies to be vouchsafed, so that thanksgivings are in effect prayers, as is implied here in ὑπὲρ. Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 1.—ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ: the fact of conversions having been made in the imperial city would be soon known everywhere. Ἡ πίστις, emphatic, "your *faith* (like the Gospel) is preached throughout the whole world."

9. γάρ. "I say, I thank God as *my* God for this, for I

have often prayed for this to be: and look on it as being in part an answer to my prayers."—*ἐν τῷ πνεύμ.*, "from the heart."

10. *ἐπὶ τῶν πρ. μου*—explaining *πάντοτε*, etc., and *ἀδιαλείπτως*. "Always on the occurrence of every season for private prayer." "Pray without ceasing" (1 Thess. v. 17, then means, "Do not intermit any of your stated seasons for prayer."—*εἴπως ἤδη—ὑμᾶς*, "Asking, at each time of prayer, whether I may 'now at length' have a happy and successful journey to you by the will of God."—*ποτὲ* is parenthetic. "Now (*i. e.*, at whatever time I may be praying)."—*ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, connected both with *δεόμενος* and *εὐοδωθ.*

11. *ἐπιποθῶ ἰδεῖν.* Aristotle gives the presence or absence of a desire to *see* another as the test of love.—*Ἐπὶ.* in *ἐπιποθῶ*, "*continually* desire, therefore I continually *pray*."—*ὑμᾶς*, emph., "you like other Christians: you will be confirmed in your faith, when you witness the miraculous signs given by the laying on of hands."

12. *τοῦτο δέ ἐστι.* Added courteously, lest the preceding should seem to mean that he thought he should be putting them under an obligation. *ΕΝ* in *ἐν ὑμῖν*, emphatic; *ὑμῖν* repeated; 1, *συν ὑμῖν*, simultaneously with you; 2, *ἐν ὑμῖν*, as being one of you.—*πίστεως*, repeated; 1, *τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις*; 2, by which I mean the faith both of you and of myself. "By witnessing each others' strong faith."

13. *προεθέμην*, "proposed;" *ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο*, added because he still hopes that he is now at last being forwarded in the will of God, and because (*ἐκωλύθην* being an aorist) it might otherwise have appeared that he meant he was still to be hindered.—*οὐ θ. δὲ ὑμᾶς*, emphatic: "I make my thankfulness known to God, and I do not wish *you* to be ignorant," etc.—*ἐν* here as *ἐν οἷς* (ver. 6.) St. Paul speaks of the (hoped-for) converts ("fruit") at Rome, as being (*as his converts) distinguished from the rest.* "That I may introduce some into your (already formed) Church, and so have fruit within your circle, where, *regarded simply as my fruit*, they would occupy the same relative position to *you*, that whole churches *elsewhere* that are altogether my fruit, bear to the unconverted nations about them." There is a pause before *ἔθνεσιν*, which word explains *τοῖς λοιποῖς*; "as I have elsewhere in the rest of the world: I mean in the Gentiles" (see ver. 5).

14. Still wishing to do away with the possible effect of ver. 11, "I am a *debtor* to all."

15. *οὕτω.* "In this spirit of a debtor."—*τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ*: "I only wait for the will of God to start me" (ver. 10). This verse seems added to do away the unpleasant effects that the word *βαρβάροις* in ver. 14 might have had. He speaks of them *of*

the imperial city, as if *they* were not to be ranked with the rest of the world, and were therefore not to be included among the barbarians.

16. *οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχ.* Secondly, "I am not *afraid* to preach there" (see chap. v. 5 note).—*εὐαγγελ.*, "the *preaching of* the message;" as in verses 1 and 9.—*Εἰς* here, as in chap. iv. 3, has two senses:—"instead of;" "leading to." 1, I am not afraid; for it is the power of God, tending to eternal salvation (in the place of mere bodily safety, guaranteed by the power of man) to every one that is faithful, as I shall then be to my trust: 2, I am not *ashamed* to proclaim even in Rome the coming of the anointed King of all.—*πρῶτον*, parenthetic; "Both to the Jew (firstly) and to the Greek."—*ἐστι*, "communicates.—*καὶ Ἕλληνι.* St. Paul does not add *βαρβάρῳ*. He probably courteously leaves it to be implied; "How much more, if possible, to you, whom God has set *over* both Jew and Greek." The Greek *πρῶτον*, however, gives the Jew precedence. But again, *δύναμις—σωτηρίαν* must be taken by itself, without *παντὶ τῷ πιστ.*, before which is to occur a pause; "I am not ashamed to preach it: for it will bring God's power to save some of my hearers, by making *them* believe."

17. The Gospel, I say, "tends to eternal salvation; for the righteousness of God (*which alone can secure salvation*) is revealed by it." And "to every one that is faithful," for righteousness is revealed in it (out of God's faithfulness to His promises, chap. xv. 8) *to meet* (*εἰς*) faith (in men), and will therefore save all who are, and *me* if I am faithful. But *ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν* probably has the second meaning of "*starting from* faith in one man to *produce* faith in another." I therefore know that if I be faithful, God will cause my faith to reproduce itself as it were in others.—*ἐν αὐτῷ*; 1, in the Gospel; 2, in Christ, who *is* God's righteousness. "The just (justified) by faith (God's and his own) shall live by faith (the faith of God and his own)." This proves that the faithful, *by continuing faithful,* shall secure eternal life, *i. e.*, salvation.

18. Observe the contrasts between the *power, righteousness,* and *anger* of God. God's saving righteousness is offered to every one, whether Jew or Gentile; since His anger is revealed from the wide heavens against all sinners.—*τῶν*, "I mean those of them who," etc., excluding infants and imbeciles.—*κατὰ* in *κατεχ.* emphatic; 1, that hold firmly, *i. e.*, with full consciousness of its meaning; *i.e.*, persons of an age and intellect to understand it; 2, that hold *down,* repress its saving energy.—*Ἐν ἀδικίᾳ*; 1, amidst wicked purposes; 2, by wickedness.

19. St. Paul is speaking chiefly to the Jews, "What may be

known of God is manifest in *them* (too)," *i.e.*, in the Gentiles.—*αὐτοῖς*, emphatic. What may be *known* (*i. e.*, deduced from natural observation) is contrasted with "what may be *believed*."—*Θεὸς*, emphatic; "For *God* (who is the God of *all men*, chap. iii. 29) has made it manifest (by His works in nature) among *them* (too)."

20. "Invisible (to some of His creatures) since the foundation of the world," but plainly seen since the creation of the world BY being apprehended by the mind.—*ἥ τε—θειότης*, parenthetic. *Θειότης* denotes "supremacy over, and independence of all other beings."

21. *ἐδόξασαν*, by obedience and prayer.—*ἢ εὐχ.* as you Jews were not thankful.—*διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν* ("the creations of their own brains") contrasted with *ποιήμασιν* (ver 20).—*ἐσκοτ.*, they endeavoured to darken God's glory, but were darkened themselves in heart.—*ἀσύνετος*, "that would not follow the teachings of nature" lit., "would not go along with."

22. *σοφοὶ*, compared with the rest of the world and with their forefathers.

23. *ἐν ὁμοιώμ.* Literally, "*in* a likeness." A metaphor, apparently from looking at the sun through a darkened glass, which distorted, dimmed, and discoloured it to the sight. So men looked, as it were, *through* the idol to God. The heathen of old did not think their idols themselves to be gods (see Acts xiv. 11).—*ὁμοιώματι εἰκόν.*, obs., "a faint resemblance of a resemblance," *i. e.*, a very *poor* resemblance after all. Perhaps *εἰκὼν* may mean "their own *idea* of the genus their idol represented." They degraded, by their images, even the very creatures they copied. The notion of "corruptible" expressed with man may be implied, in what follows, of birds, etc.

24. *καὶ*, "moreover." The next step in retribution is now described.—*ἐν—καρδ. αὐτῶν*, parenthetic; "by letting their own desires have play.—*σώματα*, "They dishonoured their bodies, and employed corruptible images of the corruptible bodies of creatures as means for dishonouring God: so God let their own corruptible bodies be means of dishonouring themselves."—*ἀκαθ.* refers to excess and irregularity in indulgence.

25. A further stage of sin, "Who were such as (next) to change," etc. Further loss of knowledge was the effects of their deeper sin.—*ΤΗΝ ἀλήθειαν ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ*. The singular of *τοῦ Θ.* emphatic. "The grand, primary truth of the *One* God—of the unity of the Deity."—*ἐν τῷ ψεύδει*, "In THE LIE."—the supreme lie,—of the plurality of Gods. *Μετὰ* in *μετήλλ.*: 1, subsequently; 2, changed to its very reverse.—*καὶ ἐσεβάσθ.* "And not only so, but also worshipped and served

the creature (as *e. g.*, their 'heroes') more than they did the Creator" (whom they still worshipped to some extent): they did not even put Him on a level with them.—ὅς ἐστι, "Who *is*, in spite of all they can do."—ἀμήν, "and so may He be."

26. τοῦτο. "For *this*," viz., what is mentioned in ver. 25, further retribution.—πάθη, emphatic. "Before, men *acted*; now, they also *suffered*—dishonourably:" were the *subjects* of deeds of shame.

Verses 26 and 27 describe the retribution sent on their *affections*—on their *hearts*, for worshipping and serving with their hearts other beings as gods. Ver. 28 describes the retribution sent on their *minds*.—ἔχειν, "to keep."—ἀδόκιμον, "that could not *test* truth and falsehood."—ποιεῖν, "to do, *thinking them to be good* acts" (see chap. vii. 15, 16); "to think evil to be good." Conscience is lost.—τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, the sins indicated in ver. 26, 27.

29. πεπλ., "having first been filled." St. Paul speaks here as if referring to *living* persons. *Filled*—as sinning without check of conscience.—μεστοὺς, more than πεπλ., "*crammed* full of."

32. Last stage of all! "Who, though being of such a kind as to be aware," etc., not only do such things, thinking them to be good, but even take pleasure in them that do them, *thinking and knowing them to be evil* (see chap. vii. 15).—ἄξιοι, God does not always carry his threats into execution.—δικ. The disorder, which sin introduces into the world, is a proof that sin opposes the will of the Creator Sinners therefore deserve to be removed from the world.

Chapter II.

1. πᾶς, emphatic: meaning, "you, *Jew*, who."—διὸ. St. Paul's object in the diversion in chap. i. 19—32 had been to set the Jews thinking about their heathen neighbours, and then to turn round on them suddenly and say to each, "Thou art the man;" and thus convince them of sin. He probably knew and meant that the Epistle should be read to the unconverted Jews, as well as to the Church. Διὸ refers to τοῖς πράσσουσι, chap. i. 32, (where supply "as do ye Jews"), as is explained by τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πράσσεις, "Your very judging shews that you do the same." Men are always the most inclined to the sins they say they most hate.—κρίνεις here implies sitting in judgment, like a judge in a court of justice; *i. e.*, dwelling on and referring to other persons' faults, as if you were innocent yourself.—πράσσεις, "do, *knowing them to be evil, as also your very judging their acts as being evil shows.*"

2. τὸ κρῖμα—ἀλήθ. "Your judgments are often mistaken. God's are correct, and his sentence on wrong doers according to

his threats." See ver. 4.—*πράσσοντας*, "we *all* know that God is angry at least with those who do such things, thinking them to be wrong, as you, Jews, do; however he may regard those who sin in ignorance. See Acts xvii. 30.

3. *λογίζῃ*. "Mayest thou be thinking this?" Is it that thou art calculating on *this*, that thou actest so?—*τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτ. πράσσοντας*, "them that do these wicked things."—*ποιῶν αὐτὰ*, "do you do them, as if they were good, as if they would not lead to hell?"—*Ἐκφεύξῃ* (not simply *φεύξῃ*), "shalt flee *out of*" (not "avoid altogether"). The later Jews held a doctrine of purgatory. Every circumcised Jew, if dying with a belief that God had called and made promises to the patriarchs and their descendants, would (according to their theory) be eventually saved; though those who had led sinful lives would have first to undergo punishment in a "purgatory." (See Bishop Bull on Justification.) St. Paul is combating this notion. *ΣΥ* emphatic, "THOU above all men!" Why you must be the very *last* person that could escape!

4. Or is it that you are sinning from despair, not knowing that the prolongation of your life and the inspiration of fear is a proof that God wishes you to be saved,—is a drawing you by the hand, as it were, towards saving repentance?—*χρηστὸν*, emphatic; "that it is the *kindness* of God, not His severity, that is dealing with you."

5. But, instead of repenting and securing salvation, are continually increasing the severity of the punishment prepared for you.—*σκλ. σου*, "it is you, not God, that is *hardhearted*."—*δικαιοκρισίας*, contrasted with the usually unjust judgments of men, referred to in ver. 1. See also ver. 2.

6. *ἑκάστῳ*. To each one, whether Jew or Gentile, Christian or heathen.

7. *καθ' ὑπομ.* "Acting by the rule of patience." There is a play in the word *ὑπομονὴν*. "By enduring (not, as the unrighteous will have to do at the day of vengeance, eternal punishment, but) the suffering attendant on resistance to temptation."—*ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, evidently is equivalent to "glory, honour, and immortality,"—make them partakers of *His own* nature, 2 Pet. i. 4. He will give them his Son, in whom is life, 1 John v. 11.

8. *ἐξ ἐριθείας*, "are children of contention." See vii. 19.—*θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή*. St. Paul does not say, "will give wrath," etc., for he hopes that those who are sinning will repent and escape condemnation: so he changes the construction, leaving "are awaiting," or some such verb, to be supplied.

9. *ψυχὴν*, God looks to the soul, not to accidental distinctions of flesh.

10. Perhaps this sentence is added to ver. 6, implying that the eternal life awaits the obedient only *so long as they obey.*—τῷ ἐργαζ., "that *is now* obeying."

12. ἀνόμως, without a *written* law.—ἥμαρτον, "have *really* sinned, are sinning, and will continue to sin."—ἀνόμως—ἀπολοῦνται, "shall perish *without distribution*—without distinction being made between Jew and Gentile." See νομ. πν, chap. viii. 2.—διὰ: 1, by means of; 2, *in spite of* (their privilege in possessing) it. See ver. 27.

13. οἱ ἀκρ., "The mere hearers of." There is an emphasis on θήσονται, "shall be (not 'just' but) justi*fied*,"—"shall not be just simply as having done what they have, but shall be *made* just in consequence." The τοῦ in the second τοῦ νόμου is emphatic. "But the doers of THE law, *i. e.*, of the law which says, Repent and believe the Gospel." See chap. x. 8—10.

14. "For when nations, I mean those of them that have *not* a written law," *i. e.*, Gentiles; ἔθνη alone would include Jews. See chap. i. 5.

15. "Being such as to shew (ἔργον) what the written law aimed to effect," viz., a spirit of piety.—μεταξὺ, κ.τ.λ., "one thought accusing as wrong the suggestion of another thought."—ἢ καὶ, "or *(also)*," *i. e.*, as well as accusing; for there must be accusing before there can be excusing: "Qui s'excuse s'accuse." Obs.: St. Paul speaks of the heart (the conscience) and the reason being concerned in every right act.—αὐτῶν, plural emphatic, "*their one* conscience," *i. e.*, the sense of right and wrong in one person being the same with, and *confirming the authority of*, that sense in others.

16. τὸ connected with ver. 12 (verses 13—15 having been parenthetic).—τὰ κρυπτὰ, not merely the outward acts and appearance.—ἀνθρώπων, of men *generally*; of all men.—Ἰ. Χριστοῦ, "by Jesus Christ, *whom ye, Jews, crucified;* and whom therefore ye should expect to deal with you, at least not more tenderly than he will with others." Perhaps μου means, "which I deliver, as received not from man, but from Christ Himself, whom I saw seated in glory;" see Gal. i. 12, and 2 Cor. xii. 2—4.

17. Ἰουδαῖος means "praiser of God."—ἐπον., "are surnamed;" meaning, "are such, alas! but in name."—τὸ θέλ., τὸ emphatic. "The *perfect* will," one (you think) higher than that revealed in the law.

18. δοκ. τὰ διαφ., "decidest nice questions of conscience."—κατηχ., "being merely *rudimentally* instructed (when you were young) out of the law." Your traditions form the chief body of your "divinity."

19. ὁδηγὸν—νηπίων reads like a quotation from a Christian hymn:—

Ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν,
Φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει,
Παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων,
Διδάσκαλον νηπίων.

Τῶν ἐν σκότει, "of the *seeing*, who are in darkness;" of those, *i.e.* who become *conscious* of their benighted state: which the "blind" are not.

20. *παιδ. ἀφρ.*, "a discipliner of imbeciles."—*τὴν μόρφωσιν*, "the mere *outline* of knowledge," (you would say,) etc., which supposed outline you fill up with your traditions.

21. *κλέπτεις*, by dishonesty in trade, the Jewish vice: "commit adultery," apparently another common sin among the Jews; "commit sacrilege," by omitting to send tithes and offerings to Jerusalem; see John viii. 7.

24. *βλασφ.*, emphatic, "is even blasphemed." *TO ὄνομα*, perhaps "THE name of 'Jehovah;' His name *as the God of the Jews*."—*δι' ὑμᾶς*: 1, because of you; 2, co-extensively with you, wherever you are. See *διὰ*, chap. viii. 10.—"As it has been written," *i.e.*, "*of your fathers*."

25. *πράσσῃς*. This verb often refers to mere natural and physical acts. Here used partly in irony. "If the fulfilment of the law consist in mere outward *bodily* acts, *then* circumcision *may* save;" *γὰρ* returning to *ἐπονομ.* (ver. 17). "I said merely a Jew in *name*, for," etc.

26. "Preserve the moral sanctions of the law in their hearts by *obedience*." Disobedience destroys the moral sense.—*οὖν*. "If disobedience makes you to be as if uncircumcised, shall not *obedience* make the uncircumcised to be as if circumcised?"

27. *ἡ ἐκ φύσεως*, "and for which therefore they are not responsible."—*διὰ γράμματος*: 1, by means of the letter, *i.e.*, through having the knowledge of it; 2, in spite of having the letter.

28. *Ἰουδ.* repeated, "not he that is a Jew in outward appearance is necessarily a praiser of God really;" *περιτομή*, similarly repeated, "nor is outward circumcision true circumcision."

29. *Ἰουδαῖος* again repeated, "but he that is a Jew inwardly, in the heart, is the true Jew;" *ἔπ.* referring to the meaning of *Ἰουδ.*, "who *is* praised."

CHAPTER III.

1. *οὖν*. If then the Jew is a sinner, what profit has he over the Gentiles?

2. *ἐπιστ., κ.τ.λ.* "The Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God." Understand, "And they preserved them, *and will be rewarded in consequence*." See chap. xi. 25.

3. "His faithfulness to *his* promises" (chap. xv. 8).

4. "Nay; *let* all men be unfaithful." Christ has procured and offers more than the law offers, and offers his blessings to *all* mankind. Therefore David prayed, *not* that the Jews might be enabled to fulfil the law, but, "Oh! that thou wouldest come down, that thou *(alone)* mightest be proved just (as thou alone wouldest be!), that we thus might obtain thy chiefest blessings."

5. *συνίστησι*; 1, introduces to the world; 2, sets off, shews as by a foil the perfection of God's righteousness.—*εἰ δὲ*, the supposed reply of a Jew.—*ἐπιφέρων* contrasted with *συνίστησι*, "brings in *wrath*." "I speak as a man." St. Paul shews, chap. ix. 14, that the term "unrighteous" cannot be spoken of God.

6. Answer. "By Christ, who is God, and who has borne His wrath for us. Since then He has suffered for sin, there can be no *seeming* injustice even in His punishing it." St. Paul is here speaking *κατ. ανθ., i. e.*, as if it were *possible* for the Supreme to be "unjust!" which in chap. ix. 14, etc., he shews not to be the case. *Κἀγω* (ver. 7) is intended to suggest this answer, as suggesting, secondly, "I—*as was Christ*."

8. *τί* repeated. *Καθὼς—ὅτι* parenthetic. "And why should we not (as we are falsely said to *do*, and as some assert that we even *say*, viz., "Let us—) do evil that good may come." Of those who act in such a way, and of those who assert this of us, the condemnation is just.—*ὅτι* in this verse is the sign of a quotation, and as such merely introduces the words of others, and is not to be translated.

9. *προεχ.* "Are we better in ourselves?" Ver. 1 had referred to the *privileges* of the Jews. The question here is supposed to be put by the Jew. "Before proved:" the Gentiles in chap. i. 18—32, and the Jews in chap. ii. 21—25, etc.

13. We have mention made of sins of the throat, tongue, lips, mouth, feet, hands, and eyes. "The poison of asps," etc. They *smile* deceitfully.

15. "To shed blood, sc. with their *hands*."

16. "Crushing destruction and misery are where they have trod," cf. Joel ii. 3. "The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

17. "Have not known;" *i.e.*, have not once trod.

18. Their looks are haughty and otherwise evil. Cf. Psalm ci. 5, and 2 Pet. ii. 14.

19. The present of λαλΕΙ is emphatic; "*Speaks* still, and says the same to *you* as to your fathers;" and thus concludes "*all* under sin" (ver. 10).

20. *διὰ γὰρ νόμου.* "For through the law '*men*' gain knowledge of sin and Satan." See chap. vii. 9.

21. *Νυνὶ.* Since Christ's resurrection and ascension, He is *in heaven,* and *the law* is for men *on earth in this* life.

22. *οὐ γάρ ἐστι,* referring to *ἐπὶ,* which implied that even *believers* require justification, and therefore are sinners naturally. —*ἐπὶ,* "*continually* upon;" *εἰς* refers to the first moments of the bestowal of justification; *ἐπὶ* to its *continuance.*

23. "All, whether believers or not," have sinned and do sin, and at every moment are coming short of the glory of God.

25, 26. *ΕΙΣ ἔνδειξιν,* and *ΠΡΟΣ ἔνδειξιν,* refer to two different periods—*δν προέθ.—αἵματι,* is to be repeated before *πρὸς ἔνδ.* "Whom God set forth (*on the cross*) to be His justification for having forgiven the sins of them who lived *before* that time (*πρὸς ἔνδ.*) and *raised* to be an intercessor that He may still be just (may not overlook sin), and *yet* may justify," etc.; or "that He might *continue* to be." See chap. iv. 11, *εἶναι.*

27. "Boasting," that referred to in chap. ii. 17. "Works," those referred to in ver. 20. "The distribution (see *νομ,* chap. viii. 2) of faith." Faith in Christ alone of course precludes boasting in oneself.

28. Verses 21—27 are parenthetical. Returning to ver. 20, yet referring also to what has been advanced in verses 21—27. "A *man,*" whoever he be, whether Jew or Gentile.—*δικ,* "is and is to be."

29. An almost indignant inquiry. "Did not God create, and does he not preserve all men? and will he not be faithful to the hopes and aspirations he inspires in them, and which are in effect his promises? Is he not a faithful Creator?" (1 Pet. iv. 19.)

30. The God of all is one. *ἐκ πίστεως* is parenthetic, explaining *περιτομήν.* "Will justify circumcision (if it be also circumcision by faith, *i.e.,* circumcision of the *heart,* chap. ii. 29; Deut. x. 16), *and un*circumcision: will justify *both alike* by means of faith."—*τῆς πίστεως*: 1, the faithfulness of Christ; 2, by faith in Christ.

30. *ἀλλὰ νόμον ἱστῶμεν.* "But let us set up the law of works (like a statue on a pedestal) to be admired indeed (chap. vii. 12), but as unable to do anything for us." St. Paul apparently was going to write *ἱστάνομεν τὸν νόμον* (sc. *τῆς πιστέως*), but changes to *ἱστῶμεν,* as if quoting the words of the Israelites, "Let us set up an idol;" for their doing which *Moses (κατήργησε)* broke the two tables of the law. This again reminded the Romans that the early Jews had not been justified by works.

A.

(To be continued.)

THE PREPOSITION ΕΙΣ.

Is it correct to say that "one preposition is put for another?" If so, it seems strange that the inspired writers especially should have intentionally passed over the preposition which was the proper one to have expressed their meaning, and should have selected another in its place, which was not the proper one, and have used it in its stead.

It is very clear that some prepositions have acquired meanings more or less deviating from their distinctive and peculiar meanings, from the usages of language; but surely prepositions ought to have their own proper meanings attached to them, whenever the sense of sentences will bear it. If this is a fact, how ought it to guide us, and operate upon us, in the interpretation of Scripture? As all Scripture is given by inspiration of God; as it embraces within its limits vital doctrines; and as the inner meaning and very essence of these doctrines is sometimes wrapt up in the deep significancy of a small preposition, how cautious ought we to be, as interpreters of the Word of God, to adhere closely to the simple, natural, and forcible meaning of a preposition, and not allow it to be changed or twisted into a meaning strictly speaking not its own, excepting where rigid necessity requires it. How frequently is the richness and forcibleness of some great gospel truth lost sight of, by not attending to this rule of interpretation.

The writer of this paper being a studier of his Greek Testament, and acting always upon the principle that to thoughtful minds the original Greek, gazed upon by the bodily eyes, and inwardly pondered under the teaching and illumination of the Divine Spirit, is the best of all commentaries upon the Divine Book, ventures to notice some of the instances where the force of the preposition εἰς is not recognized and properly appreciated by the general reader of the Authorized Version of the New Testament. He not long since contributed a paper to *The Journal of Sacred Literature* on the preposition ἐν, and he would make *that* his starting point in now offering a few remarks on its kindred preposition εἰς.

A truth of immense moment is embodied in this little, unassuming word, ἐν (in), in its theological sense, as used in the New Testament. And if this small preposition, when attached to our Lord's name, or to any other words expressive of the union, the oneness, of the believer with him, declares that great mystical truth, as a *fixed principle*, a *finished fact*, so also does εἰς, when similarly attached, hold up before us the same blessed truth in its motive power, in its active form. The

former is a great reality, for the spirit of man always to rest in, to realize, and to live upon. The latter is also a like glorious reality to solace the soul with, as a continuous act, an ever energizing principle.

Mr. Webster, in his *Syntax and Synonyms*, observes, that "εἰς is a lengthened form of ἐν (=ἐνς) and signifies *to* or *into*, with a decided expression of motion or tendency." Let us first of all select a few of those passages of the New Testament where the preposition εἰς is not recognized in our version.

Matt. iv. 13, "And leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt *at* Capernaum." The Greek is: "And having left Nazareth, having come *into* Capernaum, he dwelt there."

Mark v. 14, "And they that fed the swine fled, and told it, *in* the city, and *in* the country." The Greek is: "And they that fed the swine fled, and when they came *into* the city, and *into* the country, they told (reported) it."

Mark xiii. 16, "And let him that is *in* the field not turn back again for to take up his garment." The Greek is: "And let him who is gone *into* the field, being still there, not turn back again," etc., etc.

Luke xxi. 37, "And in the day time he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and abode *in* the mount that is called the mount of Olives." The Greek is: "And in the day time, he was teaching in the temple, and at night coming forth *into* the mount which is called the mount of Olives, he past the night there."

Acts xxi. 13, "I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die *at* Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." The Greek is: "I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die, having come *into* Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus."

1 Peter v. 12, "Testifying that this is the true grace of God *wherein* ye stand." The Greek is: "Testifying that this is the true grace of God *into* which, having come, ye stand."

Every reader of his Greek Testament knows well this common construction; but the mere English reader of the Authorized Version perceiving that the sense of each of these passages is the same, whether the preposition εἰς has its proper meaning given to it or not, may ask, "Why be so particular about so small a matter?" What difference can it make, whether we translate with the English Version (Mark i. 9), "And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John *in* Jordan:" or, according to the Greek, "Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and having gone down *into* Jordan, was baptized of John?"

It may make no difference in the sense, the preposition εἰς

not being especially marked in this and in many other passages besides those we have cited; but this want of preciseness in attaching to this preposition its own proper meaning, would, if carried out, rob some passages of the New Testament, in which great gospel doctrines are involved, of that rich and unctional meaning which is treasured up in them. Let us now instance some of those passages.

BAPTISM.—Matt. xxviii. 19, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them *in* the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The Greek: "Teach (marg., make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them *into* the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Now I believe that most English readers of the Authorized Version would understand the sense of this passage to be, that baptism is to be performed in the name of the Father, and of Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and consequently, that it is the essential medium of introducing the baptized person into the Church of Christ. However true this is in an outward and visible sense, it does not give the inner meaning of this passage.

We ask, "What is the qualification for Christian baptism?" Union with Jesus Christ, by a living faith! *Baptism* does not introduce the baptized person *into* Jesus Christ, or *into* the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; but the candidate for baptism, having been *previously*, by *faith*, united to Christ, brought *into* Christ, receives baptism as an outward sign or seal of this inward grace. And this is the truth embodied in these words, "Go, teach (make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them (they having entered, as their *discipleship* shews us, by *faith) into* the name *(name* being synonymous with *person)* of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Acts xix. 5, "When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." The Greek is: "They were baptized *into* the name of the Lord Jesus."

Paul asked these persons *into* what they had been baptized. They said, *Into* John's baptism. Then said Paul, John baptized with a baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they shall believe *into* Him who is coming after him, that is, *into* Christ Jesus. And having heard this, they were baptized, having by faith entered) *into* the name of the Lord Jesus. They first believed, and entered *into* the Lord Jesus, and then they were baptized. See also Gal. iii. 27.

But it may be asked, Is not this expression, "*into* Christ Jesus," or "into the name of the Lord Jesus," *figurative*, and *only* figurative inasmuch as we find the same expression used in regard to *Paul* and to *Moses?*

1 Cor. i. 13—15, "Were ye baptized in *(into)* the name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I had baptized in *(into)* my own name."

1 Cor. x. 2, "And were all baptized *into* Moses in the cloud and in the sea."

This question is easily answered. It *is figurative* as regards Paul and Moses, because they were only men. A real embodiment of any of their fellow-creatures with them was simply impossible. It *is* a *reality* as regards Jesus Christ, because he is God as well as man; and a *real embodiment* of his people with him is expressly declared; declared in a manner which cannot be controverted.

John xvii. 21, "That they all may be *one:* as thou, Father, art in *me,* and I in thee, that they also may be *one in us.*"

Rom. xii. 5, "So we being many, are one body in Christ."

1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, and 27, "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so *also is Christ.* For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body." "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular."

Ephes. i. 22, 23, "Gave him to be head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all."

iv. 15, 16, "The head, even Christ, from whom the *whole body* fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the *body* unto the edifying of itself in love."

v. 30, "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones."

The reality of the union between Jesus Christ and his people is not only declared in this marked and most unmistakable manner, but the *life* of a believer, in its commencement, in its after support, and in its eternal continuance, is declared also to be so dependent upon Christ (yea, the believer's life, being Jesus Christ's own life), that it is impossible to reduce it to a figure of speech, or rob it of one particle of its glorious reality.

Mr. Webster (in his most admirable work, *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament)* observes, "The meaning of εἰς with βάπτιζω appears to be twofold: *unto,* object, purpose: Matt. iii. 11; Acts ii. 38, *into, union,* and *communion with;* the context shewing, *whether it be of the most complete and mystical nature,* as Gal. iii. 27; Rom. vi. 3; 1 Cor. xii. 13; or as in 1 Cor. x. 2: *necessarily less comprehensive and significant*" (p. 161).

FAITH.—The Authorized Version does not distinguish between the *fixed condition* of the believer in Christ, and the *continuous actings* of faith *into* Christ.

Thus Gal. iii. 26, "Ye are all the children of God by faith *in* Christ Jesus." Here it is ἐν, the fixed condition. But in very many other passages, where it is εἰς *(into)*, and points out the *continuous actings* of faith *into* Christ, our English translators have, in these instances also, translated it *in* as though it were ἐν. We cite some of these passages.

Matt. xviii, 6. "But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe *in* me," etc. It is "*into* me:" the continuous acting of faith.

John ii. 23, "Many believed *in* his name, when they saw the miracles which He did." It is "*into* his name."

iii. 15, "That whosoever believeth *in* Him should not perish." It is "*into* Him."

vii. 5, "For neither did his disciples believe *in* Him." It is "*into* Him."

xi. 25, 26, "He that believeth *in* me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth *in* me shall never die." It is "*into* me."

Acts xxiv. 24, "Heard him concerning the faith *in* Christ." It is "*into* Christ."

Col. ii. 5, "The steadfastness of your faith *in* Christ." It is, "of your faith *into* Christ."

1 Peter i. 21, "That your faith and hope might be *in* God." It is "*into* God."

This distinction again between *in* and *into* some may think unimportant and not worth noticing, as the one involves the other. But it is important because the Holy Spirit has marked the distinction between the *settled, fixed condition,* and the lively, continuous *actings* of faith: and the distinction is very beautiful in the eyes of a believer.

This distinction between the *settled, fixed condition,* and the continuous act, it is delightful to notice in another case, which we would just remark upon in passing, although it does not rightly belong to the subject we are upon.

1 Cor. vi. 11, "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, *in* the name of the Lord Jesus, and *in* the spirit of our God." Here is the settled, fixed condition of the believer in Christ.

1 John i. 7, "The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, *cleanseth* (*καθαρίζει*) us from all sin." Here is the continuous act.

Though doubtless the former necessarily involves the latter, yet it is delightful to the Christian believer to realize the fact,

that as he is continually sinning, so the blood of Jesus is as continually cleansing. And this so accords with the believer's constant practice in all his addresses to a throne of grace. As an abstract fact, all his sins, present as well as past, the very last sin which he has committed with his last breath, is pardoned, washed out, through his union with his Lord. Yet, notwithstanding this, it is such an one's constant practice, whenever he kneels down in prayer, to seek anew the cleansing of all his sins in the Redeemer's blood. As it is an ease to his burdened and troubled spirit to *confess anew* his guilt; so it is a solace and a refreshment to his soul, to feel that the fountain for sin and uncleanness is a perennial fountain, always flowing to wash away the very last sin with which the believer's conscience is stained.

JOINT WORSHIP.—Matt. xviii. 20, "For where two or three are gathered together *in* my name, there am I in the midst." The Greek is, "For where two or three are gathered together *into* my name."

Here the active principle, expressed in the preposition *into*, is very expressive. It is not fanciful to gaze upon our glorious Redeemer in two points of view; as the great centre of the whole Christian system, and also as the centre of any small section of his Church, be they only two or three in number who are met together. The former will be only realized at the final gathering of his redeemed, when He shall come to be glorified in his saints. But the latter is realized every day, by every little company of worshippers, who assemble for joint prayer and praise.

The gathering together then *into* Jesus Christ implies that Jesus Christ, the central sun, the object of desire, the medium of communication between Christian believers and their heavenly Father, is present, *especially present*, in some spot, whether the gorgeous cathedral, the simple chapel, the private room, or in the open air, "the sea shore," where few or many of this class have agreed to meet together for joint worship. They each go forth from their respective dwellings with the *lively actings of faith;* and what for?—To meet together *into* Him. They are all *in* Him, as believers, and it is their privilege to draw nigh to their heavenly Father *in* Christ Jesus, each one by *himself*, at any time, and in any place. But the *special* promise being given to two or three *uniting* in prayer, both as regards their petitions being granted, and Jesus vouchsafing his special presence in the midst, these worshippers go forth converging *into* Him as the great centre of attraction; that entering *into* Him, as a body, their united offerings, as *one body in Him*, might come up before God with increased acceptableness.

Rom. xi. 32. "For God hath concluded them all *in* unbelief,

that He might have mercy upon all." The Greek is, "For God hath concluded them (marg., 'Shut them all up together') *into* unbelief," etc. They *having* entered, and *still* entering "*into* unbelief," God hath shut them up in it.

Here *into* expresses not only the continuous act of unbelief still going on, but that the act is their *own* act: and having entered, and *still* entering *into* unbelief, by their own willing act, God, as a judgment, has shut them all in, after their having voluntarily entered *into* it.

Let us now cite a few passages of Scripture, where the preposition εἰς is not translated *in* in the Authorized Version, but *of, for, to, at, against, concerning,* etc., etc. The writer of this paper does not presume to say that either of these meanings are wrong. Far otherwise. He only wishes to submit what he has before stated, that if the Holy Spirit has used the preposition εἰς *(into),* it ought to have this its primary meaning given to it, whenever the sense of the passage will admit of it. He is fully aware, that in many instances from the circumstances of language it will not bear its primary meaning, but that a constructional meaning must be given to it. In a theological point of view, however, (a most important item as regards the interpretation of the New Testament) giving the preposition εἰς its simple, proper meaning *(into)* whenever it can be given, without any unnatural straining, generally conveys a meaning which is more or less lost sight of by the English reader when differently rendered.

1 Peter i. 11. "When it testified beforehand the sufferings *of* Christ." The Greek is, "When it testified beforehand the sufferings *into* Christ.

The sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ!! Suffering was to be His portion from the cradle to the grave. Who shall attempt to describe the sufferings of our Lord! the sufferings which entered *into* Him during the thirty-three years of his earthly sojourn. Sin meeting Him everywhere! The sin which He *saw,* the sin which He *knew of! Holiness,* perfect holiness, coming in daily, hourly contact with unholiness! The contradiction of sinners which He endured! Coming to and living in a world which would *not* be saved, though his mission was to save it. The Redeemer's tears over Jerusalem! His last agonies in the garden! on the cross! Oh, the tortures of the Holy Jesus! The swords, the daggers, which were for three and thirty years unceasingly piercing *into* the inmost recesses of his soul.

"The sufferings *of* Christ" express it all: but "the sufferings *into* Christ" express it with a deeper intensity of meaning. And this is the way in which the Holy Spirit expresses it.

Rom. iv. 3, "Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him *for* righteousness," (see also v. 5; Gal. iii. 6; James ii. 23.) The Greek is: "And it was counted unto him *into* righteousness." Which gives the clearer sense of this passage, "*for*," or "*into?*" We think the latter.

Abraham believed God, and it (*i.e.*, his faith) was counted unto him (as having introduced him) *into* righteousness. The Christian believer now, by faith, enters *into* Christ, and by entering into Christ enters into his righteousness.

Rom. iii. 22. "Even the righteousness of God, which, by faith of Jesus Christ, is *unto* (εἰς) all, and upon all them that believe."

Dean Alford remarks upon this passage as follows: "εἰς πάντ. κ. ἐπὶ πάντ. depends on πεφανέρωται (is revealed) '*unto*' (for the benefit of) *all*, and *upon* ('over,' 'so as to be shed down on,' but *no real difference of meaning from* εἰς. This repetition of prepositions to give force is peculiar to Paul, see ver. 30, and Gal. i. 1,) *all who believe.* Probably the repetition of πάντας was suggested by the two kinds of believers, Jew and Gentile, so as to prepare the way for οὐ γάρ ἐστι διαστολή; *but still no difference in* εἰς *and* ἐπὶ *must be sought.*"

1. Are we then to understand the Apostle's meaning to be, "*is revealed* unto (for benefit of) *all*; and upon (over, so as to be shed down on)?" 2. Is there "no real difference of meaning between εἰς and ἐπὶ?" "*Must* no difference in εἰς and ἐπὶ be sought?" With much diffidence the writer of this paper submits the following as the sense of this passage: "And the righteousness of God, by faith of Jesus Christ, is (enters) *into* all; and is (comes) upon all them that believe." The believer is a part of Christ; a member of his body. In Christ, he is made "the righteousness of God." The righteousness of God is not simply *imputed* to him; nor simply put *upon* him. In Christ he really is "the righteousness God." And this great reality is described by the Apostle in the following marked ways: in Christ the believer enters "*into* righteousness" (Rom. iv. 22, 23; x. 10). Again, the righteousness of God "enters *into him;*" and "the righteousness of God comes upon him" (iii. 22). In a word, the believer is absorbed in "the righteousness of God." *He* has entered into *it*. *It* has entered in *him*, and it is *upon him.* Thus these different expressions open up the fulness of the meaning of such Scriptures as the following: "The Lord *our righteousness*" (Jer. xxiii. 6). "That we might be made *the righteousness of God in him*" (2 Cor. v. 21). "Who of God is made unto us *righteousness*" (1 Cor. i. 30). "Not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, *the righteousness which is of God by faith.*"

In viewing the righteousness of God entering *into* the believer, as well as coming *upon* him, we must not mistake it for, nor confuse it with, the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, either in its first beginning, or in its progressive working.

Gal. vi. 8, "For he that soweth *to* his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth *to* the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." The Greek is: "*into* his flesh;" "*into* the Spirit."'

Perhaps the difference between "*to*" and "*into*" may be slight; yet the latter seems preferable in conveying the sense of this passage. We cite Dean Alford's note upon this Scripture: "He that (now) soweth 'is now sowing;' εἰς, 'unto,' 'with a *view* to,' not local; '*drops his seed into*,' 'tanquam in agrum' (Bengel). This in the New Testament is given by ἐν (Matt. xiii. 24, 27; Mark iv. 15), or ἐπὶ (Matt. xiii. 20, 23; Mark iv. 16, 20, 31), εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας (Matt. xiii. 22; Mark iv. 18), rather being "among the thorns" (see Ellicott).

Bishop Ellicott's note: "εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ, '*unto*' or '*for*' *his own* flesh, not '*in* carne suâ,' Vulg. Clarom.; *for though the flesh and the Spirit are represented under the image of two cornfields in which seed is sown,* and from which the harvest is gathered, the meaning of εἰς is still not *local* (*in* tanquam in agrum, Beng.); but in accordance with its more usual meaning, ethical (carni suæ, Beza, comp. Copt.); the prepp. used in the New Testament in a *strictly local* sense being apparently ἐν and ἐπὶ; the former in reference to the enclosure in which the seed is sown (Matt. xiii. 24, 27, and metaphorically Mark iv. 15); the latter, to the spot *on* which it is cast (Matt. xiii. 20, 23; Mark iv. 16—20, 31). In the expression εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας (Matt. xiii. 22; Mark iv. 18), εἰς rather means 'among;' comp. Plato, *Leg.*, viii., 839, A."

Is it so, "that the flesh and the Spirit are represented in this Scripture under the image of two cornfields in which seed is sown?" It is quite clear that the present time is the sowing time with all of us. The crop we shall reap at the harvest will correspond with the seed which we now sow. Is not the *world* the *one cornfield* in which we are all sowing?

There are two kinds of sowers. He that soweth entering *into* his flesh, and he that soweth entering *into* the Spirit. We are all in *the flesh* by nature, *i.e.*, born with the utterly corrupt principle in us that is our own (ἑαυτοῦ). The two sowers are—1. He who abides in "his flesh" and enters anew *into* his flesh as the *active principle* of his life. 2. He who comes *out* of his flesh and enters *into* the Spirit as the *active principle* of *his* life.

The *former* is "*in* the flesh" as a fixed principle, and is con-

stantly entering anew *into* the flesh in his active life; and the seed he sows is "of the flesh," and will yield corruption: death, in the fullest sense of that word. John iii. 6, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh." Rom. viii. 8, "They that are in the flesh cannot please God." Ver. 13, "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die." The *latter* is *in* the Spirit as a fixed principle (Rom. viii. 9), and is constantly entering *anew into* the Spirit in his active life; and the seed he sows is of the Spirit, and will reap everlasting life. John iii. 6. "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Rom. viii. 13. "If ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."

Matt. xii. 41. "The men of Nineveh shall rise up in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented *at* the preaching of Jonas." The Greek is: "They repented *into* the preaching of Jonas." What were the circumstances? Jonas preached to the Ninevites. The Ninevites gave heed to what he said. They entered heart and soul *into* that which Jonas preached (εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ), and consequently repented.

Luke xv. 18. "I will arise and go to my Father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned *against* heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." The Greek is: "I have sinned *into* heaven." The prodigal was a true penitent; and what proved him to be a true penitent? Why, his being grieved and tortured in his soul, not only in having offended and pained his father, but in feeling that his many and great sins had entered *into* heaven, and come up before his God. And distressed as he now was to think how he had offended his father, yet his having sinned against his God distressed him more; and, therefore, in his confession he mentioned *that* first: "Father, I have sinned *into* heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son."

Ephes. iv. 12, "*For* the perfecting of the saints, *for* the work of the ministry, *for* the edifying of the body of Christ." What is the idea which the English reader would gather from this Scripture? That the Lord had appointed the different orders of ministers specified in ver. 11 with a *threefold* object in view; viz., "*for, for, for.*"

The Greek by a change of preposition points out *one* object only, and *two* modes by which this object is to be accomplished. We ask with what important object in view did the Lord appoint these different orders of ministers, viz., "Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers?" "*For* (πρός) the perfecting of the saints."

In what way were they to carry out to completion this

object? 1. By entering "into (εἰς) the work of the ministry." 2. By entering "into (εἰς) the act of building up the body of Christ." "*The work of the ministry*" would be bringing in new converts into the body of Christ, and in engaging in the work of the Christian ministry generally. "*The building up* of the body of Christ" would be carrying on the work in its progressive form; the leading on of individual Christians to higher and higher degrees of Christian holiness and experience, till all come into a perfect man unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

Bishop Ellicott makes the following observations upon this verse: "It seems then best and most consonant with the fundamental (ethical) meaning of the prepositions to connect εἰς—εἰς with ἔδωκε; and as εἰς, with the idea of destination, frequently involves that of attainment, to regard εἰς—εἰς as two parallel members referring to the more *immediate*; πρός to the more *ultimate* and final purpose of the action." We may thus paraphrase: "He gave Apostles, etc., etc., to fulfil the work of the ministry, and to build up the body of Christ: his object being to perfect his saints."

Ephes. v. 31, 32 (Authorized Version). "A man shall leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh (εἰς σάρκα μίαν). This is a great mystery: but I speak *concerning* Christ and his Church" (εἰς Χριστὸν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν). As regards ver. 31, the general reader of the English Version would not know that the preposition εἰς stood there at all. As regards ver. 32, is not the force and inner meaning of this passage lost sight of in consequence of εἰς having been translated *concerning?* Ver. 31 literally translated would be, "and these two shall be *into* one flesh." Ver. 32, "This mystery is great; but I speak *into* Christ and *into* his Church." In other words, "But I speak of the Church's entering into Christ, and Christ's entering into the Church; the continuous action."

Our Lord describes the settled fixed state, as regards *marriage*, as "one flesh" (σὰρξ μία). He describes also the continuous action, keeping up that union, as "*into* one flesh" (εἰς σάρκα μίαν) Matt. xix. 5, 6; and this symbolizes the great mystery which the Apostle employs it to symbolize. Whilst some may think that this is refining upon the point, the true Christian believer sees, as in other cases, great beauty in it, inasmuch as it sets forth again in another form the living action which is continuously going on between Christ and his Church. The *fixed condition* ("we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones") is one glorious fact to realize and live upon.

The *continuous actings* of faith on the part of the Church, and of each separate member of the Church *into* Christ, and Christ continually entering *into* the Church, is another glorious fact to realize and to live upon also.

Let us select one more instance, viz., Luke xviii. 35. Is not the real force of εἰς lost sight of in this passage in the Authorized Version? And if it has its proper simple meaning (*into*) given to it, will it not be an additional means of harmonizing the discrepancy which exists between the statements of St. Luke, St. Matthew, and St. Mark, according to the Authorized Version? Let us examine it, and see whether this is the case. Authorized Version.—St. Luke xviii. 35, "And it came to pass, as he was *come nigh unto* Jericho." St. Matt. xx. 29, "And as they *departed from* Jericho." St. Mark x. 46, "And they came to Jericho; and as he went out of Jericho," etc.

If St. Luke xviii. 35 is translated as follows, his statement, instead of being opposed to the statements of St. Matthew and St. Mark, will accord with them. "And it came to pass, as he was come nigh, *having entered into* (εἰς) Jericho." But here a *question* may arise, and an *objection* may be started: 1. What authority have we for using the *past* participle, "*having entered?*" 2. This statement, after all, only goes so far as to say that our Lord *entered into* Jericho; but nothing is stated about his having passed out of it again.

To the *question* we reply, St. Luke himself furnishes us with a precisely parallel case as regards construction; and guided by this, we consider we are authorized in translating the passage as we have done. In answer to the *objection* we reply, that if it be admitted that St. Luke states that our Lord had entered into Jericho, and as he affirms that he was *nigh* Jericho, it proves that he must have *passed out* of Jericho again, as Luke would not say he was *nigh* it, if he was still *in* it. Moreover, St. Luke seems to fill up his own ellipsis as regards our Lord's having come *into* Jericho, and his having passed out of it again, when in narrating another incident, which immediately follows the restoring of sight to the blind man, he begins with these words, "And having entered, he passed through Jericho" (*καὶ εἰσελθὼν διήρχετο τὴν Ἰεριχώ*).

The parallel case we allude to is the following. We give the Greek first, that the parallelism between the two cases may be the more apparent: Luke xviii. 35, "*ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ;*" xix. 29, "*Καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγὴ καὶ Βηθανίαν.*" In the *Authorized Version* this latter verse is translated in the same manner as the former. "And it came to pass, when he was *come nigh* to Bethphage and Bethany."

Now the force of εἰς is not only lost sight of, but the passage thus rendered is made to disagree with the statement of St. Matthew. The Authorized Version makes St. Luke to state that our Lord at this time was simply *come nigh* to Bethphage and Bethany. St. Matthew on the other hand states, that our Lord and his disciples were nigh, with the intention of entering into Jerusalem, and were already *come into* Bethphage. Matt. xxi. 1, "*Καὶ ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Βηθφαγή.*" And this is precisely what St. Luke states when properly translated, and the preposition εἰς has its simple and expressive meaning given to it. "And it came to pass, when he was nigh, having *entered into* Bethphage and Bethany."

This latter, I repeat, is a parallel case with the former, namely, Luke xviii. 35: and as St. Matthew furnishes us with the verb in the *past tense*, to fill up the ellipsis in St. Luke in this *latter* case; so I say it authorizes our filling up the ellipsis in St. Luke in the *former* case with the *past participle*. In other words, if we are authorized in translating Luke xix. 29, "*ὡς ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγὴ καὶ Βηθανίαν,*" etc., "When he was nigh, *having entered into* Bethphage and Bethany," because St. Matthew states that our Lord and his disciples *were come into* Bethphage (*ἦλθον εἰς Βηθφαγή*), then we are authorized in translating Luke xviii. 35, "*ἐν τῷ ἐγγιζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεριχὼ,*" "When he was *nigh, having entered into* Jericho" (and passed out of it again, inasmuch as he was *nigh it* and *not in* it), because Matthew declares that they had *departed out of* Jericho; and Mark also states (x. 46) that they *came into* Jericho, and he departed from it, and his disciples, etc., etc., "*Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεριχώ· καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεριχὼ, καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ,*" etc. I repeat also, that in giving εις its proper force in each of these passages, not only do we find that the three Evangelists are in perfect agreement with each other, as regards their respective statements touching our Lord's progress towards *Jerusalem;* but as regards St. Luke xix. 29, it furnishes a construction precisely parallel with Luke xviii. 35, and is a further corroborative proof that St. Luke in this latter passage does not make a statement *opposed to,* but in *accordance with,* the statements of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

The writer of this paper feels he shall be exceeding reasonable limits by continuing this subject further, and therefore closes it with a few concluding remarks.

Many who have not been brought to value the Word of God, as the Word of God, and to realize it as such, and who do not acknowledge and realize also its verbal inspiration, will think that much which has been written is vain and useless. Such persons may say, Why enter into all these minute particulars?

As long as we have the true sense of the passages which have been cited, and of others which might be cited, why sift and examine into such trifles as the strict and peculiar meaning of a little preposition? If *you* feel a pleasure in passing away many hours in such investigations, well and good: but do not expect us to follow you. We are satisfied with the general meaning of Scripture: and we view such minute searchings as useless and unedifying."

We believe that such sentiments and feelings as these are not confined to our lay brethren: but that they are the feelings and reasonings of some of our clerical brethren also. The writer of this paper would shrink from judging his brethren who think and speak thus: but may it not be the case that such sentiments arise from their never having really valued and enjoyed the Scriptures, as the veritable Word of God inspired by the Holy Ghost?

If I take up my Bible, feeling and realizing, that it is in truth the Word of God; that not only the Word of God is *in* it—*somewhere,* but that the *whole of it* is the Word of God, and that the *words* are inspired by the Holy Ghost: surely then, in proportion as I feel this, I shall be anxious to sift and examine every word: knowing that an important meaning is frequently treasured up in *a word;* and shall also be most desirous, under the Holy Spirit's teaching, of finding out what that meaning is.

If natural philosophers take a deep interest in entering into the depths and minutiæ of natural science, surely Christian philosophers ought to take an equal interest in the deeper, the more glorious, science of Christianity, as set forth in its only text book—the Word of God.

That person is indeed to be pitied, who can be cold and indifferent upon so momentous a point. That person is to be pitied who, after listening to some sweet inner truth brought out by the criticism of a little word, so far from being at all interested in it, only coldly remarks, "It's all very well for those who have the peculiar taste to occupy themselves in such studies."

Is not the cause of all this frigidity, the non-appreciation of the Scriptures as the *veritable Word of God?* Once realize this great fact, through the teaching of the Holy Ghost, and criticism will no longer be undervalued.

The writer of this paper prays that Bible critics may be multiplied a thousandfold: if, at least, they *all* have this essential qualification, a *childlike* spirit, which *wishes* and which *prays* to be guided, not simply by human intellect, but by the Holy Spirit of God.

W. R. Coxwell Rogers.

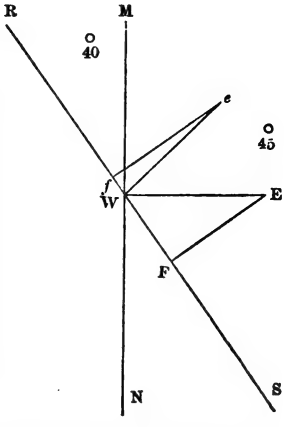
CORRESPONDENCE.

[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

THE EAST WIND AND THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

THE following statement of a modern writer lately took my attention:—"I quite agree with Wilkinson and others, who consider that the place where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea to escape from the Egyptians was at the ford, a short distance to the east of the modern town of Suez, which I saw camels fording on their way to the fountain of Ghurkudeh. There are two fords the camels have to pass; the first is to the N.W., the second is reached after crossing a long sandy island. An east wind would swell these fords immensely. This wind rises here very suddenly, and sometimes it is very strong, increasing to a prodigious extent the depth of the waters."[a]

The phenomenon here described is according to the ordinary laws of nature. For the Red Sea (R S) stretches from N.W. to S.E., at an angle of about 40° with the meridian (M N), or 130° with the direction of the east wind (E W). If we take E W to represent the direction and force of the east wind, by the parallelogram of forces we may resolve it into two others represented by E F, F W; in other words, the east wind would drive the waters against the western shore and towards the north end of the gulf, raising their level and so deepening them at the part where the Israelites crossed.



This being the case, the question arose in my mind, For what purpose did Jehovah cause the "strong east wind" to blow "all that night," in which the Passage of the Israelites took place? Before proceeding further, I beg to guard myself against any misconception, by assuring your readers that I approach the subject with the deepest reverence, and an entire conviction of the historic character, veracity, and inspiration of the Mosaic narrative; and only viewing it as a

[a] *A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt in* 1860-1. By G. A. Hoskins, Esq., F.R.G.S. London: 1863. pp. 50, 51.

question of interpretation, in regard to which I cannot help thinking that there has been some misconception.

I. The common impression is, that the wind was Jehovah's instrument *for dividing the waters*. The ancient versions in Walton's *Polyglot*, Origen, Jerome, and the Vulgate, seem to take this view. Our Authorized Version implies as much: "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go *back* by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided" (Exod. xiv. 21). All the critics and expositors to whom I have had access take the same view, though they differ in their explanations.

(1). Some think that "the wind blew across, and scooped out a dry passage."[b] A wind usually blows over a region of greater or less extent: in the case supposed it must have been a blast blowing across a band of the sea, but with such terrific force, that nobody could have stood against it for a moment, much less have advanced to the eastern shore. Nor is the matter much mended if, with others, we suppose the wind to have blown *eastward*, that is, to have been a west wind;[c] for in that case we should only have the direction of the blast reversed, and the Israelites would have been blown across with terrific speed.

(2). Most persons think that the wind caused an extraordinary ebb; and cases are cited in which wind has produced such a result. See Dr. E. D. Clarke's *Travels* (edition 1810, vol. i., p. 325); Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* (edition 1862, pp. 35, 36); Pallas's *Travels* (vol. i., p. 213); and Knight's *Encyclopædia of Geography* on the Caspian Sea.

Rosenmüller, seeing the unsuitableness of the east wind to produce the desired effect in the case of the Israelites, who were on the western shore, thinks that קָדִים may denote *any* strong wind; and supposes it in this instance to have blown from the north, and, combining with the ebb tide, to have laid the north end of the gulf dry. But Moses states in the next verse, that "the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left;" whereas the supposed ebb would leave the bed of the sea on their left flank dry, and they would have been exposed to the assault of the Egyptians.

Dr. Robinson meets this difficulty by suggesting, that the arm of the gulf which passes by Suez northward ("the tongue of the Egyptian Sea," Isa. xi. 15), and which was in all probability the scene of the Passage, was formerly both wider and deeper than it is now; and that while a N.E. wind would suffice to blow the water off the shoal by Suez towards the south, there would still be deep water immediately north of the shoal, which would serve for a wall or defence on the left flank of the Israelites.

This explanation, however, does not appear to me satisfactory; for though it supposes a miracle in the Lord suddenly calling forth a

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[b] Horne's *Introduction*, last edition, vol. iii., p. 720.
[c] Townsend on the *Pentateuch*, vol. ii., pp. 131—138.

natural agent at a particular moment expressly to execute his designs, yet if such a phenomenon happened once, it must have happened often; for Dr. Robinson himself says of the N.E. wind, what Mr. Hoskins says of the E. wind, that "it often prevails in this region:"[d] whereas the sacred narrative implies throughout, that something happened quite unprecedented. The allusions to the passage of the Red Sea in other Scriptures imply the same thing; for they represent Israel not as passing over shoals laid dry, but through "the heart of the sea" (Exod. xv. 8), and "through the depths of the sea" (*ibid.*, Ps. lxvi. 6; lxviii. 22; lxxvii. 16; lxxviii. 13; cvi. 9; Isa. li. 10). The neighbouring nations are represented as thrown into the greatest consternation by the report of it (Exod. xv. 14—16, 19). "What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest?" asks the Psalmist (Ps. cxiv. 5): but if the sea was only driven off the shoal by a N.E. wind stronger than usual, there was no great mystery about it, and the Psalmist's question loses its point. The tradition which Diodorus Siculus picked up among the Ichthyophagi on the borders of the gulf, that "a great ebb of the sea *once* happened there (μεγάλης τινὸς γενομένης ἀμπώτεος), and that after leaving its bottom some time dry the sea came back again with great fury and covered its former bed,"[e] is understood to refer to the Passage of the Israelites, and implies that it was a unique event.

Beside, the N.E. wind would hardly have been the wind selected for such a purpose as Dr. Robinson suggests; for the only portion of it *f* W (see the diagram) which would tell on the proposed end, would operate but feebly: a wind from the N. or N.W. would have been more appropriate. But a N. or N.W. wind is inadmissible here; for we are expresssly told that the wind in this instance was the קָדִים: and only four chapters previously Moses mentions this same wind as bringing the locusts, which came either from Arabia on the E., or from Abyssinia on the S.;[f] and another wind described as "from the sea" (יַמִּים), *i. e.* a N. or N.W. wind in reference to Egypt, "took them away and cast them into the Red Sea:" this latter, as I have just said, would have been the proper wind to carry out Dr. Robinson's theory; but it is clearly distinguished by Moses from the קָדִים: and surely if קָדִים meant the E. wind in chapter x., it must mean the E. wind in chapter xiv.

It is curious that Josephus, in his description of the Passage, makes no mention of the E. wind, apparently puzzled to understand its action (*Antiq.*, ii. 16, 3).

(3.) The Talmudists, the Vulgate, and others, deriving קָדִים from קָדַח, "to burn," assign to the wind the office of drying the bottom, as well as opening the passage;[g] but had the wind been hot enough for such a purpose, it would surely have inflicted dreadful suffering

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[d] See *Biblical Researches*, edition 1841, vol. i., p. 83.

[e] Diod. Sic. *Bibliotheca*, iii., c. 39.

[f] See Rosenmüller's *Scholium on Exodus* x. 13.

[g] See Cornelius a Lapide *in locum*, and Dr. Kalisch's *New Translation Exodus with Annotations*, London, 1855.

on the chosen people. The Septuagint, probably with an eye to the same etymology, translates קָדִים by *νότος*, which was certainly a hot wind (see Luke xii. 55).

(4.) Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott, doubtless perceiving the difficulties attending the common theory, thought that the E. wind was only a *sign* of the divine power; but the *sign* was the rod of Moses stretched out over the sea (Exod. xiv. 16, 21, 26), which of course produced no physical effect on it whatever. And if it pleased God, in carrying out his purposes, to introduce a *natural* agent, it is reasonable to suppose that that agent would act in a *natural manner*. Why was a "strong" wind employed, but because the occasion demanded its *natural* effects to be produced in a strong degree? Our present enquiry is, what bearing the wind, on this supposition, had on the Passage. It seems to follow from the foregoing considerations, that whatever the wind was, E., W., N., or S., it was *not* sent to *divide the waters*.

II. I proceed now to state what I venture to think was the real office of the east wind on that memorable occasion. If we turn to the Hebrew Bible we read, וַיּוֹלֶךְ יְהוָה אֶת־הַיָּם, "and Jehovah caused the sea to go;" there is nothing in the Hebrew (as the italics in our Bibles indicate) for "*back*," which our translators inserted under the usual impression, that the wind was sent to divide the waters. The Hebrew verb is the Hiphil or causative conjugation of הָלַךְ "to go;" "Jehovah caused the sea to go," or drove the sea, "by a strong east wind all that night." And how the Red Sea would behave under such circumstances, we know from Mr. Hoskins and the parallelogram of forces,—"the depth of the waters would be prodigiously increased" at the north end of the gulf, where the Israelites crossed.

But הָלַךְ applied to water means "to flow," "to stream" (Gesenius); and I submit to Hebrew scholars whether it does not here mean *to flow, in contradistinction to ebbing:* "the Lord caused the sea to flow," *i. e.* "to rise in a high flood tide:" see for this use of הָלַךְ Joel iii. 18, *bis;* Isaiah viii. 7; Ezekiel xxxii. 14; Joshua iv. 18; in which passages it clearly does not mean "to flow away," but "to flow deep and superabundant." The last reference reminds us, that the Passage of the Jordan was afterwards made under the very circumstances which I am supposing at the Red Sea; for it was made, not when the river was low and fordable, but when it was swollen to its highest by the melting of the snows, and "overflowed all his banks."

It is a corroboration of my theory, that in the ensuing song of triumph there is a passage (Exod. xv. 8) corresponding to this in the narrative, which says: "With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered, the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea." "The blast of thy nostrils" evidently means "the strong east wind" of the narrative, the same Hebrew word (רוּחַ) being used in both places for "wind" and "blast:" by this "wind" or "blast" "the waters were"—not divided but—

"gathered" (or *heaped up*): "the floods," thus gathered or heaped up above their natural level, "stood upright (or *firm*) as a heap" of corn or other dry things, being banked up by the "strong east wind all that night:" and though "the depths" were divided down to "the heart (or *bottom*) of the sea," as a hill is by a railway cutting, yet, contrary to the law of fluids, they preserved their divided and mural form, as if they had been "congealed" into a rigid mass.

Mr. Hoskins thinks that the Egyptians would never have ventured on the passage, had they not supposed it was the usual place of the fords. The Apostle's expression ἧς [θαλάττης] πεῖραν λαβόντες (Heb. xi. 29), compared with Exod. xiv. 7, rather implies that it was a mad venture on their part: they were judicially infatuated, and rushed on blindly into the snare laid for their destruction, as the song well describes (ver. 9): "The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them."

It is my belief then that "the strong east wind" was sent, not to divide the waters, but *to raise their level and so deepen them at the north end of the gulf* where the Israelites crossed. As the mighty blast arose, producing its well-known consequences, their escape for the time would seem to be more hopeless than ever. But "man's extremity was God's opportunity;" no sooner had his east wind fulfilled its *natural* functions than Jehovah, by a direct exercise of his own *supernatural* power, parted the surging tide asunder; as the Psalmist expresses it, "Thou didst divide the sea *by thy strength*" (Psalm lxxxiv. 13); or, as the Prophet puts it, "He said to the deep, *Be dry*" (Isaiah xliv. 27); whence the same Prophet derives a special attribute to Jehovah, "Art not thou it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over?" (li. 10).

It would not be absolutely necessary, however, to wait for the action of the east wind, especially if the tide was already at its height: the passage may have been opened over some deep part, such as the middle basin near the Serapeum, *immediately* on Moses stretching out his rod over the sea, as seems implied at Exod. xiv. 15, 16; and if the opening was effected by bodily pushing up the waters northward for half a mile or more, this would greatly swell the sea to the northward. The passage once opened would itself hold up the sea to the northward; and the east wind, blowing hard "all that night," would prevent the waters from ebbing on the south side of the passage (as they did at the crossing of the Jordan); but, banking them up, would render all the usual fords impassable till the destruction of the enemy was accomplished, who otherwise might have dashed across at the time of the ebb. This explanation seems preferable to that in the preceding paragraph, as allowing more time for the enormous multitude with their flocks and herds to pass over.

J. P.

THE METONIC CYCLE AND CALIPPIC PERIOD.

THE length to which my Reply to Dr. Hincks has run is such as far to exceed the limits which I could reasonably expect to be assigned to it in the columns of your Journal, and must therefore be placed before the world in a separate form: but I must not by silence allow your readers to suppose that I have no reply to make.

I must first offer my unfeigned and most sincere thanks to Dr. Hincks for having called my attention to the circumstance, that from the archonship of Apseudes at Athens, when the summer solstice was observed by Meton on the 27th June, the Athenian year has always begun on the new moon next after the 27th June. This simple rule, with the assistance of a *Table of Eclipses*, will enable any one who may know nothing of astronomy, to calculate with sufficient accuracy the beginning, not merely of every year, but of every month in every Athenian year from that time.

Thucydides, in his book ii. 2, 3, 4, states that more than three hundred Thebans entered Platæa about the first sleep (*περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον*) on the day when Pythodorus, the archon of Athens, had two months more of his government to come. Thucydides also states that it was at the beginning of spring (*ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ*), and that these things happened at the change of the moon (*τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός*). Thus we learn that the entrance of the Thebans into Platæa, from which the two remaining months of the archonship of Pythodorus are to be reckoned, must have been on the first day of an Athenian month, and that month the beginning of spring, as held by Thucydides.

Thucydides also states in v. 20 that he reckoned his years by summers and winters, as they are written (*ὥσπερ γέγραπται, the very term employed in the quotation of Scripture*); and we readily see that his summer halves consisted of spring and summer quarters, and that his winter halves consisted of autumn and winter quarters.

In ii. 19 Thucydides also states that the massacre of the Thebans in Platæa took place about eighty days before the first invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians. Thus, these eighty days must have begun on the first day of the first spring month; and in his book v. 19 Thucydides states that peace was made between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians on the 25th of Elaphebolion, in the archonship of Alcæus, in the tenth year of the war, and only a few days from the first invasion of Attica, and the beginning of the war. Thus, without any minute calculation, we see at once that the eighty days which began on the first day of the first spring month, and ended not many days after the 25th of Elaphebolion, as it happened in the tenth year of the war, must have begun on the first day of the month Anthesterion. Thus, according to Thucydides, Anthesterion must have been the first spring month.

In his *De Coronâ*, pp. 278-9, we have Demosthenes saying to the officer of the Athenian court, "Give me these decrees, and tell me

their dates." Two decrees are produced, both purporting on their face to have been passed at *spring* assemblies, in the pontificate of Clinagoras, and on being pressed for their dates, the officer says, "Mnesithides was archon, on the 16th of Anthesterion." Thus we have the highest Athenian Scripture, as we may say, their Act of Parliament, for stating that Anthesterion must be regarded as their first spring month; consequently the summer half-year of Thucydides must have consisted of Anthesterion, Elaphebolion, Munychion, Thargelion, Scirophorion, and Hecatombeion, and his winter half-year must have consisted of Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanepsion, Maimacterion, Posideon, and Gamelion.

We are now in a position to decide very clearly whether the first year of the Peloponnesian war was in B.C. 431, or in B.C. 451. In B.C. 431 the first day of Anthesterion must, according to Dr. Hincks's rule, have been February 7, and the last day of Hecatombeion, that is, the last day of this summer half, must have been on August 2.

Further: in his book ii. 28, Thucydides states that in his first summer there was an eclipse of the sun after mid-day (*μετὰ μεσημβρίαν*), and that some few stars appeared; and after this he goes on and states that the Athenians took Solium and Astacus, and sailed to Cephalonia, and subdued it without battle, and that about the autumn of this summer the Athenians invaded the territory of Megara, and in the end of this summer fortified Atalanta: and then Thucydides adds, "These things were done in this summer, after the retreat of the Peloponnesians out of Attica," that is to say, if they were done in B.C. 431, they must have been done between February 7 and August 2.

But according to the Table, the only eclipse of the sun which happened in B.C. 431 was on August 3, and this is the eclipse which is claimed by Dr. Hincks and the advocates of the common chronology, as the eclipse described by Thucydides. But it is obvious that an eclipse on August 3 must always have been on the first day of Metageitnion, that is, the first day of Thucydides's winter half.

When an eclipse of the sun happened on August 3, the first new moon after the 27th June, which would be the first day of Hecatombeion, must always have been the 5th of July. Thus B.C. 431 signally fails to shew the requirement of Thucydides in this respect, to say nothing of the want of time for the matters which Thucydides describes as having taken place within his first summer half, and after the eclipse of the sun.

But in my year, B.C. 451, there was an eclipse of the sun on March 20, at 5·15 a.m., according to the *Table of Eclipses*, but according to Professor Adams, it must have been at 6·30 a.m. In the first place, I should notice that this would give ample time for the divers matters related by Thucydides as having occurred after the eclipse; for, according to Dr. Hincks's rule, the six summer months of B.C. 451 must have extended from January 19 to August 13. But then comes the question, Could an eclipse which occurred at 6·30 a.m. according to our time, be the eclipse described by

Thucydides as having occurred after mid-day? First, I should state that according to Censorinus, *De die Nat.*, c. xxiii., the Athenians reckoned their day from sunset to sunset. Thus, in strictness and in truth, Thucydides, an Athenian, might have spoken of 6·30 a.m. of our time as after mid-day according to his time.

In Gen. i. 5 we have God saying, "And the evening and the morning were the first day." Thus, in theory, 6 a.m. of our time must be truly mid-day with the Jew, and we find without doubt that it was so spoken of by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. For, in Matt. xxvii. 45; Mark xv. 33; Luke xxiii. 44; we have them saying that there was darkness over all the earth from the sixth hour unto the ninth hour, and they add, that at the ninth hour Jesus gave up the ghost. We further learn from St. John xix. 31, that the body of Jesus was taken down from the cross before the coming sabbath-day, that is, before 6 p.m. of our time. But the ninth hour could not have been before the sixth hour, unless the ninth hour were reckoned from an earlier hour as mid-day. Thus it is evident that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, regarded our 6 a.m. as their mid-day.

To this I need not add, save the expression of my confidence that when my reply in full to Dr. Hincks is seen, it will be freely admitted that a great light would be thrown upon every passage in the Word of God, in which the word mid-day occurs, by assuming that the sacred writers, who were inspired to speak the truth, did speak it strictly in noting their time, as reckoned from our 6 a.m. as their mid-day, assuming the strict truth of God's own word, that the evening and the morning were the first day. Thus, Thucydides in speaking of our 6 a.m. as his mid-day, as it was in truth, would only be doing that which has been done by those who were inspired by God to speak the strict truth.

Further: with the 1st of Anthesterion on January 19, as it must have been in B.C. 451, the invasion of Attica, if it had been at the end of full eighty days, must have been on April 8. The 25th of Elaphebolion in B.C. 441, as the tenth year of the war, must have been on March 23. Thus, the interval between the peace and the invasion of Attica, which Thucydides speaks of as a few days, would be sixteen days. This would place the end of the archonship of Pythodorus on March 18, B.C. 451; consequently, his archonship must have begun in B.C. 452, and the 27th June, which was in it, must have been in the beginning of his archonship, and consequently the summer solstice, which was observed by Meton in the archonship of his predecessor Apseudes, must also have been in the beginning of his archonship, in B.C. 453. How this bears upon the Metonic cycle in connection with the Calippic period, I have already shewn in my former letter, and it may be seen in my *Table* III., which precedes this (pp. 403—407.)

In your last Number, Dr. Hincks was pleased to call into question the correctness of my editions of Ptolemy, as to Hipparchus being the authority for the interval between the observations of

Meton and Aristarchus being one hundred and fifty-two years. Two friends have kindly referred to Halma's edition for me, and both report that it quite agrees with my own on this point. I have referred to Dr. Young's *Astronomical and Nautical Collections*, to which Dr. Hincks has also referred me as his authority. In his p. 5 he gives Aristarchus as stated by Dr. Hincks, but in his p. 7 he gives Hipparchus as it is found in Ptolemy.

Luffingcott, May 17, 1865. FRANKE PARKER.

TAMMUZ.

WE read in Ezek. viii. 14, that the Spirit of the Lord led the prophet into the temple, and there he saw "women weeping for Tammuz." This passage has tried the wits of many commentators. Tammuz has been identified with Adonis and with Osiris, and considered to represent the sun. In the "Fragments of old Babylonian Literature," however, recently discovered and edited by M. Chwolson, a different view is started. These "Fragments" claim to be translations by Ibn Wahshiya the Chaldean[h] (A.D. 900) of certain ancient Chaldean works, of which the most considerable is the "Nabathean Agriculture" by Kūthāmī the Kufian, whose age is assigned to the thirteenth century B.C. It is, however, certain that he did not live until some time after the Christian era, and the only question is, whether or not he incorporated some genuine old Babylonian traditions into his writings. Now Kūthāmī, speaking of a Mendaite predecessor of his, Yanbūshadh by name, says that all the gods and their images lamented his death just as they had done in the case of "Tammūzā." For when the latter died, all the idols throughout the world "came to the temple (? Ahaskul), the temple of the sun, in Babylon, to the great golden image which is suspended between the heavens and the earth. Now the image of the sun was set in the middle of the temple, surrounded by those of all the other gods in the world. Next to it were set the images of the sun in all lands; then those of the moon;" and so on. "Presently the image of the sun began to weep for Tammūzā, and was followed by the rest of the images; and then the image of the sun chanted a dirge for Tammūzī, and told his history; and so all the images lamented from the setting of the sun until its rising, when the night was ended." This is all the information Kūthāmī gives us upon the subject; but Ibn Wahshiya adds something to it. He says, "This month Tammuz .... is called after a man who was put to death many times in succession, most cruelly.... He was one neither of the Casdim, nor of the Canaanites, nor of the Hebrews, nor of the Assyrians, but of the primeval Janbanis who inhabited the land of Babel before the Casdim.[i]... All the Tsabians, both Mendaites and

[h] His pupil and fellow-labourer was Abu Talib ez Zayat, vizier to the caliphs Motassim and Vathek.

[i] According to Kūthāmī, the Casdim and the Assyrians did not belong to the same race. He makes out that the Casdim and the Canaanites were "de-

Harranis, up to the present time, lament over Tammuz in the month of that name, during a great festival held in his honour; especially the women, who all rise and lament over Tammuz with many tears." Ibn Wahshiya then goes on to say that this Tammuz had incurred the death above described by summoning the king of his country to worship "the seven planets and the twelve signs of the Zodiac," and compares the account of his murder with the Christian legend of St. George. Probably both stories had the same origin.

Taking no account of the human explanation of the story, which is as valuable as the histories of Euemerus and his Panchæan inscriptions, we notice how closely the sun is connected with the narrative. This at once leads us to Adonis, "the Lord (אֲדֹנָי) of heaven," whom, according to Philo Byblius, Genos and Genea, the second generation of mankind, "when a great drought came, stretched out their hands unto, ... for him they thought the only God and Lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamon." And indeed, whether or not the deities themselves are the same, there can be no doubt that the rites with which both Adonis and Tammuz were worshipped, are identical. We cannot mistake the lamentations with which the death of the god, *i. e.*, the change of summer into winter, was proclaimed. As the sun's beams became fewer and weaker, so the dying gasps of the old Tsabian god called forth the wailings of mankind.

Tammuz, then, must have been the sun. And if this has ever been a matter of uncertainty, such can no longer be the case. The Janban language itself, as revealed to us by the progress of cuneiform research, states unequivocally that Tammuz is the sun. For in that tongue, *Tam* is the name given to the great luminary of day. At least it was the name most commonly used, since in the different dialects of the primeval Turanian populations of Western Asia both *par* (as in Sippara), and *san* (as in Shinar) have the same meaning. The latter part of the word is no less easy of explanation. In Semitic orthography, י and ו are repeatedly interchanged. The verbal forms in ו were formerly written with י, as they are, indeed, in the ancient Assyrian. So again we have היא and והא, ילד and ולד, etc. We are therefore at liberty to read either חמת or חמית. Now *iz* in Janban, signified "fire," though the character which expressed it lost its original phonetic value among the Assyrians, in whose alphabet it generally had the powers of *ni* and *cum* (כוח). *Iz*, therefore, contrary to analogy, had to be represented by the Semitic עֵץ by which the Janban *gis* was translated.

The Semites seem to have adopted the worship of Adonis from that of Tammuz, after the conquest of their Turanian predecessors. Its special seats seem to have been Byblos and Cyprus, whence it was communicated to the Aryan nations of the West. Now Cyprus may be shewn to have been possessed by the Turanians, the Æthio-

scended from two brothers, both sons of Adami, and of the same mother, one of the wives of Adami;" whereas the Assyrians were "the children of Shabrikan I., who is neither comparable nor equal to Adami, and who cannot even come near to him."

pians of Herodotus (vii. 90), in the remote antiquity of pre-Semitic times. In a Turanian dialect, that of the original inventors of the cuneiform system of writing, earlier even than the Janbans, *cabar*, we find, meant "copper." Now Cyprus in former days was famous for its copper mines, so much so indeed as to give a name to the *æs Cyprium* (afterwards *cuprum*, *kupfer*, *copper*) of the Romans, the χαλκὸς Κύπριος of the Greeks. Its town of Τεμέση (Tamizzi[j] on Essar-Haddon's cylinder) was, at the period Od. i. 184 was written, *par excellence* the copper depôt of the day, and continued to be celebrated for this metal up to the time of Strabo (14, 6), who calls the place Tamasus. Cyprus indeed, considering its name, would seem to have been one of the chief sources from which the foundries of the bronze age were supplied. We cannot wonder then that the worship of Tammuz, the beloved of the "Cyprian" goddess, flourished in a spot which had probably formed a nucleus, at all events an emporium, for the ancient Turanian world.[k] And it is noteworthy, that though the mythi generally represent Adonis as being the son of Cinyras,[l] a Cyprian prince, another version[m] regards him as the offspring of Thoas or Theias (? تاوز, as Ibn Wahshiya writes the word) king of Assyria. And Cinyras himself, according to one legend, was the son of Sandacus, monarch of Syria. We can hardly doubt that we have here a stray recollection of that race which once spread so widely throughout Asia and Europe. Its sun-worship was perpetuated not only among the idolatrous countrymen of Ezekiel, but also among those of Plato and Aristotle.

In reference to the Rev. P. S. Desprez's communication upon the Apocalypse in the *J. S. L.* for Oct. 1864, it may not be uninteresting to note the interpretation given to the Revelation of St. John by the Sibylline oracles. They seem to shew in what light the book was regarded by the Christians of the second century. The fourth book of the Oracles, written, it would appear, just after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, makes plentiful use of the Apocalyptic symbology; and further declares that shortly after the overthrow of the Jewish polity, Antioch would be destroyed by the Roman army led on by Antichrist (*i. e.*, Nero restored to life), Cyprus be submerged by an earthquake, and Caria be devastated by a deluge; and that immediately after these events the final judgment would take place. These prophecies, however, failing of their accomplishment, the two last parts of the eighth book hazard some fresh ones. We are told that after fifteen emperors a monarch with white hair (*i. e.*, Hadrian)

[j] This name seems unmistakeably to refer us to Tammuz. The Aryan Aphrodisia (Upridissa in the cuneiform) is found in the same island.

[k] The Greek legends of the Τελχῖνες and the Κάβειροι (? from *cabar*), the first workers in metal, and the first inhabitants of Cyprus and Crete, seem to refer to the Turanian Aborigines; like the gnomes in Scandinavian folk-lore. Buttmann has compared Τελχὶν and *Vulcanus;* and perhaps Mulciber is the Janban (or rather pre-Janban) *mul-cabar*, "lord of bronze," then *κατ' ἐξοχήν the* metal.

[l] We find Κινύρης, the Cyprian, spoken of as early as *Il.* xi. 20.

[m] *Ap. Apoll.* iii. 14.

shall rule over Rome. He shall be succeeded by three kings whose names are like Adonai (the Antonines); after which a fiery dragon shall come across the sea and fight against Rome. That city shall be taken and destroyed, the heathen punished, and the world come to an end. Later books refine upon these predictions, expressly taking the Apocalypse as the basis of their prophecies. Thus Antichrist is explained to be Nero risen from the dead, the five kings of Rev. xvii. 10, that emperor and his four predecessors, the one that "is" Galba, and the one yet to come Otho; "the beast that was not, and is not, and shall come" being Antichrist (Nero) himself. Vespasian and his nine successors are the ten horns. The Sibyl further fixes the date of the final end of all things by a cabalistic play on the word Ῥώμη;

"τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ
πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας, ὅταν σοὶ δύσμορος ἥξη
μοῖρα βιαζομένη, τεὸν οὔνομα πληρώσασα."

As, however, the second year of Severus, the nine hundred and forty-eighth year of Rome's existence, passed away without any remarkable occurrence, the thirteenth book supposes the foundation of the city to have been one hundred and five years later than the date usually assigned to it, and makes the judgment day coincide with the fifth year of Diocletian. How far these prophecies were worthy of consideration is for us to judge.

At the risk of giving this letter a *farrago* appearance, I should like to add a few lines upon that most obscure subject, Egyptian chronology. Mr. Sharpe (*Athenæum*, Oct. 6, 1864) describes the recently-published tablet of Memphis as agreeing with that of Abydos, in shewing no sign of separation between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties. He infers from this that these two dynasties immediately succeeded one another. This inference, however, is hardly warranted, and other reasons make us feel pretty sure that there was an interval of several centuries between them. The leader of the eighteenth dynasty, or rather the last of the seventeenth, expelled the Hyksos, who, according to Manetho (ap. Joseph. cont. Ap., i., 14), held Egypt for five hundred and eleven years. They had put an end to the twelfth dynasty, having conquered Amuntimæus (Amenemha III.). During their domination three Theban dynasties, according to Manetho as quoted by Eusebius, followed one another in succession. Cotemporary monuments of many of these have been found, thus confirming in the main the statements of the Sebennyte priest. Now it is altogether out of the question to suppose that these three dynasties could have been in power at the same time, since they were all princes of Thebes. We cannot, therefore, assent to Mr. Sharpe's interpretation of the evidence of the above-mentioned tablets. Indeed the chronology must be even still farther extended, as we learn from the Turin papyrus that Manetho, so far from over-stating, has greatly understated the number and regnal years of the monarchs of Upper and Lower Egypt. Not forty-nine, but eighty-nine kings filled the throne of Memphis before Ramses III. And this argues that that

most accurate of ancient chronologers, Eratosthenes, was not far from the truth in placing the accession of Menes one thousand and forty years before the death of Amunthantæus, or Amenemha III., who was driven from his kingdom by the shepherd invaders.

Bath. A. Sayce.

RULES FOR INQUISITORS.

The power and dread of the Inquisition have happily passed away, but there are doubtless many who still take an interest in that strange institution. While it continued, books were published from time to time for the guidance of inquisitors, and from one of these the following summary is extracted. The title is, "Lucerna Inquisitorum Hæreticæ Pravitatis, R. P. F. Bernardi Comensis," and it was published at Venice in 1596.

Every heretic or person suspected or accused of heresy is bound to abjure; as well as every upholder or defender of heretics, if he wishes to be restored and to avoid the penalty of death. Such persons can be compelled to abjure.

An inquisitor can of himself absolve heretics or persons suspected of heresy, who have abjured heresy, and wish to return to the unity of the church, and he can impose penance upon them.

Advocates (or counsel) are forbidden to render aid, advice, or favour to heretics, or their supporters or defenders. Proceedings can be taken against even persons suspected of heresy without the din of counsel.

The inquisitor can call in the advice of some learned man in cases of heresy, but the judge is not bound to follow his advice, although the law says he is to act with advice.

The benefit of an appeal is expressly forbidden to heretics, and their supporters and defenders. In the case of heresy proceedings may be simple and direct, without the din and pomp of judgment. There is no appeal in cases of treason, and as heresy is as bad and worse than treason, much more is there no appeal. This right of appeal is denied not only after the sentence, but during the previous proceedings. If in any case an appeal is allowed, ten conditions must be complied with; failure in any one of these conditions nullifies the appeal.

The goods of heretics are legally confiscated, and even should the heretics recant they do not thereby recover their goods, which are confiscated from the day the crime is committed. Confiscation may be declared even after the death of a heretic, till he has been dead forty years. For the purpose of confiscating his goods a man may be declared a heretic after his death, and therefore the crime of heresy is not removed by death, so far as the seizure of his property is concerned. If such forfeiture is entailed by treason, much more is it by heresy. The possessions thus seized belong to the inquisitors, but so far that they should be divided into three portions.

The first portion falls to the city or town where the heretic lived; the second to officers of the Inquisition; and the third is to be set apart for promoting the faith and extirpating heretics. A city or town which receives its share ought to contribute something every day when they have to be absent about their business. Hence where such payments are not customary, no part of the goods is to be given; and in general, the goods in question all go to the inquisitors. It is of no consequence where the property of heretics is; it is all confiscated.

Inquisitors can take, arrest, and commit to safe custody, even in chains and iron fetters, as may seem good to them, heretics, or persons suspected of heresy; nor is the authority of a bishop required for this. They can also deliver them to durance vile or strict imprisonment, but rather for safe keeping than for punishment. The prisoner ought to be kept in prison and not released on bail. If the flight of a suspected person is apprehended, he may be seized without a summons. The inquisitors may have prisons of their own; so also may a bishop. Heretics may be imprisoned either for ever or for a time.

Persons condemned for heresy are to be given over to the secular arm for punishment by animadversion. The punishment of animadversion is such a punishment as rends the soul from the body. Heretics ought to be punished with the penalty of fire, and ought to be burned. Upon this point agree the divine law, the canon law, the civil law, and common law,—that heretics should commonly be punished with fire. This is confirmed by the law or constitution of Federic, where he says, "By edict of the present law we decree that the Patarini who are condemned to suffer death, and others who are counted heretics, whatever they are called, should be burned alive in the sight of men, being committed to the judgment of flames." An inquisitor can require a secular judge to execute the sentence without shewing him a report of the trial: the inquisitor can even compel the magistrate to execute the sentence.

The children of heretics are deprived of the inheritance of their fathers, even if these children are Catholics, because the children are punished for their father's fault.

Heretics can be accused, condemned, excommunicated, or absolved after death. It is not necessary for the names of accusers to be made public.

Torture cannot be applied by an inquisitor without a bishop or his vicar; but if the bishop neglects to attend to a notice for eight days, the inquisitor can proceed to the torture alone. Torture ought to be moderate, and the judge ought to regard the evidence and quality of the person, whether he is strong in his resistance or not; and he ought so to torture him that he may preserve the tortured man safe for acquittal or for punishment, in order that if guilty he may be able to suffer due punishment, and if innocent may suffer no bodily defect. The judge must not be prone to torture. In private cases and secret crimes the judge should be more prone or ready to

torture. A prevalent rumour against a man justifies the rack. A man who takes to flight may be put to the torture. A confession apart from evidence justifies torture. If rumour is accompanied by one fact, torture is allowed. Suspected persons are to be tortured. The evidence of one witness justifies torture. He who has a bad name may be put to torture. If an accused person answers the judge with fear, hesitation, and prevarication, he can be tortured. Any person can be put to torture for heresy, except those who are less than fourteen years old, men who are decrepit through age, and women likely to become mothers. A gentle torture is no torture. A thin cord is more fit to torture than a thick one. Confession under torture without previous evidence does not justify sentence of death. Confession made under torture holds good, and no denial of it afterwards can be allowed. A man should be tortured only once for the same offence, but still torture may have to be repeated. Conjecture suffices where facts are wanting.

Fifty-one rules are laid down for the direction of the tormentors. The twenty-eighth says that the judge ought to be a subtle investigator in order to find out the truth, and discover crime. He must put questions about remote circumstances, and pretend to wish to do what he does not, to see what the criminal does, and how he behaves. And thus lies are to be added to torments.

Q.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

[We have learned with great satisfaction the foundation of a "Society for exploring the Holy Land for Biblical Illustration." That our readers may possess in a permanent form the admirable Prospectus of this Society, we print it at length from a copy kindly supplied by the Secretary. We need not say that we wish the scheme abundant success, and that we shall embrace every opportunity of reporting progress, or of publishing what may bear upon the good work.—Ed. *J. S. L.*]

No country should be of so much interest to us as that in which the documents of our faith were written, and the momentous events they describe enacted. At the same time no country more urgently requires illustration. The face of the landscape, the climate, the productions, the manners, dress, and modes of life of its inhabitants, differ in so many material respects from those of the western world, that without an accurate knowledge of them it is not too much to say the outward form and complexion of the events and much of the significance of the records must remain more or less obscure. Even to a casual traveller in the Holy Land the Bible becomes in its form, and therefore to some extent in its substance, a new book. Many an allusion which hitherto had no meaning, or had lain unnoticed, starts into prominence and throws a light over a whole passage. How much more would this be the case if, by careful systematic investiga-

tion, the modes of life and manners of the ancient Israelites were to be revealed at all in the same fulness that those of the Egyptians and Assyrians have been. Even supposing so complete a result unattainable, information of the highest value could not fail to be obtained in the process. Much would be gained by obtaining an accurate map of the country; by settling disputed points of topography; by identifying the ancient towns of Holy Writ with the modern villages which are their successors; by bringing to light the remains of so many races and generations which must lie concealed under the accumulation of rubbish and ruins on which those villages stand; by ascertaining the course of the ancient roads; by the discovery of coins, inscriptions, and other relics—in short, by doing at leisure and systematically that which has hitherto been entirely neglected, or done only in a fragmentary manner by the occasional unassisted efforts of hurried and inexperienced travellers. Who can doubt that if the same intelligence, zeal, knowledge, and outlay, were applied to the exploration of Palestine, that have recently been brought to bear on Halicarnassus, Carthage, Cyrene, places without a single sacred association and with little bearing on the Bible, the result would be a great accession to our knowledge of the successive inhabitants of Syria—Canaanite, Israelite, Roman—and in consequence a flood of light over both Old and New Testaments?

Hitherto the opportunity for such research has been wanting. It appears now to have arrived. The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the Mosque at Hebron has broken down the bar which for centuries obstructed the entrance of Christians to that most venerable of the sanctuaries of Palestine; and may be said to have thrown open the whole of Syria to Christian research.

The survey of Jerusalem at present in progress under the direction of Captain Wilson, R.E.—a survey supported by the private liberality of a single person—has shewn how much may be done with tact, temper, and opportunity, without arousing the opposition of the authorities or inhabitants. Recent letters of Sir H. James and others in *The Times* have borne testimony to the remarkable fitness of Captain Wilson for such undertakings, and have pointed out other places where explorations might be advantageously carried on.

It is therefore proposed to raise a fund to be applied to the purposes of investigating the Holy Land by employing competent persons to examine the following points:—

1. *The Archæology.*—Jerusalem alone would furnish an ample field in this department. What is above ground will be accurately known when the present survey is completed; but below the surface hardly anything has yet been discovered. The tombs of the kings on Mount Zion—the course of the Tyropœon Valley—the real extent of the temple enclosure—the site of the tower of Antonia—of the palace of Herod—of Ophel—of the pool of Bethesda—the position of the towers of Hippicus and Psephinus—the spring and conduit of Hezekiah—are all awaiting excavation; and it is not too much to anticipate that every foot in depth of the "sixty feet of rubbish" on which

the city stands, will yield most interesting and important matter for the archæologist and the numismatist.

Beyond the Holy City the country is full of sites which cannot fail amply to repay examination. Of these a few only may be enumerated:—Mount Gerizim, possibly the Moriah of Abraham's sacrifice, certainly the holy place of the Samaritans, containing the stones which they allege to have been brought up by Israel from the bed of the Jordan—the valley of Shechem, the earliest settlement of Jacob in the Holy Land, with his well and the tomb of Joseph—Samaria, with the traditional tombs of John the Baptist and others, and with the extensive remains of Herod's edifices—the splendid Roman cities along the coast, Cæsarea of Herod and St. Paul—Antipatris—the once-renowned harbours of Jamnia and Gaza—the mounds and other remains of Jiljilieh, probably the Gilgal which contained the great college of prophets in the days of Elijah and Elisha—the fortress and palace of Herod at Jebel Fureidis—the tombs (probably those of Joshua) at Tibneh—the mounds at Jericho—the numerous remains in the valley of the Jordan—Bethshean, one of the most ancient cities of Palestine, with remarkable remains of Roman, and probably still earlier, date—Jezreel, with the palace of Ahab and Jezebel—the Assyrian mound, called Tell es Salhiyeh, near Damascus, etc., etc.

2. *Manners and Customs.*—A work is urgently required which shall do for the Holy Land what Mr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians* has done for Egypt—describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites, and language of the people, with engravings intended like his "not to embellish the pages, but to explain the text." Many of the ancient and peculiar customs of the East are fast vanishing before the increasing tide of western manners, and in a short time the exact meaning of many things which find their correspondences in the Bible will have perished. There are frequent references to these things in the books of travellers, and they have recently formed the subject of more than one entire work; but nothing sufficiently accurate or systematic has been done. It can only be accomplished by the lengthened residence of a thoroughly competent person.

3. *Topography.*—Of the coast-line of Palestine we now possess an accurate map in the recent Admiralty charts; but advance a few miles inland, and all is uncertain. What is wanted is a survey which should give the position of the principal points throughout the country with absolute accuracy. If these were fixed, the intermediate spots and the smaller places could be filled in with comparative ease and certainty. In connection with the topography is the accurate ascertainment of the levels of the various points. The elevation of Jerusalem and the depression of the Dead Sea are already provided for by the liberality of the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society;* but the level of the Sea of Galilee (on which depends our knowledge of the true fall of the Jordan) is still uncertain within no

* See Sir Henry James's letter to *The Times*, Jan. 28, 1865.

less than three hundred feet—as are other spots of almost equal moment.

The course of the ancient roads, and their coincidence with the modern tracks, has never been examined with the attention it deserves, considering its importance in the investigation of the history.

The principle on which the modern territorial boundaries are drawn, and the towns and villages allotted between one district and another, would probably throw light on the course of the boundaries between the tribes and the distribution of the villages, which form the most puzzling point in the otherwise clear specifications of the Book of Joshua.

4. *Geology.*—Of this we are in ignorance of almost every detail. The valley of the Jordan and basin of the Dead Sea is geologically one of the most remarkable spots on the earth's surface. To use the words of Sir Roderick Murchison, "It is the key to the whole of the geology of the district." Its Biblical interest is equally great. To name but one point. The decision of the question whether any volcanic changes have occurred round the margin of the lake within the historical period, may throw a new aspect over the whole narrative of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, which has hitherto been interpreted almost wholly without reference to the geological evidence of the ground.

5. *Natural Sciences—Botany, Zoology, Meteorology.*—These s
at present but very imperfectly known, while the recent investi
tions of Mr. Tristram, limited as they necessarily were, shew t
researches are likely to furnish results of no common scientific inte
Naturalist after naturalist will devote himself for years to the fo
of South America, or the rivers of Africa. Why should we not
some of the same energy and ability applied to the correct descri
of the lilies and cedars, the lions, eagles, foxes, and ravens
Holy Land?

It will perhaps be said that many of the points above enur
have been already examined—that Robinson, Stanley, Ros
others, have done much in the department of topograph
Hooker, and more recently Tristram, have reported on the F
that Roth and Tristram have brought home shells, birds, an
that the researches of M. Lartet on the Geology of the
and those of De Vogüé and De Saulcy on archæology, are
of publication. This is true; but without intending to de
the usefulness or the credit of the labours of these emin
is sufficient to observe that their researches have been
isolated, and their results in too many cases discrepan
other. What is now proposed is an expedition composed c
competent persons in each branch of research, with perf
of funds and time, and with all possible appliances and
should produce a report on Palestine which might be a
parties as a trustworthy and thoroughly satisfactory do
It is hoped that an arrangement may be made by
Wilson will be able to remain for a few months in th

he has completed the survey of Jerusalem and the levelling between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea; and it will not be difficult to find competent persons to undertake the other departments named above. The annual cost of each investigator may be taken roughly at £800 (including both remuneration and expenses).

The Fund will be under the general control of a Committee, aided by a small Executive Council chosen by the Committee from its own body.

On the Council will devolve the charge of administering the affairs of the fund, reporting periodically to the Committee.

The practicability of such an undertaking as that now proposed has been amply proved by the success of the "Assyrian Excavation Fund," formed in 1853, for prosecuting researches in the mounds of Assyria, for which a large sum was raised by private subscription, and by which, during the short time it existed, much was effected. His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, with characteristic liberality, shewed his approbation of the project by becoming its Patron, and subscribing to the Fund.

The following noblemen and gentlemen have already consented to join the Committee:—

Archbishop of York; Duke of Devonshire; Bishop of London; Bishop of Oxford; Bishop of Ripon; Bishop of Ely; Duke of Argyll; Earl Russell; Earl of Derby; Earl of Shaftesbury; The Speaker; Sir S. Morton Peto, Bart., M.P.; Baron Lionel de Rothschild; Dean of Westminster; Dean of Christchurch; Rev. Dr. Pusey; Rev. George Williams; Rev. Samuel Martin, Westminster; James Fergusson, Esq.; Henry Reeve, Esq.; Sir Roderick I. Murchison, K.C.B.; Professor Owen; Ambrose L. Phillipps de Lisle, Esq.; Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B.; A. H. Layard, Esq., M.P.; Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.; Walter Morrison, Esq., M.P.; Rev. E. A. Plumptre; William Tite, Esq., M.P.; John Abel Smith, Esq., M.P; William Tipping, Esq.; Rev. A. W. Thorold; Rev. H. B. Tristram; Samuel Morley, Esq.; Dr. William Smith; Dr. T. D. Hooker; Rev. Norman McLeod; Antonio Panizzi, Esq.; W. Spottiswoode, Esq.; F. Waymouth Gibbs, Esq., C.B.; Canon Ernest Hawkins; W. H. Dixon, Esq.; G. Gilbert Scott, Esq.; W. S. W. Vaux, Esq.

Hon. Sec., GEORGE GROVE, Esq.

DR. TISCHENDORF: THE "REVELATION OF PAUL," AND THE "DEPARTURE OF MARY."

[Our readers are aware that in January last we reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, the translation of an ancient Syriac document, called the Revelation of St. Paul. This translation was made by our friend Dr. Justin Perkins, of Oroomiah, where he has for many years laboured as the indefatigable agent of

the American mission to north-western Persia. The MS. was sent to America by the late accomplished D. T. Stoddard, another agent of the same mission, and who obtained it among the Nestorians. From the preface to the translation, it would seem that the "Committee of Publication" were not aware of the fact that Dr. Tischendorf possessed a copy of the original Greek, although he had made the announcement long since. We confess that we ourselves had overlooked the circumstance, until during his late visit to this country, Dr. Tischendorf mentioned it to us. He also said that he possessed the Greek original of the "Departure of Mary," of which Dr. Wright published the Syriac text and an English translation in our numbers for January and April of this year. It will be seen that after the Syriac was printed, Dr. Tischendorf courteously allowed our learned contributor to peruse the Greek, and to make use of it in his notes (vol. vii., p. 129, *et seqq.*). Since then, Dr. Tischendorf has favoured us with a communication upon the subject, as he promised to do, and we have much pleasure in inserting a translation of his letter. It is an interesting and additional evidence of his indefatigable researches and extensive acquisitions.—Ed. *J. S. L.*]

"I saw with great interest in the January part of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* 'The Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul, translated from an ancient Syriac MS.' This apocryphal production of Christian antiquity is one of those which I have been fortunate enough to discover in the original Greek text. I found it as early as 1844 in an Italian library, and several years later, also in a codex of the library at Munich. Among the many New and Old Testament publications which have occupied me during the last twenty years, the editing of the 'Revelation of Paul,' along with similar interesting *anecdota*, continued to be put off from time to time; but, as far back as 1851, I gave in the *Studien und Kritiken*, at Heidelberg, some notices relating to it, with extracts from the text itself, both of which might have rendered good service to the 'Committee of Publication' of the English translation from the Syriac. Moreover, the prospectus of my 'Monumenta Sacra Inedita: Nova Collectio,' has already contained, for a number of years, the announcement that there will be appended to my 'Evangelia Apocrypha,' and 'Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha,' as the third section of the New Testament Apocrypha, the publication of the Apocrypha under the title,—'Apocalypses Mosis, Esdræ, *Pauli*, Johannis. Accedit Mariæ Κοίμησις, cum aliis similibus.' The writing last named in this title, the Κοίμησις Μαρίας, is the same of which *The Journal of Sacred Literature* in the first two numbers of this year has brought out a translation, together with the Syriac text. My friend, Dr. W. Wright, has already published, in his English version, a note referring to my Greek text. This third part of my New Testament Apocrypha will now actually appear at the end of the year 1865, at Leipsic, and therefore it is not necessary in this place, to indicate more exactly in what relation the Syriac text, found at Oroomiah,

stands to my Greek. In general only, be it observed, that the rhetorical embellishment of Greek texts usual with Oriental translators, is plentifully exemplified in the 'Revelation of Paul.' But it is also worthy of notice, that the Syriac text is perfect at the end; but some few words at the close are wanting from the Greek text in both my altogether similar codices.[A]

"*Leipsic, May*, 1865. CONSTANTIN TISCHENDORF."

THE MEMORIAL NAME,—GEN. iv. 1.

IN my letter in the last Number of the *J. S. L.*, I am made to say, through an error of the press, that Luther and Dr. Pye Smith "regarded the אִישׁ and אֶת יהוה of Gen. iv. 1 as in opposition." The word *opposition* should have been *apposition*, Luther's rendering being "Ich habe den Mann, den Herrn," and Dr. Pye Smith's, "I have obtained a man, Jehovah." I may add that, to justify Luther's translation, the construction should rather have been קָנִיתִי אֶת־הָאִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה. This construction might indeed have been employed if it had been intended to distinguish one particular son from others previously born. It would appear, however, that Eve expected that she had given birth to the conqueror of the serpent, because she had given birth to *a* son. Accordingly the article is not placed before אִישׁ, but we have קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה, "I possess *a* man, even Jehovah." Examples of a noun without the article, followed by a proper name with אֵת, in apposition, are sufficiently numerous even in Genesis (comp. vi. 10; xxvi. 34). An illustrative example of the same construction occurs in Ezek. iv., in the directions given to the prophet to make a symbolical representation of the siege of Jerusalem. The concluding words of the first verse are וְחַקּוֹתָ עָלֶיהָ עִיר אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלָם, "and engrave upon it a city, even Jerusalem."

The rendering of the words of Eve, "I have obtained a man by (or *with*) the help of Jehovah," of late so often repeated, has not, so far as I am aware, the support of a single parallel passage in which the preposition אֵת is used with the signification assumed.

THOMAS TYLER.

London, May 2, 1865.

[A] A reference to vol. vi., p. 401, note, will shew that the ancient Syriac copy is now also defective at the end. The last fourteen lines of English are from a modern copy, made while the other was yet perfect. Dr. A. H. Wright, mentioned in the note of which we speak, has recently died. He was a medical missionary of long experience, great attainments, and excellent character.—ED. *J. S. L.*

MR. TYLER ON THE MEMORIAL NAME.

HAVING carefully read and considered the strictures of Mr. Tyler on our letter in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, of January, 1865, originally addressed to the editors of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, we see no occasion to depart from the positions therein taken. It may, however, be well to comment on some points in Mr. Tyler's communication.

Mr. Tyler states that our letter contains no indication of any other source than the article on "The Antediluvian Theocracy" from which we derived the idea that the name "Jehovah" possessed a *directly* Messianic signification; that this name owed its origin to the impression produced by the prediction of Gen. iii. 15; and that it denoted at first an expected human deliverer; also the idea that Gen. iv. 26 is the record of the first use of Jehovah as a divine name.

He states that the above view is not to be found in the writings of Dr. J. Pye Smith, or of Luther, passing over the "many others" alluded to in our letter. We presume no one can read the chapters in *Script. Test. to Messiah*, Dr. J. Pye Smith on the "Seed of the Woman," and the "Man Jehovah," without noticing a close resemblance between the Messianic view here taken, and the discussion of the same subject by Mr. Tyler. The view is precisely similar as respects the Messianic interpretation given, with the difference, that Mr. Tyler finds the explanation of the Messianic interpretation in the grammatical rendering of the name "Jehovah." It is upon precisely this point, however, that we made our reference to Mr. Tyler's article, and any one wishing to investigate the subject was directed to a comparison of himself and Dr. J. Pye Smith. Our reference was made to him as to an English critic, who neither claims originality nor cites authority; and that reference, we here repeat, in our view was quite sufficient, unless he can fairly lay claim to originality, in rendering the name "Jehovah" as "He will be," and in regarding Gen. iv. 26 as the record of the first use of Jehovah as a divine name.

But can he do this? We think not, so long as Gesenius, Ewald, and "many others," give the true position of the name Jehovah as the third person future, or imperfect, of הָוָה, Havah ("der älteren forni fün, הָיָה, Hayah"), and Gesenius translates Gen. iv. 26 by "Then was begun invocation with the name Jehovah." These renderings had been familiar to us for many years, but our line of argument was not assumed as tenable, until a protracted study, and a critical analysis of the documents composing the pre-Mosaic literature of the Book of Genesis, seemed to warrant the deductions brought forward. We certainly should never have had the boldness to assume to maintain our argument on the basis of the authority for these points of T. T. in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, of January, 1854.

The resemblance between our own view and that of Mr. Tyler lies entirely in the fact that we both adopt the future literal render-

ing of the name of Jehovah in Gen. iv. 1, and regard Gen. iv. 26 as the record of the first use of Jehovah as a divine name. Apart from these positions there is no similarity, except such as belongs of necessity to all Christological discussions involving the same points of history.

Our work is an argument for the personal, historic, Messianic development of the name Jehovah. Mr. Tyler's Christology in its conclusions appears to us no advance upon the ordinary "Jehovah Angel" view, and quite inconsistent with the positions from which he starts. Notwithstanding his preference for the historic origin and Messianic significance of the name "Jehovah," he still sees in that name, not a personal history of the Divine Redeemer, but only a "foreshadowing" of an afterward revealed "logos."

This metaphysical point of view is apparent in his article of January, 1854, in the rendering of Exod. iii. 14 of אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, Ehyeh asher Ehyeh, as "I will be what I shall be." In this translation we lose the force both of the repetition and alliteration of Ehyeh as it stands in the Hebrew. We also lose the personal emphasis of the Divine declaration *I, who,* in Mr. Tyler's rendering *I, what.* The difference in our rendering of this test passage is a sufficient indication of the divergence of our views throughout.

This divergence is quite sufficient, we think, to have entirely justified Mr. Tyler in bringing forward again his own views as expressed in his article, or otherwise modified, without subjecting him to the suspicion of plagiarism, or laying him under the necessity of charging the same upon us, or of assuming himself to be our sole authority for the future rendering of "Yahveh."

If Mr. Tyler will take the trouble to follow up the modern German school of Hebrew criticism, he will find a sufficient basis of authority for the above rendering, and will be forced to the conclusion that our work is as truly a modification of the views of these critics, as he supposes it to be of his own. With these remarks it is sufficient to leave the subject to those inclined to pursue the line of investigation we have suggested. As a merely personal controversy the matter is of little moment. The questions involved in the discussion are however of weighty import, and have become of great practical consequence to the English public by the currency given to the writings of Bishop Colenso. We would suggest to the Editor of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* that the publication in a series of an accurate and full translation of the article PENTATEUCH, der Real Encyklopädie, von Dr. Herzog: Gotha, 1859, would be of great value just at this time. Doubtless the article is now available to very many, but its publication in a magazine like the *J. S. L.* would render accessible to all that most valuable critical material which, however erratic may have been the use made of it by some, must nevertheless form the groundwork of all intelligent discussion of the Mosaic records.

Newhaven, May, 1865. ALEXANDER MAC WHORTER.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. A revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

WE gave a brief notice of this excellent edition and commentary in our last Number, and we now proceed to redeem the promise we then made of devoting to it an amount of space better in accordance with its merits. In the first place we most heartily agree with Professor Lightfoot in rejecting the so-called *textus receptus*, and heartily commend him for using his own judgment upon the large mass of materials, that has been collected by others, in the formation of a text of his own. We cannot understand the desire expressed by many to abide by the *textus receptus* with all its shortcomings, until we have some *authoritative* revision of the text of the New Testament. Neither can we sympathize with the fear which is frequently expressed, lest, from so many editors adopting their own texts, there should grow up an unfixedness of idea as to what the text really is. If the text is in itself uncertain, "authority" cannot make it certain; and the real fact is, that a perfect text is unattainable, and we can only endeavour after the closest possible approximation to a perfect text. It is far better, as well as far more honest, to accept the facts and difficulties as we find them, and to acknowledge want of fixedness and certainty where it really exists, than by means of a show of "authority" to endeavour to cast a veil, which can never serve more than a temporary purpose, over imperfections necessarily incidental to our fallen state on earth.

After discussing various questions relating to the Churches of Galatia, Professor Lightfoot gives us an excellent dissertation on the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. Supposing it to have been written between the dates of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Romans, he draws attention to the fact that in Gal. vi. 17 St. Paul speaks of bearing in his body the brand-marks (*στίγματα*), as a slave, of his Master, the Lord Jesus, while in that to the Romans (i. 1) he adopts for the first time the title of the "slave of Jesus Christ."

In Gal. i. 4 we cannot agree with Professor Lightfoot that the reading of the received text *τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ* is grammatically simpler than the reading which he prefers, *τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ*. In the former *πονηροῦ* is a predicate of *αἰῶνος*; in the latter *τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ* according to the ordinary rule=*τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ αἰῶνος*, where *πονηροῦ* is part of the epithet of *αἰῶνος*.

In i. 15, 16 the remarks on *ἀφορίσας* and *ἐν ἐμοὶ* are excellent. In i. 18 we should prefer to translate *ἱστορῆσαι* "to make the acquaintance of" rather than "to visit." In the passage from Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vi., 1, 8) quoted in illustration by Professor Lightfoot, *ἀνὴρ ὃν ἐγὼ*

κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πόλεμον would hardly be translated "a man whom *I visited*," but "a man *whose acquaintance I made* in that war."

In ii. 10 we cannot agree with Professor Lightfoot in taking (after Winer) αὐτὸ τοῦτο as epexegetical of ὅ="the very thing which I am anxious to do." No instance of the relative thus supplemented by αὐτὸς οὗτος has yet been produced, and we feel pretty certain that none ever will be produced. The Hebrew אֲשֶׁר, being undeclined, is regularly defined by the required suffix afterwards, which is represented in the LXX. by the required case of αὐτός. But this is, we believe, confined to instances in which the antecedent to אֲשֶׁר has a definite gender, and would not be used in case of a mere abstract action like ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν τῶν πτωχῶν. But be that as it may, it is in our opinion the part of sound criticism never to have recourse to an unknown and unrecognized construction, when a known and recognized one will fulfil all the requirements of the context. It is therefore better to adopt the recognized Greek construction of αὐτὸ τοῦτο="for this very reason," than to assume that, because the relative is supplemented by αὐτὸς in Hellenistic Greek, it may therefore be, and in this case is, supplemented by αὐτὸς οὗτος.

In ii. 15, 16, we cannot agree with Professor Lightfoot in understanding the substantive verb in verse 15, "We [are] Jews by birth." We prefer to supply ὄντες, and to consider that μὲν is omitted after φύσει, the insertion of which would have freed the passage from all difficulty: ἡμεῖς φύσει [μὲν] . . . εἰδότες δὲ . . . καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιστεύσαμεν. "We, *though* by birth Jews and not sinners from among the Gentiles, *yet* knowing that a man is not justified by legal works, but only through faith in Jesus Christ, we too believe in Jesus Christ," etc.

On ii. 17 we would remark that μὴ γένοιτο does not follow a question either in Luke xx. 16 or in Gal. vi. 14, in the latter of which places it is however constructed with the remainder of the sentence, and does not stand interjectionally by itself. We much prefer ἄρα to ἆρα in Gal. ii. 17, and would translate, ". . . then Christ is a minister of sin? Never!"

In ii. 19 we must again differ from Professor Lightfoot. It is clear that the death *to* the law and *by* the law must be one and the same death. Now if the death *by the law* were merely a death to which the law condemned St. Paul, we do not see how this could be a death *to the law*. It is much simpler to explain as follows: "By the recognized principle of [Jewish] law, symbolical death in a representative victim, I died to a legal state, and thus have nothing more to do with it. I have been and remain crucified with Christ."

When St. Paul says, Gal. ii. 21, οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ, we think that he must be replying to a charge of ἀθέτησις of the grace of God as exhibited in the law.

In iii. 4 we are glad to see εἴγε well and correctly explained. Professor Lightfoot is one who thinks, and is thoroughly capable of thinking, for himself, and refuses to apply Hermann's *dictum*, that εἴγε assumes the truth of a proposition, while εἴπερ leaves it doubtful, with-

out modification to the New Testament, where he justly observes that "εἴπερ is, if anything, more directly affirmative than εἴγε."

In iii. 19 we cannot but think that Professor Lightfoot is wrong in adopting the interpretation of τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν, which gives the sense "to create transgressions" in preference to that which gives the sense "to check transgressions." Only the latter sense is consistent with the application of the term παιδαγωγὸς to the law in the Epistle to the Galatians. But in iii. 20 we most heartily agree with him in refusing to see difficulties where none really exist, and where, had St. Paul written τὸ δὲ μεσίτης instead of ὁ δὲ μεσίτης, there would have been no excuse for finding any.

In iii. 27 we think that St. Paul, himself a Roman citizen, used the metaphor Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε with allusion to the "toga virilis," the sign of emancipation from the παιδαγωγὸς just mentioned.

In iv. 6 we cannot agree with Professor Lightfoot in translating ὅτι "because." Take letters of the alphabet to represent the matters in question, and the vicious circle of the argument will be apparent. "And because ye are A, B took place, therefore thou art no longer C, but A;" *i. e.*, because ye are A, therefore thou art A. Take ὅτι in the sense "in proof that," or "as to the statement that," as in Acts xiii. 34, and the argument goes correctly. "And in proof of the statement that ye are A, B took place, therefore thou art no longer C, but A."

In iv. 19 we must admit that we cannot give up the idea that the words preceding ἤθελον δὲ are simply a long vocative case and its adjuncts. We find δὲ somewhat similarly situated after several words in Xen., *Mem.*, ii. 1, 26, ὦ γυναι, ἔφη, ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστιν; and a very long vocative case precedes γὰρ in *Il.*, η, 328, Ἀτρείδη τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν, πολλοὶ γὰρ τεθνᾶσι, κ.τ.λ.

In v. 12 the note on ἀποκόψονται is equally exhaustive and convincing.

In v. 17 we cannot think that ἵνα denotes simply the result. We should translate: "For these are in a state of apposition to each other, in order to prevent you from doing whatsoever things ye wish." The fact that we do not do what we wish is not a mere result of the apposition of the flesh and the spirit, but each of these opposing powers actively exerts itself to prevent our following out our own wishes in obedience to the suggestions of the other.

In v. 25 we find an excellent note on "life to the spirit." We cite it *in extenso*. "The 'life to the spirit,' of which the apostle here speaks, is an ideal rather than an actual life; it denotes a state which the Galatians were put in the way of attaining rather than one which they had already attained. Otherwise the injunction, 'walk also by the Spirit,' were superfluous. Comp. Col. iii. 1; Ephes. iv. 30. This is always St. Paul's way of speaking. Members of the Christian brotherhood are in his language the 'saints,' the 'elect,' by virtue of their admission into the Church. It remains for them to make their profession a reality."

The dissertation on the question whether the Galatians were Celts or Teutons exhausts the subject, and completely satisfies us that they were undoubtedly Celts. That on the brethren of our Lord is also exhaustive. Professor Lightfoot, after full and fair consideration of all matters bearing upon the subject, gives in his adhesion to the view of Epiphanius, that these brethren were the sons of Joseph by a former wife; and certainly the fact that our Lord commended His mother from the cross to the care of St. John, and did not leave or assign her to any of His "brethren," who would, if blood relations, have been her more natural protectors, tells with immense force in favour of that theory.

The work is concluded by a long and careful dissertation on "St. Paul and the three," which we heartily commend to the notice of all theological students. Professor Lightfoot's mind appears to us of an eminently judicial type, his acuteness and scholarship are of the highest order, and altogether we consider his edition of the Epistle to the Galatians to be the very best edition of any portion of Scripture with which we are acquainted. That we have not agreed with him in all respects, and that we have freely criticized what we have not agreed with, will to thoughtful and fair-dealing men only prove the honesty and sincerity of our general commendation. We look forward with great hope and confidence to further editions of other portions of the New Testament from the same pen. W.

The Holy Land. By William Hepworth Dixon. Two Vols., Illustrated. London: Chapman and Hall.

Many as are the books about the Holy Land, such is our *penchant* for that sort of literature, that we eagerly lay hold of every new work at all connected with it. It was therefore with every feeling of pleasure that we read the announcement of Mr. William Hepworth Dixon's two volumes. As a writer of great experience, the conductor of a famous literary journal, and a traveller, we looked for something superior. We cannot exactly say that we have found what we looked for. The records of Mr. Dixon's personal adventures and observations occupy by no means the larger portion of his work; the remainder, that is, the larger half, is filled with histories from the Biblical and Apocryphal books, from Josephus, and from more recent authors. We are bound to say that the episodes are not characterized by any profundity of learning, by anything like philosophical research, nor by any exhibition of scientific attainments. There is nothing in them which lays the smallest claim to our admiration, unless it be the ready, racy style of the author. Our feeling is, that the chapters in question would have been far better left out altogether, and that their principal use is to augment the size of the work, to which they add no value whatever. We do not risk much in saying that they bear many indications of superficiality, that they have been written hastily, and that they are written by one who has not deeply investigated the matters which he handles. The rest of the work is of unequal value, and like that of which we have spoken, adds little to our stock of knowledge,

and something to the amount of positive error abroad in the world. No doubt there are graphic and life-like sketches, but alongside of these, and mixed up with them, there are blunders and oversights of a serious character. The result is that the volumes can never claim a place among the high-class literature of the subject, and can never be appealed to as an authority, except on some matters of detail which are for the most part of secondary importance. Mr. Dixon is not a bad hand at sketching men and manners; in other words, he can give us a striking picture,—but he can do little more in his new capacity. He is varied and versatile, amusing and pleasant,—sometimes serious and orthodox, and yet he has not given us a good book. He is sadly prone to deal in undignified phrases, commonly called slang. If he bestows baksheesh or a gift, it is "tip;" if he eats it is "munch;" if a man is frequenting a place, he "skulks;" the right-hand side is "the whip-hand;" and so on. Odd and eccentric phraseology is plentiful. Repetitions of trivial matters are frequent; for example, we are told more than once that the houses of Jaffa are not older than those in Soho Square (vol. i., pp. 13, 34), and that fairs and markets used to be held in churchyards (vol. ii., pp. 47, 61). Passing over numerous matters, we shall instance a few which we have noted. Our first examples shall be taken from that chapter of Vol. I. which is headed "The Holy Family," and which appeared *in extenso* in the *Athenæum* of May 6th as a specimen of the book. We purposely take this chapter to begin with, because it was judged worthy of separate exhibition in the way we have stated; we choose it because probably more have read it than have read the work generally; and we choose it because it represents some of the most striking attractions of Mr. Dixon's style as an author, and some of his most glaring defects as a writer in this department of literature. In the chapter we refer to there are many things to which we decidedly object.

"Four miles south of the strong Greek city of Sephoris, hidden away among gentle hills, then covered from the base to the crown with vineyards and fig-trees, lay a natural nest or basin of rich red and white earth, star-like in shape, about a mile in width, and wondrously fertile. Along the scarred and chalky slope of the highest of these hills spread a small and lovely village, which, in a land where every stone seemed to have a story, is remarkable as having had no public history and no distinguishable native name. No great road led up to this sunny nook. No traffic came into it, no legions marched through it. Trade, war, adventure, pleasure, pomp, passed by it, flowing from west to east, from east to west, along the Roman road. But the meadows were a-glow with wheat and barley. Near the low ground ran a belt of gardens, fenced with loose stones, in which myriads of green figs, red pomegranates, and golden citrons ripened in the summer sun. High up the slopes, which were lined and planted like the Rhine at Bingen, hung vintages of purple grapes. In the plain, among the corn and beneath the mulberry trees and figs, shone daisies, poppies, tulips, lilies, and anemones, endless in their profusion, brilliant in their dyes. Low down on the hill side sprang a well of water, bubbling, plentiful, and sweet; and above this fountain of life, in a long street straggling from the fountain to the synagogue, rose the homesteads of many shepherds, craftsmen, and vine-dressers. It was a lovely and humble place, of which no poet, no ruler, no historian of Israel had ever yet taken note. No Rachel had been met and kissed into love at this well; no Ruth had gathered up the sheaves of barley in

yon fields; no tower had been built for observation on this height; no camp had been pitched for battle in that vale. That one who would become dearer to the fancies of men than either Ruth or Rachel then walked through these fields, drew water at this spring, passed up and down the lanes of this hamlet, no seer could have then surmised. The place was more than obscure. The Arab may have pitched his black tent by the well, the magistrate of Sephoris must have known the village name, but the hamlet was never mentioned by the Jewish scribes. In the Bible, in the Talmud, in the writings of Josephus, we search in vain for any records of this sacred place. Like its happy neighbours, Nain and Endor, it was the abode of husbandmen and oil-pressers, whose lives were spent in the synagogue and in the olive-grove, away from the bright Greek cities and the busy Roman roads. No doubt it had once been possessed of either an Arab or a Hebrew name; but we do not know that name except in its Hellenic form. The Greeks called the town Nazaret or Nazareth.

"Into this nameless Jewish hamlet there came to live in the days of Judas of Gamala and the Zealots, Joseph of Bethlehem, with his wife and child. Joachim, Mary's father, had been already a man of great age, when his wife Anna, a woman who like Sarah had long been childless, gave birth to a daughter, whom the parents called Marian, and whom the Church calls Mary the Blessed Virgin. Though they then dwelt in the province of Galilee, her father and mother were natives of Bethlehem, of the tribe of Judah, and the line of David. Like many other Jews, they seem to have left the hill country of Judea, in which it was hard for the poor to find bread, and to have settled in those busier and more prosperous parts of Palestine, in which the Greeks had built cities and the Romans had made roads; obeying a movement like that which in our own day draws the Gael to Lanark, the Parsee to Calcutta, the Arab to Algiers. They were not rich people; though they owned goats and sheep, and lived in a good house, in the midst of a garden, and could afford money and time for a yearly journey to Zion at the great festivals of their faith. But Joachim and his wife were richer in blood and in repute than in flocks and herds.

"The thousand years which had passed away since their father David reigned over Israel, an interval little less than that which divides yon hajjee in the green turban from his ancestor Mohammed, might serve in any country to lay the mighty low, to turn a Capet into a carter, a Plantagenet into a ploughboy. In that large flux of years, the house of David, scattered into every region of the East, into Egypt and Persia, into Babylon and Arabia, had so fallen from its high estate that its members had been glad to practise the most ordinary trades. Hillel of Babylon was poorer than Joachim of Nazareth. But no lapse of time, no taint of poverty, will, in countries like Palestine, deprive of due honour and respect a man who is known to be descended from a royal and saintly race. Yon hajjee in the green folds may be poor enough to beg paras in the public street; yet his fellow-beggar, crouching beside him in the dust, and even dividing with him his scanty loaf, will be forward to acknowledge his princely rank; and in the mouths of all classes of his countrymen he is still shereef and saïb, nobleman and lord. And so it fared with men of the line of David, children of the shepherd-king. To be born of that stock, like Hillel and Joachim, was to possess in all Jewish eyes a sacred and inalienable grace. Husband and wife both died in Nazareth while Marian was yet a child; Joachim, who seems to have had another wife besides Anna, leaving another daughter named Mary (not Marian like the Virgin), a woman of mature age, who had been married to a Jew called Clopas, or, as the name was spelt in Greek, Alphæus, and was left his widow with four or five sons. The two half-sisters dwelt together in their father's house, which by the Jewish law would come to them in equal shares, on condition that they should marry in their tribe and to their next of kin. Mary, having sons who must inherit her part of the estate, would have no rights to preserve by marrying a second time; but her half-sister and co-heiress was obliged by the law either to marry her next of kin when she came of age, or to forfeit all share in her father's goods.

"The man next of kin to Marian was Joseph of Bethlehem; her uncle, it

would seem, though some say he was her cousin; a man already old, with sons of his own grown up into young men. The Jewish rule was strict; girls had no choice; and to marry uncles was a habit of the people. Had not Herod, the reigning king, married two of his nieces? Were not some of his grand-daughters already the wives of his sons?

"Joseph, the husband whom Marian was bound by law to marry, was by trade a carpenter; tradition says a bad one, as Syrian craftsmen of the kind have always been. It may be inferred from what is still to be seen every day in Galilee, that he built and repaired boats on the lake, as well as made frames and stools, and cut down poles for tents. Except in the Greek cities, the arts of domestic life were crude. When Joseph wrought at his trade in the village, his bench would be placed in the public way, as you see the carpenters at work in Acre and Nazareth now, and there he would saw and hammer at his planks from dawn to dusk. This occupation of a carpenter would lead him away from home, and his business hours when abroad would probably be spent in such Jewish hamlets as Nain and Cana among the hills, and as Bethsaida and Capernaum on the lake.

"The son of Joseph and Marian, born in the grotto near the great khan of Bethlehem, was called Jesus; a name now sacred and set apart from use: then common among the Jews as either Simon or Judah, and as William and Henry among ourselves. As the boy grew in strength, he was put to learn his father's trade of carpentry, and until his thirtieth year, when he became old enough to teach and preach, he was content to go about the villages of Galilee, among the followers of Judas and his sons Simon and James, mending chairs and poles, hewing masts and beams, shaping oars and planks. Is not this the carpenter? said his neighbours of Nazareth, when he began to proclaim the Gospel of fraternity and love. With the axe, the plane, the measuring-line in his hand, he trudged as a boy at his father's side through these valleys of Zebulon, Issachar, and Naphtali; shirking the great cities in which they would have found no work for Jew carpenters to do; and toiling on the farms and in the villages of their own people, among peasants, carriers, and fishermen, who had little knowledge and less appreciation of the finer arts of Greece.

"The position of Jesus in this Nazareth home was something like that of David when a youth in the Bethlehem khan. His half-brothers, being Orientals, treated him, even when he was thirty years of age, as a young man: which in plain English means treating him very much as they would have done a woman and a slave. The names of these half-brothers, as well as of his cousins, the sons of Mary, being the commonest then used in Israel—James and Judah, Simon and Joses—it is impossible to say how many of them lived in the same house, or even to say which were the children of Clopas and which the children of Joseph. Living in the same town, being all of one tribe, they were known as members of one family, and were only mentioned by writers under the general designation of the Lord's brethren. Clopas left a son named James, and Joseph left a son named James. Each seems to have had a son called Judah. Three sisters lived in the house. More than these facts can hardly be stated, except by guess-work. It is also known that of all these men and women, Jesus, like David among Jesse's children, was the youngest born.

"That his mother Marian, who bore him at the age of fifteen, was fair and comely, was a constant tradition of the early church: a girl having a style of beauty like that of David and Solomon, which is rare in hot countries, and when it occurs is most highly prized. If the Church traditions may be trusted on such a point, backed by such evidence as the Byzantine mosaics and the early missals, the Virgin had blue eyes, a pale skin, low colour, a sweet oval face, with abundance of golden hair.

"In her ways of life she would act no otherwise than like the young Hebrew woman of her time and of all times. She would rise early in the day, and going with her creel into the market-place, fill it with melons and fresh figs,—with green cucumbers and grapes. At the third hour she would recite her shema, and at the ninth hour sing a psalm of David. In the evening she would go down with her pitcher to the well and fill it. On the Sabbath, after washing

hands, she would go up to the synagogue on the hill top, where she would sit among the women behind the screen, and hear the Sheliach repeat the lesson set apart for that day. For the rest of her simple and homely life, like the women of her class in these Syrian villages at the present hour, she would boil her pottage over a wood fire, lay her maize on the flat roof to dry, spin thread for domestic use, sweep the dust from her lewan at dusk, and, expecting her husband and her son to come home, spread her mats on the floor and set her viands for them in the shadiest nook of her little court.

"Our western fancies, working through an instinct of nature safer than half-knowledge, have made of this simple life a pastoral full of grace and beauty. Hearing that the best years of her youth and womanhood were spent, before she yet knew grief, on this sunny hill slope, her feet being for ever among the daisies, poppies, and anemones, which grow everywhere about, we have made her the patroness of all our flowers. The Virgin is our rose of Sharon, our lily of the valley. The poetry, no less than the piety of Europe, has inscribed to her the whole bloom and colouring of the fields and hedges. May is her month. Gardens are trimmed in her service, and all her chapels are decked and garlanded with nosegays. The favourites of our meadows, some of them unknown to the Flora of her own Galilee, bear names which are derived from her;—such as lady grass, lady smock, lady slipper, lady's key, marigold, and maidenhair. But the rose and the lily—the rose for its lustre, the lily for its sweetness—are, more than any others, considered as the Virgin's own. These flowers belong to the landscape of Middle Galilee no less than to the poetry of the Christian world.

"Until her husband died, an event which is supposed to have happened when her son was a young man, she was once a year mounted on an ass and taken up to Jerusalem for the Passover. Every man rich enough to spare time and money on this journey to Jerusalem was bound to make it; thousands of their neighbour Galileans went up to the Temple every year; still more every second or third year; the bands setting out at one time, marching by the same roads, and keeping close together for their mutual help. These Passover pilgrims from Galilee formed a long caravan; the women and old men riding on asses and camels; the men and young lads trudging by their sides; the little folks running about from one group to another, playing with the dogs, gathering the wild fruit, and sometimes getting lost. Avoiding Samaria, as a country of heretics, contact with whom would have rendered a Separatist Jew unclean, they marched by the lower road, though it carried them east of the Jordan and through a somewhat perilous tract. Better, said they, the chance of being robbed than the certainty of being defiled. So they wended through Gilead and Ammon; camping near a well at sunset; lighting their fires of sticks, and cooking their frugal meal, consisting of a dish of lentils, and parched corn fried in a little oil, with a melon, a cucumber, and a bunch of grapes. Recrossing the Jordan at Bethabara, a famous ford on the river, ten miles eastward of Jericho, they marched under the green date-trees of the plain to the city and the mountain base, and then toiled up the rocky passes of the wilderness towards Zion, carrying fronds of palm and branches of myrtle in their hands, and singing their shemas and hosannas as they moved impetuously along the mountain roads.

"Their journey ended; the company broke up near Bethany, a poor village on the eastern slope of Mount Olivet, looking down the glen, over the desert ways by which they had come up. Of all those thousands on thousands, a few might have friends in Jerusalem who were able to receive them into their houses; only a few: the concourse of people being too vast for the whole body of pilgrims to find shelter within the walls. Every man lodged as it pleased him best. Some got into the poor little hamlets round about; some pitched their tents on the hill sides and in the shady glens; but the thousands on thousands were content with the little green booths, called succoth, a wattle of twigs and leaves, such as Jacob had made for himself in Canaan, and such as the Sharon peasant still builds for his family at the Jerusalem gate. Mizpeh, Olivet, Gibeon, and Rephaim, sparkled with these booths and tents, the slopes

of the Cedron being alive with men and women, with sheep and goats, with camels and asses, while the great fountains of En-rogel and Siloam were thronged from morning to night with girls drawing water for man and beast.

"The men from Galilee are said to have pitched their tents and built their booths on a part of Olivet, a little north of the road leading over its brow; one of the three mamelons into which the ridge is divided by nature: a circumstance which is supposed to have led to that mamelon being subsequently known by the name of Galilee Hill, or hill of the men of Galilee."

We make no apology for the length of this extract, upon which we shall now append a few annotations. For "Sephoris" we should read "Sepphoris." It is incorrect to intimate that Nazareth had "no distinguishable native name"—that "no doubt it had once been possessed of either an *Arab* or a Hebrew name; but we do not know that name except in its Hellenic form,"—that "the *Greeks* called the town Nazaret or Nazareth." Nazareth was the native name, which is not Hellenic or Greek, nor Arabic, but Hebrew or Chaldee. To suggest that the place may once have had an Arab(ic) name is absurd. The whole story which follows about Joachim and Anna is mere legend taken from one false gospels,—our only authority for these two names as those of Mary's parents! The repeated exhibition of Marian as the original form of Mary's name is ridiculous: it is Miriam in the Hebrew, and Mariam (or Maria) in the Greek. Would it not be a much more dignified course for one who has neither the philology nor the history required in such cases, to confess his ignorance, and to say "Courteous reader, I do not understand Hebrew, Syriac, etc., and I am unacquainted with the real value of ancient Christian literary documents?" We were once speaking of a matter which we did understand, to a Roman Catholic who did not understand it, and who thought no Protestant could possibly attain to such knowledge. With an incredulous sneer upon his countenance, he turned to a friend and said—taking to flight at the same time—*ne sutor ultra crepidam.* Far be it from us to say so of Mr. Dixon,—but he would have consulted his reputation by not publishing a book so full of extraordinary mistakes, and mere *nugæ.* Nevertheless many will be pleased with its clever sketches, and with the jingle of such expressions as these: "a Capet into a carter, a Plantagenet into a ploughboy."

The husband and wife who "died in Nazareth while Marian was yet a child," were, we suppose, Joachim and Anna, but we look in vain of course for any evidence of this, except in the forgeries called false gospels,—which are idle fictions. Mr. Dixon's account of the Holy Family is not much more true, and only claims to be more pretty. To refute it in detail would be a waste of time; our readers will be content to know that our sole sources of information concerning the Holy Family are the books of the New Testament; they know, therefore, that the picture here coloured with Renanish brilliancy is not drawn from the life. We have seldom or never read a chapter on the sacred themes to which this is devoted with more real pain and regret. Who can say what Mary's age was at the birth of Christ? that the family circle comprised the members enumerated, and the relations affirmed? The paragraph about the Virgin's personal ap-

pearance is worthy of some credulous old monk. Happily there are plenty among us who can measure and weigh books of this sort, and there will not be wanting those who will raise an indignant protest against the namby-pamby productions of the mere dilettante. We leave the chapter with a remark about the origin of the name Galilee as applied to part of Olivet. It arose from a misapplication of Mark xvi. 7, and a misunderstanding of Acts i. 11. The Latin words "Viri Galilæi" have got reduced to "Galilee," and have become the name of the spot where the men are fancied to have stood.

We now proceed with our notes on Mr. Dixon's book. At p. 241 (vol. i., and also in vol. ii., 36), Pilate's wife is expressly called "Claudia:" the Apocryphal Gospels also call her Procula, and Claudia Procula, or Procla,—the truth is we know nothing about it. We read of "Glaphyra, queen of *Lybia*," which is about as elegant as the unfortunate *sybil* of fashionable writers (p. 235). At p. 250 we have *Eleazar* and *Zippora*. At p. 258, it is not so much as hinted at that "mar" and "saint" are not synonymous terms. At p. 282 we stumble upon a wonderful sentence: "Demetrius, the holy brother who had served us with raki, and shewn us the skulls of six hundred saints, all monks of Mar Saba, stands by with his lantern, keeping an eye on the Bedaween sheikhs, and murmuring softly of backshish; while a band of his fellow-monks are chanting lauds in a chapel hung round with lamps, and the chime of the convent-bell goes booming in silvery thunder down the glen." Our botanical knowledge does not enable us to recognize the *agnus cacti* (p. 284). We should be glad to compel Mr. Dixon to verify some of the statements implied in this monstrative sentence: "high mountains to the east and to the west; the heights of Abraham, the crests of Gilead, the mountains of the temptation; on our right hand the burnt cities of Lot; on our left hand the ruins of Gilgal and Jericho; in our front the long flat plain of sand and ashes, the green fringe of the sacred stream, and slanting across the river the ford over which Joshua passed, and on which JESUS was baptized by John" (p. 287). A little further on, for "hyena," read "hyæna" (p. 290). Where did our author learn that Christ was baptized in April (p. 312—316)? When referring to the meaning of the name Cephas or Peter, he presents us with this charming sentence: "In English the name does not carry its symbolical sense: *for the man's nature was like the basalt*, tumbled in heaps and lying in quarries about his native hill" (p. 317). There is nothing like giving a reason for what one says! When traditional sites or statements come in his way, Mr. Dixon seems to dispossess himself of all his critical faculties, and to accept tradition as if it were gospel.

We do not wish to be tedious, but we have a duty to perform, and we therefore give a few more specimens—from the second volume. The author speaks of Syrian husbandmen as "Canaanite in blood" (p. 3);—who knows that? He seems to be quite sure that Salim was but a few miles from Jerusalem—and writes the name Salem (p. 68). The woman of Samaria was "light of character and *glib* of tongue"

(p. 89), and what our Lord said to her was "in the bright vein" of all his sayings. Over and over again we are informed that the Herods were great builders. The feast of Purim was "a Babylonish feast," yet it was "founded in Persia," and belonged to the "series of Pharisaic rites which the Maccabees adopted:" it was also "a feast of mirth; often rioting down into an orgy!" (p. 110), and ends by becoming a "Persian festival" (p. 112). Oriental words are not scarce in these pages, but often disguised: thus "shophar," a trumpet, is with difficulty recognized in "shofa" (p. 116, etc.). With charming ignorance, or oblivion of critical and exegetical enigmas, we are told as a simple matter of fact that Christ came to Jerusalem for the feast of Purim on the occasion alluded to in John v. 1. Why not say this is the opinion of some interpreters? (p. 113). Herod Antipas becomes "Antipas Herod" (p. 121), and Herod is vaguely termed an Arab, when his origin was Idumean or Edomite. Is it usual to write "pulses" in the plural? when speaking of an individual we have thought "pulse" was the form. The imaginary sketch of Salome (p. 132) is objectionable because it is imaginary, and not said to be so. Did Christ become invisible at Nazareth (p. 157)? Do we know so much of Capernaum as Mr. Dixon relates? (chap. xvi.) It is not true that Capernaum is "properly spelt Caphar na Hum," if there is any certainty in philological principles (p. 161). Glancing homewards, we have a reference to "Eboricum" for Eboracum, and are directly after introduced to "Arculf the *earliest Christian traveller*" (p. 169). A page further on we are promised a sketch after St. John, but truly St. John supplied very little of what is given in his name. One of the peaks of Hermon, we are informed, was "the mountain of the Transfiguration" (p. 200).

The note to chap. xx., "on the name Bethany," including a letter from Mr. Deutsch, is about the most scholarlike, if not the only scholarlike piece in the course of the two volumes.

At p. 261 we are introduced to "the little garden called Gethsemane, meaning *Old* Presses;" and at p. 275, we read of Caspius Fadus as a procurator in Judea. Our author is fond of telling us that the Syrians regard the English as the Moslems of the west, and why they do so (p. 303 and elsewhere). The chapter about the Jews will not please everybody; but while we object to some things in it, we doubt if it is not substantially correct. We conclude our scholia with the observation that Mr. Dixon's willing credence is sustained throughout, and that he illustrates it at the very close of his work by reiterating his humble belief in St. George.

The sum of the matter is this:—the book has no merit from a scientific point of view, and we exceedingly regret that a man occupying so prominent a place in our national literature should have been tempted to give the world two volumes so crude, and so abounding in errors and defects of various kinds. Our judgment will be endorsed by those who are competent to form a critical opinion.

The Hebrew Scriptures. Translated by SAMUEL SHARPE. Being a revision of the authorized English Old Testament. Vol. I., Genesis to 1 Samuel. London: Whitfield, Green and Son.

MR. SHARPE is perhaps best known for his valuable contributions in Egyptology, a department in which he has laboured with great zeal for many years. He has also published a very useful revised translation of the New Testament. His present undertaking is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, requiring an unusual acquaintance with the Shemitic languages as well as with ancient learning generally. We believe he has frequently improved upon our English version of the Old Testament; but we candidly own that we very often feel compelled to differ from his conclusions, as well as from his methods of procedure. Instead, however, of introducing any critical details of our own, we content ourselves with inserting here a series of observations by Mr. Sharpe himself. The document has been committed to us by the writer, and it seems better fitted than anything we can say, to explain and illustrate the principles upon which that gentleman proceeds in editing the English Bible. It will be seen that the remarks extend only over a portion of the Book of Genesis. Of Mr. Sharpe's volume we only further remark, that while it generally follows the readings of the Authorized Version, it sometimes admits explanations which are quite novel, and as we have intimated, not always such as we can accept.

"*Critical Notes.*—Genesis i. 22. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.]—*The breath of God.* The Hebrew word means either *wind*, or *breath*, or *spirit*. For its meaning here we may be guided by the Psalmist, who says (xxxiii. 6), 'By the word of Jehovah were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.'

"ii. 5. And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew, for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth.]—*And every plant of the field was not yet on the earth, and every herb of the field was not yet growing.*

"ii. 4. In the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens.]—*Jehovah God.* Our translators followed the Greek of the Septuagint in shunning the use of the word Jehovah, and thereby they rob us of a change of style in the several Hebrew writers.

"iv. 8. And Cain talked with Abel.]—*And Cain said to Abel.* The text is imperfect, and does not tell us what Cain said; but the Greek version supplies it with the words, 'Let us go into the field.'

"iv. 16 And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden].—*In the land of wandering.* The word is descriptive of the country, and not its name.

"iv. 22. She also bare Tubal-Cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.]—*A sharpener of every tool of copper and iron.* Brass was a late discovery, and is first mentioned in Ezra viii. 27.

"vi. 3. My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh.] —*Shall not always strive with man for their sins; he is flesh.* The word here rendered 'for their sins,' is in the A. V. taken to mean 'because.'

"14. Make thee an ark of gopher-wood.]—*Of turpentine-trees.* Such is the probable meaning of the word.

"ix. 20. And Noah began to be a husbandman.]—*Was the first to be a husbandman.* The same correction must be made in chap. x. 8.

"x. 8. He (Nimrod) began to be a mighty one in the earth.]—*Was the first to be a mighty one.* See the last note.

"22. The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxadad.]—*Arep-cheshed.* By thus more carefully spelling this name, we shew that it contains the well-known name 'Cheshed,'—*the Chaldees*, of which nation it was a branch.

"30. And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east.]—*And their dwelling was in the east, from Mesha* (on the Persian gulf) *unto Mount Sephar* (part of Sinai). Mount Sephar, or the *written mountain*, may be known by its name to be Serbal, a mountain yet covered by the inscriptions of pilgrims of all ages. In the A. V. it appears to be on the east side of Mesha, whereas it is on the west side of that district.

"xi. 2. As they journied from the east.]—*Eastward.* The Hebrew may bear either meaning; but a glance at the map explains which is right. See the last note; where we have in the same way changed 'of the east' into 'in the east.'

"xi. 3. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.]—*Bitumen for mortar.* The pits of bitumen, or mineral pitch, are mentioned in chapter xiv. 10, where also the translation should be corrected.

"xii. 10. And Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there.]—*Into Lower Egypt.* Upper and Lower Egypt were during much of their history under different kings: their people spoke different dialects of the Coptic language, and were by no means alike in their religious opinions. In chap. x. 13, 14, the Mizraim are the people of Lower Egypt, while the Pathrusim are the people of Upper Egypt.

"xiii. 1. And Abram went up out of Egypt, he and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the south.]—*Into the south country*, the southern parts of Canaan, between Hebron and the southern desert. The A. V. has wholly lost sight of this division of Judea, which in the original is repeatedly spoken of, and whose people during some portion of their history were by no means friendly to the Jews, who dwelt further north. See in particular Isa. xxx. 6, and Ezek. xx. 46, where the same correction must be made, as in numerous other places.

"xiii. 10. And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan.]—*All the circle of the Jordan.* Such was the name of the district called in Matthew iii. 5 'the country round the Jordan.'

"xiv. 5. *And they smote the Rephaites* [*or giants*] *near the horned Ashteroth, and the Zuzites* [*or strong ones*] *in Ham, and the Emites* [*or terrible ones*] *in the Plain of Kirjathaim, and the Horites* [*or men of caves*] *in their Mount Seir.* Words which are at the same time both names and descriptions, require in this way a double translation to put the English reader in the position of one who understands the Hebrew.

"6. Unto El-paran, which is by the wilderness.]—*Unto the Oak of Paran, which is by the desert.* Our travellers always call the sandy and barren plains between Egypt, Palestine, and the Euphrates, the desert; hence that word is used here and elsewhere throughout the Bible.

"10. And the vale of Siddim was full of slime pits.]—*Of pits of* bitumen.

"xv. 2. And Abram said, O Lord God.]—*O Lord Jehovah.* Here, as remarked in note on Genesis ii. 4, our translators shun the word Jehovah, but replace it with 'God,' not 'Lord,' as in other places.

"xviii. 8. And he took butter and milk.]—*Curds and milk.* Butter is not made in those warm climates.

"xix. 1. And there came two angels to Sodom at even.]—*Two of the angels.* Such is the Hebrew. Three angels had come to Abraham (xviii. 2). Of these Jehovah went away (xviii. 33), and now two come to Sodom.

"xxii. 7. But where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?]—*Lamb or kid.* The Hebrew word embraces both animals. Goats and sheep were kept in the same flock, and the young of either animal was allowed in the sacrifices.

"16. By myself I have sworn, saith the Lord.]—*By myself I have sworn, Jehovah hath said it.* These latter words are the form of the oath, and are used repeatedly in the Prophets, and should never be exchanged for the quiet words of the historian, 'saith Jehovah.' They might equally well be rendered 'It is the solemn declaration of Jehovah.'

"xxiii. 6. Thou art a mighty prince among us.]—*A prince of God.* So in chap. xxx. 8 great wrestlings are called *wrestlings of God*, and in 1 Samuel xiv. 15 a great trembling is called *a trembling before God.*

"10. And Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth.]—*Was sitting among them*, at the time that Abraham spoke to them.

"xxiv. 10. And he arose, and went to Mesopotamia.]—*To Syria of the rivers.* This is not the district between the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, which Xenophon calls Arabia, from its barrenness, but the well watered country among the sources of the Euphrates to the north of the river Chaboras, which falls into the Euphrates in lat. 35° 10′.

"17. Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher.]—*Sip.* He uses a more modest word; but she in answer says, "Drink, my lord.

"47. And I put the earring upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands.]—*The nose-ring upon her nose.* The change should be made in verses 22 and 30.

"60. Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.]—*The city gate*, meaning the cities themselves.

"xxv. 18. And he died in the presence of all his brethren.]—*And it*, the land, *was divided to each by lot in the presence of all his brethren.* Literally *it fell*, a word often used for division by lot.

"20. The Syrian of Padan-aram.]—*Of Padan in Syria.* See Note on xxiv. 10.

"xxvii. 28. And plenty of corn and wine.]—*Grape juice.* In countries where the vine ripens freely and wine is made, they distinguish between the grape juice, which is the product of the vineyard, and the wine which is afterwards made from it.

"xxvii. 39. Thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above.]—*Without the fatness of the earth, and without the dew of heaven.* The Hebrew preposition is sadly ambiguous, meaning sometimes 'away from' and sometimes 'out of' or 'part of.' Here the doubt is removed by turning to verse 28.

"40. And it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion.]—*When thou shalt be free.* See Notes on Jer. ii. 31, where this verb should have the same meaning, and Hosea xi. 12, where it should be translated 'to act disobediently.' It is not elsewhere met with.

"xxix. 17. Leah was tender eyed.]—*Had weak eyes*, perhaps disfigured by the ophthalmia which is common in that country.

"20. And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days.]—*But single days.*

"xxx. 11. And Leah said, A troop cometh.]—*Good fortune cometh.* See Isaiah lxv. 11, where the goddess of fortune or good fortune is spoken of.

"xxxi. 19. And Rachel had stolen the images that were her father's.]—The Teraphim, or Teraphs, some kind of household god or idol, which the Hebrews consulted as an oracle."

Popery, Ancient and Modern: its Spirit, Principles, Character, Objects, etc. By JOHN CAMPBELL, D.D. London: John Snow.

DR. CAMPBELL has for many years laboured hard to maintain what are commonly called evangelical doctrines, and Protestant principles. In this work he has produced an immense mass of writing, and his efforts have been acknowledged in a remarkably substantial manner by leading members of several religious communities. Even those who have differed from him have confessed his indomitable industry, his burning zeal, and his overpowering energy. Nor have we found any who have questioned his transparent honesty and single mindedness. His acquaintance with Christian statistics is enormous, and we know no man who has so general a familiarity with opinions and practices current in the Christian world. We have sometimes differed from him in opinion,

and have thought him often severe, but we have never found him inconsistent with his avowed principles, and never slow to defend them, and to attack such as are opposed to them.

Such, in a word or two, is the author of this book, who endeavours to build up such an impeachment of Romanism, as shall secure its condemnation and rejection. His belief is that Popery is insidious in its approaches, attractive in its manifestations, and dangerous as a neighbour. In this belief he is not alone; and if we may judge from what passes under our own eyes, there are reasons for the belief. We fear, however, that the evil is one very difficult to grapple with. Those who are fond of a sentimental and a sensational religion, or who regard Christianity as inseparable from form and ceremony, painting, sculpture, music, embroidery, incense, and outward show, will necessarily gravitate towards Popery. And it happens unfortunately that those who are thus led away, mostly belong, in England at least, to the educated and higher classes, whose wealth and influence will go to promote the propaganda. Another class from which converts will be gained, and are gained, consists of those who are morally unprincipled and wicked, and who have yet light enough and conscience enough to know that they must be interested in religion and protected by it. All who wish to be pious by proxy, and religious without forsaking their sins, are welcome at Rome. We know that some of the leading recent converts are reputed to be utterly worthless and base. The reasons which prevent us from going into details are not founded upon lack of evidence. A few, and we believe only a few among those Englishmen who have lately found their way to Rome, do not belong to either of the preceeding classes.

Dr. Campbell's introduction supplies some very valuable statistics as to the present numerical strength of the official staff of Rome in this island. His subsequent chapters are very diversified, and abound in facts and reasonings bearing upon the main question. The truth and accuracy of very much that he says, we can attest from a somewhat considerable intimacy with the literature of the controversy. But the author must not take it amiss if we urge upon him the paramount importance of some revision of his references. He has relied too implicitly upon those who have supplied him with many of his materials, and the consequence is, some mistakes partly amusing, and partly serious. A work of this description needs to be protected in every possible way. The oldest controversionalists understood this, and we need only mention such writers as James, Bishop Cosins, and Joseph Hall, to remind our readers that what we say is true. With the reserve referred to, we may commend the work of Dr. Campbell, as very interesting, instructive, and important.

The Elohistic and Jehovistic theory minutely examined, &c. By the Rev. Edward Biley, A.M. London: Bell and Daldy.

It is quite needless for us to explain what is meant by the Elohistic and Jehovistic theory in general, although it might be interesting to

collect the variations which that theory has undergone. Mr. Biley deals with it as exemplified in the fourth part of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch. His discussion occupies fifty-six pages, and includes some very interesting and valuable Hebrew criticisms, which we are sorry to say we have not space to enumerate and comment upon, but which we very cordially recommend to the attention of scholars. The second part of the book is headed "Remarks on Scripture and Science," and involves an examination of geological and other questions of a scientific order, touched upon by Dr. Colenso. This geological discussion is ingenious; but we are sorry to say that we cannot adopt the conclusions arrived at. We have never seen an argument which could convince us that the six days of the Mosaic narrative in Gen. i., were other than natural days in the view of the inspired writer. The third part of Mr. Biley's book is supplementary, and returns to the subjects which have already been discussed in reply to Dr. Colenso, but concludes with remarks on the destruction of the Canaanites. The volume is a very interesting one; and such as are able to appreciate Hebrew criticism should not fail to procure it, if they are at all concerned in the present controversy about the Pentateuch.

The Suppressed Gospels and Epistles of the original New Testament of Jesus Christ, and other portions of the ancient Holy Scriptures, now extant, attributed to his Apostles, and their disciples, and venerated by the primitive Christian Churches during the first four centuries: but since, after violent disputations, forbidden by the Bishops of the Nicene Council, in the reign of the Emperor Constantine; and omitted from the Catholic and Protestant editions of the New Testament, by its compilers. Translated from the original tongues, with historical references to their authenticity. By Archbishop Wake, and other learned Divines. London: E. Hancock and Co., 41 Lower White Cross Street, City, and all respectable booksellers. MDCCCLXIII.

The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their companions, and not in the New Testament, by its compilers. Translated from the original tongues, and now first collected into one volume. London: Printed for William Hone, Ludgate Hill. 1820.

Gospel Paganism: or, Reason's Revolt against the Revealed. With reprint of a Letter to Social Science Association, 1862. London: Austin and Co., Printers and Publishers, 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C. 1864.

The first of these books, as the title shews, is a mere catchpenny affair, published by some unprincipled and ignorant enemy to Christianity, partly for gain and partly to mislead the untaught. It would not be easy to find a title page more full of falsehood, absurdity, and ill-will. Only think of the Nicene Council in Constantine's reign *since* the fourth century! The book is a miserably inaccurate reprint of the

next on our list, with a few ridiculous notes and a piece of a poem by the editor, who boasts in his advertisements that he has the twenty-third thousand on sale!

We only mention Hone's book as a much more respectable affair than the preceding, but characterized by retaining its original imprint (date, publisher, etc.), although new issues are continually published. Of course, neither of these books contains more than a fraction of the extant Apocryphal Christian books, and yet to eke out the collection, Archbishop Wake's version of the epistles of the apostolical Fathers has been dragged in,—a circumstance which enables the honest editor of No. 1 to emblazon the archbishop's name upon his title page. Unless for special purposes, we advise nobody to waste money on these books. If they want the false Gospels in English, let them get Jeremiah Jones on the Canon, the oldest, but still the best work of the kind in our language, so far as we know; it contains an interesting mass of Apocryphal documents. Others will naturally have recourse to Thilo, Tischendorf, etc.

The third book on our list is a rabid and stupid attack upon divine revelation and religion generally, by some deluded denizen of the temple, signing himself G. R. We record the title to let posterity know the folly and madness of some of the men of our times. The man who wrote the book is most venomous and blasphemous, and utterly without correct information, right feeling, and judgment.

Symbols of Christ. By CHARLES STANFORD. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

WE may call this volume a series of New Testament sermons on Old Testament texts. The subjects are twelve in number.—the royal priest of Salem; Shiloh; the Angel in the burning bush; the Captain of the Lord's host; Shepherd of souls; Teacher of the weary; Refiner watching the crucible; Healer; Master of Life; Wings of the Shekinah; Advocate in the court of mercy; and, the Awakener. Mr. Stanford has been very successful as a writer of practical works of an evangelical character, and we have every reason to believe that the one under notice will be found as worthy of confidence as anything he has produced. The discourses are not learned, critical, or argumentative in form, although they are more or less so in substance. Perhaps we should speak more exactly what we think, if we say that the learning and criticism are rather implied than expressed in these sermons. Associated with them, however, are a few notes in which the author gives the opinion of scholars, and says which he prefers. Nor have we any reason to complain of his judgment, while we have reason to commend his modesty in regard to these notes. There are so many excellent things in the book, and so little of a purely ecclesiastical character, that it may be read with pleasure by all who love the simple Gospel, and can receive it without the Shibboleth of regimental distinctions. We sincerely hope that so genuine a Christian book may become a general favourite. The style and spirit are admirable.

The New Testament for English Readers: containing the Authorized Version, with a Revised English Text; Marginal References; and a Critical and Explanatory Commentary. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D. Vol. II., Part I.—The Epistles of St. Paul. Rivingtons.

THE very title of this work indicates that it is meant less to give us criticism than the results of criticism. We expect, in fact, to find in it an embodiment and abstract of the conclusions arrived at in the editor's large Greek Testament, so far as those conclusions can be represented in a popular form, or are fitted for popular use. And yet this work is so far critical that it is not either one continuous onflowing dissertation upon the sacred text, or a series of pious meditations upon verses and sections like the older commentaries in general. Neither is it compiled on the principle of those who, like Burkitt, give a series of particular suggestions, inferences, lessons, and observations such as make up the skeleton of an old-fashioned sermon. The author is not wont to moralize, but to teach and explain; he therefore is didactic, sententious, and explanatory in his exposition. His main aim is to develop the thought, to bring out the meaning: hence, even when most doctrinal, he is rarely formal and theological. He writes after the manner of a scholar, and a Christian,—not much like a professor, nor much like a mere preacher. His book is therefore most fitted for those who wish to understand the Pauline epistles, and who are not too idle to use their reasoning and reflective powers. We consider the volume before us as remarkably endowed with the quality of suggestiveness, and for that very reason it will be most acceptable to such as we pointed out in our last sentence. To them it will afford continual profit, and in them it will awaken perpetual interest.

In addition to the expository notes, and the authorized English version with marginal references, this volume contains a revised translation, which we are very glad to see. And let us say in passing, that we wish, and often have wished, that Dean Alford would publish, without notes, a revised English New Testament. When this work is completed, the revision will exist, but it will not be accessible to one in a thousand of those who perhaps need it most; whereas, if the learned Dean would allow his revision to be extracted and issued separately and cheaply, we are convinced it would be one of his most useful gifts to the nation. It may be, and it is true, that the revision here exhibited does not read so smoothly always as that which we have been familiar with ever since we read it in childhood. Perhaps too, some peculiar readings and renderings would attract attention, and even be called in question. No matter, here are the conclusions of a matured scholar, eminent among Scripture critics, and eminent in the Church. It would be far better that people should know what they have to expect if an authorized revision ever comes to pass, and that in any case they should have an opinion worth having as to the actual defects of our present book. Another matter to be noticed in connection with this work is the separate introductions to the respective books. These introductions comprise the usual topics, which are, however, necessarily treated with

considerable brevity. It will at the same time be admitted that Dr. Alford has collected in the hundred and thirty-four pages of his Introduction very much useful and important matter. Here and elsewhere we may and do occasionally object to the views advanced, but we cannot join either of those extreme parties who condemn the book for contrary reasons—the one because it is not orthodox enough, and the other because it is too orthodox. Let us not forget to note that here are but thirteen epistles of St. Paul, and that the epistle to the Hebrews is not included. We have not observed any explanation of this omission, but we think it is an oversight, because there are many good people who know nothing of critical reasons, and who will only be shocked, grieved, or offended, to find the epistle to the Hebrews has been left out without a word to explain the omission. They will have it of course in the coming volume; but it would have been well at least to give them the promise of it in this.

Upon the whole we are greatly pleased with this volume, and we have perfect confidence in strongly recommending it to all enlightened Christian readers as deserving their best attention.

Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament. With an Introduction, giving a Short History of Hebrew Lexicography, by Dr. JULIUS FUERST, Professor at the University of Leipzig. Third Edition, Improved and Enlarged, containing a Grammatical and Analytical Appendix. Translated from the German by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., of the University of Halle, and LL.D. London. London: Williams and Norgate.

IN their prospectus to this valuable and important work, the publishers say: "The learned author of this Lexicon has been occupied with the old Semitic languages during the greater part of his life, and has given many proofs, in various works, of his thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and Chaldee. After publishing the large Hebrew Concordance, which superseded all similar performances, he devoted himself more especially to the preparation of the present Lexicon, which was issued in parts for several years, till its completion in 1861. About a year after a second edition was called for, which was published accordingly in 1863, in two volumes 8vo. Since the lexicographical labours of Gesenius, the present work, containing many new facts and views, is by far the most important in the same department. It is especially rich in its comparisons of the Aramæan, Arabic, and Targumic dialects; its investigation of the roots of words; its elucidation of difficult passages; and in collation of the ancient versions, with the works of the best Jewish lexicographers. The author has diligently availed himself of all recent investigations in philology, and of the best travels in Palestine, so that he has added largely to the materials contained in the lexicons of Gesenius and Meier. The English version embodies a number of additions and improvements which the author has transmitted in MS. to the translator; making it literally a third edition, considerably improved. It is hoped that the

work in its English dress will materially stimulate and promote the efforts now made to obtain an accurate knowledge of the Old Testament in its original tongues."

It is quite needless for us to add a word in explanation or commendation of the plan of this Lexicon; but we will say that we have long had it in constant use, and put it to the severest tests, and that the result is, an opinion of its unrivalled excellence as a manual for the Hebrew student. The author has some peculiar theories, both mythological and philological, and to these we often demur, but on all subjects he proves himself a ripe scholar, possessed of enormous information, and a wonderful quickness in tracing linguistic phenomena of all kinds. Far be it from us to say to any one, "Do not procure the Lexicon of Gesenius," but we would say to every one, "Procure the Lexicon of Fuerst." Even those who have literally no knowledge of Hebrew, beyond the letters of the alphabet, may find many articles which they can read from beginning to end, and which overflow with curious and valuable instruction, such as Bible readers must have before they can be properly said to understand the Bible,—the book which only the wise and prudent regard as demanding the highest mental qualifications and discipline, and the greatest learning, thoroughly to comprehend it.

Proposals for publishing by Subscription Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt; post Nobilium, Drusium et Montefalconium. Concinnavit, emendavit, et innumeris locis auxit F. Field, AA.M. (Norwich).

Otium Norvicense, sive Tentamen de Reliquiis Aquilæ, Symmachi, Theodotionis, e Lingua Syriaca in Græcam Convertendis. Conscripsit F. Field. (Oxford, printed for the Author.)

Mr. Field is one of our best Biblical scholars, if patience, learning, judgment, critical acumen, and a laudable enthusiasm are the qualities of a good scholar. His "Proposals" are in reality the prospectus of a new edition of what remains of the famous Hexaplar of Origen. After mentioning and characterizing preceding editions, he mentions the chief sources of additional materials. These are: the Oxford Septuagint of Holmes and Parsons; and the Syro-Hexaplar version. His remarks upon the Oxford Septuagint are important both in reference to its value and its defects. The observations upon the Syro-Hexaplar are also valuable and curious, and the kind and measure of service it may render in the projected undertaking is abundantly exemplified in the *Otium Norvicense.* Mr. Field proposes to publish his edition in five sections, the price of each of which will average not more than twelve shillings. The section which is first to appear is No. 3, containing the Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. This is expected to be ready before the end of the present year. In this laborious, responsible, and honourable undertaking, we trust he will have a measure of encouragement and support which will be alike satisfactory to himself, and creditable to his

country. He will never be repaid for all his outlay of toil, and time, and money, but we have a right to hope that in his endeavours to reproduce the noblest extant monument of uninspired learning and scholarship in the primitive Church, he will find many who have sufficient sympathy with him and his enterprize, and who have this world's goods in store, to lend him all the help and countenance he needs. There are few men among us who have the leisure, learning, or spirit to attempt such a task, but here is one whose qualifications are well known. We trust then that the dignitaries of the Church, and all who can, and therefore ought, will enrol their names as the patrons and promoters of this most excellent scheme.

The *Otium Norvicense* shews what Mr. Field is capable of. It is valuable as a contribution to our sacred critical literature, and it proves that its author is not only a good Greek scholar, but well versed in the Syriac. The object of the publication is indicated by its title, but we may add that it contains many learned and acute criticisms, and will often render useful aid to students of the original Hebrew text, as well as of the Greek versions.

Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63). By WILLIAM GIFFORD PALGRAVE. Two Vols. London: Macmillan and Co.

ON opening this book we were in a measure startled by the following sentence in the preface (p. vii.), "The author may add that at the time of the undertaking he was in connection with the order of the Jesuits, an order well known in the annals of philanthropic daring; he has also gratefully to acknowledge that the necessary funds were furnished by the liberality of the present Emperor of the French." This sentence has adhered to our recollection as we have gone on with our examination of the book, and has, we fear, prejudiced us somewhat against some of its departments.[a] At the same time let us pay our tribute to the magnificent services rendered by that order to the cause of physical geography and other sciences. Let us say, too, that the courage and self-denial of Mr. Palgrave have enabled him materially to increase our acquaintance with the region which lies between the Dead Sea and the Persian Gulf. We have German maps which reveal the great outline of this strange region, but Mr. Palgrave has largely contributed towards filling up the outline, and by his book he has peopled it with living forms. On these accounts his work is highly important and valuable, and we hope to return to it.

A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. By the Very Reverend HARVEY GOODWIN, D.D., Dean of Ely. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. London: Bell and Daldy.

THE character of this volume may be inferred from the announcement

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[a] Since this was put in type we have read that Mr. Palgrave has returned to Protestantism.

of the series to which it belongs; "Commentaries on the Gospels, intended for the English reader, and adapted either for domestic or private use." The volumes on Matthew and Mark have previously appeared, and the author hopes to produce a fourth upon the Gospel of St. John. This commentary is not so much critical as practical and explanatory. It is written in the spirit of faith, in an intelligible and lucid style, while its teachings are thoroughly sound and wholesome. It will be perused with pleasure and varied profit by the Christian reader, for whose use it is intended. At the same time it will be invaluable to any clergymen who is expounding in public either the whole or any portion of the third Gospel. An excellent introduction is prefixed, remarkable for its calmness, moderation, and clearness. We commend to the consideration of our readers the observations made in this introduction (pp. xi—xiii.), upon the subject of inspiration, only regretting that those observations are so brief. The whole of this introduction deserves to be carefully read over. Dean Goodwin expresses his conviction that "no one of the first three Evangelists ever saw the works of the other two in their present form: that they had some common materials I do not doubt; and those common materials were perhaps partly written, partly oral: I believe also that the common written materials were not originally in Greek, but were translated into Greek, and that by different hands."

St. Paul at Athens. By WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

DR. ALEXANDER himself tells us that this volume contains the substance of a series of expository lectures delivered in the ordinary course of his ministry. But his exposition has furnished him with an opportunity for introducing a consideration of some points which have been very much discussed. One of these points is the fatherhood of God, in respect to which "he has sought to shew that the position which Scripture authorizes and teaches is a medium position between the opinion of those who would restrict God's fatherhood to his gracious special relation to redeem men, and that of those who deny any such special relation, and maintain that God is not a Father to any in a sense in which he is not a Father to all." It will be seen that the writer adopts the truly conservative principle, which is seldom consistent with extreme views, and which is usually the farthest from novelty. Erroneous views of truth are commonly twofold; they may be manifold: and hence the most likely place to find the truth is in the centre. Hunters after novelties of course will not like this book. How should they? they are too much like that section of the world of fashion which is perpetually looking out for "the newest things at the shops." This may be all very well in the opinions of men, but it is not the rule which can be safely followed where religion is concerned. In that domain, novelty is nothing, custom is nothing, preferences are nothing, TRUTH is everything. If our space permitted, there are several matters to which we should like to refer in view of their treatment by

Dr. Alexander; such, for example, as those who relate to the unity of the human race, to God as a Father, a King, and a Judge, to the duty of repentance, and to the resurrection of Christ. Meanwhile, we may signalize the book as one of considerable interest and value, indicative of sound scholarship, deep reflection, and extensive knowledge of opinions. It proceeds throughout on the principle that religion is a spiritual thing and a personal matter, and that the Scriptures are the divine law of faith and life. The volume is got up in quite a superior style, and is as attractive in appearance as it is excellent in quality.

What I saw in Puteoli, Naples and Rome; another narrative from the Pulpit: with an inside view of my own parish church. By S. Smith, M.A. London: Longmans.

We had the pleasure of noticing some time since a volume not unlike this, in which the same author recorded his impressions of Syria, Palestine and Greece. This volume seems to assume rather more than its predecessor, and not unnaturally so, because, if we are not mistaken, the author may look for a larger audience than he expected on the former occasion. Mr. Smith writes in a simple and pleasing manner, and has an advantage over many in the novel form—that of sermons, in which he records his impressions. The book is a very agreeable one, and will, we hope, be found not only pleasant, but useful and instructive. There is only one sentence which we shall quote, and that merely for the sake of a single remark. "It is said by an early writer that in this missionary tour, which occupied two years, he (Paul) went to 'the very terminus of the West;' and as Britain was often so designated, it is just possible that the light was then brought here which first enlightened us." The expression referred to occurs in Clement of Rome (1 Eph. ad Cor.), and it is merely a popular error that Britain was often so designated. There is no evidence whatever that it was so, and yet we are continually meeting with the assertion.

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined. By Professor A. Kuenen, of Leyden. Translated from the Dutch and edited with notes by the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D. London: Longmans.

We are not sure that Dr. Colenso will promote his chief aim by the publication of this volume. There is abroad a deeply rooted conviction that the great majority of Dutch theological critics and writers are rationalists of the most decided type. Nor will the book before us remove that persuasion. Dr. Kuenen will be viewed as a learned and skilful, but withal prejudiced, opponent of the claims of the Pentateuch to be an authentic production of even second-rate literary excellence. It is by no means unlikely that the enormous array of objections marshalled by writers of this class, may lead to the suspicion that our "minute critics" are overstraining their energies, and degenerating into special pleaders for foregone conclusions. Bishop Colenso's version is

very transparently expressed, like all he writes, and he has appended various remarks of his own. English students who do not read Dutch will be grateful to the translator for placing within their reach a recent book on a great controversy; a book which undoubtedly emanates from one of the foremost professors in Holland, and which will shew how far continental critics are prepared to go, and the considerations which influence them.

A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Malachi, by Richard Stock; with an Exercitation upon the same Prophecy, by Samuel Torshell; and a Commentary upon Ruth, by Richard Bernard. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

We need do no more than announce this volume as one of peculiar interest. Richard Stock was Rector of Allhallows, Bread Street, London, and is remembered as having baptized John Milton. Torshell was a good man in his generation; and Bernard is still a well-known name. Of all these, the Editor, Mr. Grosart, gives us graphic sketches. The commentaries are remarkable on many accounts, and will, we trust, find many readers. Appended to Bernard's Commentary on Ruth, is a short piece on the same book by Thomas Fuller. All four represented in this volume were men of learning and excellence, and it is most earnestly to be hoped that the republication of such works will awaken the clergy to a consciousness of the fact that boast as we may, English Churchmen as a body have less learning than they had two centuries ago, while their talent is not of a higher order, nor their piety more profound. If Stock and Torshell, Bernard and Fuller were Puritans, would that there might be a resurrection of so noble a race!

Commentary on the Gospel of St. John. By E. W. Hengstenberg, D.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Messrs. Clark deserve the thanks of the entire community for publishing the magnificent series of volumes which bear their *imprimatur*. Their Foreign Theological Library is unparalleled in any country. This year, for a guinea subscription, they return the third and fourth volumes of the valuable commentary of Keil and Delitzsch, and the two volumes of Hengstenberg on St. John's Gospel. Two of these volumes are already in our hands. The first portion of Hengstenberg on John will be gladly welcomed by thousands on different accounts: no German divine of the present day is much better known by name in England. Hengstenberg is the veteran with whom we have all been more or less conversant for many years; he has been at once the expounder and defender of some of the most important of the Old Testament books; he will be sure of a favourable hearing now he speaks of the fourth gospel,—that gospel which in all ages has occupied so proud a pre-eminence, and which it was reserved for our times to depreciate. The volume before us is a detailed and exhaustive commentary on the first ten chapters of the fourth gospel. Its author

has brought to bear upon his work all the resources of his long experience, his rare mental powers, his great learning, and his deep religiousness. The book promises to occupy a vacant niche in our literature, and will be of the greatest service to the clergy and educated laity, to whom alike it will furnish abundant instruction, matter for reflection, and aid to faith.

Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. By C. F. KEIL, D.D., and F. DELITZSCH, D.D. Vol. III.—The Pentateuch—Numbers and Deuteronomy. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS singularly interesting, and carefully compiled volume, completes the Pentateuch, of which it embraces the two last books. It contains a vast mass of critical and illustrative matter, and will be a most precious addition to any English theological library. Every chapter, verse, and important word is minutely investigated, and expounded; so that it will scarcely be possible to consult it on any point without having such satisfaction as can be afforded only by ripe and practised scholars. The book is one which on all accounts we can recommend with sincerity and confidence. We say this, although there are explanations and illustrations to which we do not unreservedly assent. The authors have ably and honestly performed their labours, and the translators and publishers have done their respective parts in a praiseworthy manner. We suppose we need say no more in favour of a book which bears two such well-known and respectable names upon its title page; they are a sufficient indication that the student will find the volumes a very valuable storehouse of facts and hints, and therefore a great help towards the understanding of the text of the Pentateuch.

The Wisdom of our Fathers. Selections from the writings of THOMAS FULLER. With a Memoir. London: Religious Tract Society.

THIS book is on the same plan as one some time since published containing a memoir of Bacon, and extracts from his writings. To say that this is worthy of all the praise which has been conferred upon the other, is to express our very high opinion of both. Fuller was a very remarkable man,—wise and witty, learned and practical, cheerful and religious. The editor of the volume before us has given us a memoir of this English worthy, and a very good one it is. The extracts are from the "Good Thoughts in Bad Times," "Good Thoughts in Worse Times," "Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience," "Holy State and Profane State," and sundry other productions of Fuller's genius and piety. The selections are made with judgment and impartiality, and may at least teach us how thorough and manly was the Christianity which leading men in the Church then professed, defended, and advocated. Very different from the sweet sounds, sweet smells, and gay sights which some delight in as part of religion! Very different too, from the dreary platitudes with which we are not much less familiar! We hope this book will be extensively read, and be very useful among us.

Biographies of the Kings of Judah. Twelve Lectures. By James Augustus Hessey, D.C.L. London: Rivingtons.

This is a very pleasing book, in appearance and in reality. The lectures are compiled with taste and judgment, and are redolent with a savour of piety which is very refreshing in these days of frigid rationalism, and of mere sentimentalism. The volume is well adapted for quiet and family reading, and we can say that we have found it alike pleasant, instructive, and profitable. Everything about it is genuine, —none the less so that the author's acknowledgments are paid to Dean Milman and Bishop Joseph Hall.

Tracts and Sermons on Subjects of the Day. With an Appendix containing selections from correspondence on the Roman Catholic Controversy. By F. B. Woodward, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

Here are eight short tracts, seven sermons, and an appendix. There is nothing very special in the controversial documents from our point of view. The sermons were preached at Rome by their author in his official capacity as chaplain. A curious fact is mentioned at p. 145, illustrating the strange elasticity of the Roman Church: the united Greek priests at Palermo and elsewhere are permitted to reject the "filioque" clause from the creed, and therefore neither repeat it nor insert it in their missals. This may be *union*, but it is not *unity*.

Christianity versus Theology. In Ten Letters. By William Parry. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

Mr. Parry is "an octogenarian layman," and as such has had a long time to observe and think. We cannot interfere with his theological opinions, but we may, perhaps needlessly, say that they do not claim to be wholly orthodox. The style of thought and language is fresh and vigorous, remarkably so when we call to mind the author's age and comparative inexperience as a writer for the press. The book is one of those which ought to be read by every clergyman and layman, who wishes to understand the thoughts which are heaving and seething in the human mind just now, and which may lead to changes which will astonish some of us. Things cannot always go on thus, and those who think they are safest, should not be the last to wake up and work in the interests of God and truth.

Household Theology; a Handbook of Religious Information respecting the Holy Bible, the Prayer Book, the Church, etc. By the Rev. John Henry Blunt. London: Rivingtons.

The design of this manual is exceedingly good, and the volume actually contains much useful and interesting information. But what could have tempted Mr. Blunt to put in so many details which he has not verified, and which do not rest on a single shadow of proof? There never was a time when it was more incumbent upon all writers to be precise in their statements, and if any of them are doubtful or

ill supported, to say so frankly. We do earnestly hope that an otherwise excellent book will not be spoilt by being left without revision, which in these sceptical days will be its only safeguard.

The Communicant's Companion, or Instructions and Helps for the right receiving of the Lord's Supper. By MATTHEW HENRY. London: Religious Tract Society.

THIS is a resuscitation. Matthew Henry's preface is dated 1704. The book itself was once very popular, but we think no edition has been issued for a good many years, until this, which the Tract Society offers to the Christian public at the request of many who value the book. As Dr. Davis suggests, there are peculiarities of thought and expression; but it contains many admirable things, and the Society has done well in reproducing it *verbatim*. It is well worthy of attention.

The Missing Doctrine in Popular Preaching. London: Rivingtons.

WE really do not know who wrote this book; but it is one of those which we cannot either heartily praise or heartily blame. Very much of it quite commands our assent, and it is earnest and plainspoken throughout. There cannot be two opinions as to the sincerity, zeal, and industry of the author, who believes that very few preach the whole Gospel, and who thinks he may attempt to point out their deficiencies. It is to be feared that there is too much reason for the belief we have mentioned, and that only a minority labour earnestly "to declare the whole counsel of God." We live in a too superficial age, and think too much of the merely intellectual and outward. More than this we say not, but refer our readers to this little book, from which they must learn something, even though they often differ from it.

The Church, or Professor Selwyn? By the Rev. R. WILSON, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

IT will be very readily inferred from the title that this is a controversial treatise. Professor Selwyn has taken a position antagonistic to the Oxford Declaration, and Mr. Wilson comes forward as the defender and upholder of the Declaration and its principles. It is bvious that we cannot take sides in such a case. The writer controverts with some animation, and not without scholarship and other qualities, opinions advanced by his opponent. We need scarcely say that he pleads for the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scripture, the doctrine of everlasting future punishment, etc.

Precious Truths in Plain Words. London: Religious Tract Society.

A series of brief chapters on important practical subjects in a simple and homely, pithy and earnest style. The spirit and tone is eminently evangelical, and the manner fitted to arrest attention. It is exceedingly well done.

John Wesley's Theology: the principle of its vitality, and its progressive stages of development. By ROBERT BROWN. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

THIS is a lecture, and is worthy of attention as a sketch of what we may call the inner biography of the great founder of Methodism. The study is an interesting one, and manifestly far more important than at first sight would appear. Mr. Brown's essays are by no means without merit.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D. With general Preface, by JOHN C. MILLER, D.D., and Memoir, by ROBERT HALLEY, D.D. Vol. X.—An Unregenerate Man's Guiltiness before God, in respect of Sin and Punishment. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THE new edition of Goodwin's works will be completed with the next volume. We have only to mention the one before us, as another of those massive cyclopean theological treatises, which characterized the age to which Goodwin belonged.

Our Sympathizing High Priest: meditations on the daily sorrows of the Saviour. By A. L. O. E. London: Religious Tract Society.

THOSE of our readers who are acquainted with the pleasing and truly Christian writings of the lady who is known by her *nom de plume* as A. L. O. E., will not require any recommendation of this nice little volume; those who do not know this writer's manner, cannot spend an hour much better than in hearing what she has to say in the short and hearty utterances of the chapters before us.

Enlarged and Illustrated edition of Dr. Webster's complete Dictionary of the English Language. Parts IV.—VI. London: Bell and Daldy.

THIS wonderfully cheap and comprehensive book will be a boon to thousands. For although there are words which we do not find here, and derivations which are either defective or erroneous, there is an immense mass of valuable information which everybody may be glad of at one time or another. Some of the articles are little essays.

Letters from Egypt, 1863—65. By Lady DUFF GORDON. London: Macmillan and Co.

THIS volume appears with a preface by Sarah Austin. The first letter is dated "Port of Leghorn, October 13, 1862," and the last (the fifty-fifth) El-Uksur, Good Friday, 14th April, 1865." The letters are remarkably graphic, spirited and lively, and indicate a power of entering into the feelings and conditions of those among whom the writer is thrown. We regard the books as a most instructive and entertaining one, but we think the writer's faculty of adapting herself to circumstances tempts her to praise or to excuse much that a just judge would blame; still it is a charming and life-like book.

Family Prayers and Scripture Calendar. By Rev. A. Wolfe. London: Bell and Daldy.

This book is very well and legibly printed, and its composition and arrangement reflect much credit upon the editor. The doctrine may be described as scriptural, and the tone, moderate church.

Physical Science compared with the Second Beast or False Prophet of the Revelation.

The title is curious, the manner ingenious, and the substance speculative. The author regards it as "a simple fact that science is the great source of infidelity in the present day."

Isaiah's Testimony for Jesus. A Series of Lectures on the scope, spirit, and leading connection of his prophecies. By William Brown Galloway, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

The Shadow on the Sundial. By W. B. Galloway, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

The first of these is an elaborate volume, compiled with much diligence, written in a spirit of earnestness, and based altogether upon the principles of faith in Scripture as God's Word. We regret that a review of it which we hoped to insert must be deferred; meanwhile, we strongly recommend the work to the serious and careful attention of our readers. The second title is that of a pamphlet which may be called a supplement to the larger volume, and should be read in connection with it.

A Book of Family Prayer. Compiled by W. F. Hook, D.D. Seventh Edition, enlarged. London: Rivingtons.

A Charge delivered in May, 1865. By Ven. H. Fearon, B.D., Archdeacon of Leicester. London: Rivingtons.

A Collation of an English Version of the Old Testament from the text of the Vatican Manuscript, with the Authorized English Version. By Hermann Heinfetter. London: Evan Evans.

A Literal Translation of the Old Testament on definite rules of Translation; from the text of the Vatican Manuscript. By Hermann Heinfetter. London: Evan Evans.

Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik: 1864. Von Karl Matthes.

An English Version of the Old Testament from the text of the Vatican Manuscript. By Hermann Heinfetter. London: Evan Evans.

Ancient Biblical Chronograms. By W. H. Black, F.S.A.

Clerical Subscription Commission. Answer to the Speech of the Dean of St. Paul's against Subscription to the Articles of Religion. By the Right Hon. Joseph Napier, D.C.L. London: Bell and Daldy.

Corrections of the copies of the Septuagint portion of the Vatican manuscript By Hermann Heinfetter. London: Evan Evans.

Die Weissagungen des Propheten Jesaia. Prolegomena zu einem neuen Handbuch der Auslegang. Dr. Fr. Hosse. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben. 8vo, pp. 80.

Education: its Effects on Posterity. A Sermon by Rev. R. J. Allen, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

Le Mysticisme en France au temps de Fénelon. Par M. Matter. Paris: Didier and Cie.

Like unto Christ. A New Translation of the "De Imitatione Christi," usually ascribed to Thomas à Kempis. Beautifully printed on toned paper, with a Vignette from an Original Drawing by Sir Thomas Lawrence. London: S. Low.

Mahomet et Le Coran: précédé d'une Introduction sur les devoirs mutuels de la philosophie et de la Religion. Par J. B. Saint-Hilaire. Paris: Didier.

Man's Age in the World according to Holy Scripture and Science. By an Essex Rector. London: Reeve and Co.

Memoires d'un Protestant condamné aux Galères de France pour cause de Religion. Réimprimés d'après le journal original de Jean Morteilhe de Bergerac: publié à Rotterdam en 1757. Avec 4 Gravures par M. L. Morel-Fatis. Paris: Michel Levy frères.

North British Review. No. 84. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

On Free Thought: A Charge by Ven. J. Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex. London: Rivingtons.

Popular Appeal in favour of a new version of Scripture. Part II.—The Priesthood of Christ. By James Johnstone. London: James Nisbet & Co.

Pre-Historic Times; as illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Habits of Modern Savages. By John Lubbock, F.R.S., President of the Ethnological Society. London: Williams and Norgate.

The Calendar of Palestine reconciled with the Law of Moses against the Theory of Michaelis. By W. H. Black, F.S.A.

The complete Works of Stephen Charnock, B.D. Vol. III. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

The Saturday Review and Lyra Mystica. By the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans.

The Scriptural Doctrine of Acceptance with God, considered in reference to the Neologian Hermeneutics. By A. G. Ryder, D.D. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co.

Theodericus de Locis Sanctis. Cir. 1172. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ. Edidit T. Tobler.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgendländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. xix., 1 and 2 Heft. Leipsic: Brockhaus.

Sundry publications have reached us too late to be reviewed in the present number. In the Correspondence of the Journal, it is desirable that our friends should study brevity, and should forward as early as they can such letters as are intended for speedy insertion.

MISCELLANIES.

Syro-Egyptian Society.—Jan. 10. Dr. Lee, F.R.S., President, in the chair.—Mr. D. W. Nash delivered a Discourse on "The Monumental Lists of the Egyptian Kings." He stated that the newly-discovered lists at Abydos and Memphis afforded a favourable opportunity for comparing these registers with the Tablet of Abydos in the British Museum, with the names preserved in the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, and with the Dynasties of Manetho. The three tablets, of which drawings were exhibited, had been inscribed at about the same date, in the reigns of Seti I. and his son Ramses II. in the fourteenth century before the Christian era. The tablet in the British Museum had originally contained the names of fifty-one kings, the second Abydos tablet contained seventy-six, and the Memphis tablet, discovered in a tomb at Sakkara, fifty-four names. All three agreed in passing over the Hyksos period, giving no names between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, an interval variously estimated at from two to ten centuries. The pyramid-building kings of the earlier dynasties are represented in both lists; but it is remarkable that the name of Menes, with which the Abydos list commences, has not been entered in that from Memphis. The chief point of interest lies, however, in the fact that both the Abydos tables agree in inserting between the sixth and twelfth dynasties the names of eighteen kings in succession, who are altogether omitted in the Memphis tablet. These eighteen names must represent kings who ruled in Upper Egypt while Memphis was under the power of foreign Semitic (?) kings, called Heracleopolites by Manetho, and represented by his ninth and tenth dynasties: in fact, a Hyksos period anterior to the twelfth dynasty. Both Baron Bunsen and Professor Lepsius had suggested that these dynasties were of foreign race, located, not in Central Egypt, but in the extreme north-east of the Delta, not far from Pelusium, in the Sethroite nome, afterwards occupied by the Hyksos. The newly-discovered tablets seem to confirm these views, and to shew that no kings were registered in Memphis during the space of time filled by the eighteen names of the Abydos tablet, for the same reason that no royal names were given in either list for the time between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, when both Upper and Lower Egypt were subject to the rule of foreign conquerors. These kings, whom Bunsen had placed in the fifth dynasty, are conclusively shewn by the new Abydos tablet to have been later in time than the sixth dynasty.

Mr. Goodwin pointed out that the old Abydos tablet in the British Museum had once contained a third upper row of twenty-six names, and was therefore no doubt identical with, in fact a duplicate of, that discovered by Herr Dumichen. The tablet from Sakkara had been found in the tomb of a private individual, who had no doubt obtained leave to have a list of the kings represented in his tomb, into whose society he hoped to be admitted in a future state. The realization of such a hope is referred to in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead. This list, therefore,

had not the authority which attended the official lists inscribed in the temples, such as those from Abydos, and he did not look upon the omission of these names from the Memphite list as of much importance. The Egyptian priests had a written history of their country, from which they could obtain accurate lists of the sovereigns, of their order of succession, and of the length of their reigns. Such a document as the Turin Papyrus would have furnished the requisite materials.

Dr. Birch, Mr. Sharpe, the Rev. Mr. Heath, and the Rev. Mr. Cooper took part in the discussion, and enlarged on various points of Egyptian history, in speeches replete with history and information. Mr. Nash briefly replied, stating his views as to the character of the succession of the kings on the royal tablet of Thothmes III. at Karnac, on which he proposed to read a paper at a future meeting.

February 14. Dr. Camps, M.D., Treasurer, in the chair.—The Rev. John Mills read a Paper on "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre." During one of his visits to Jerusalem, Mr. Mills had spent two nights in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, when he availed himself of the opportunity of examining the place more minutely than could be done on ordinary occasions; and his paper was a statement of the results. Having pointed out on a ground plan of the church its various shrines and chapels, Mr. Mills called attention to the three principal points of interest, viz., the tombs of Nicodemus, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Chapel of Golgotha. The first is in the south-western corner of the church, in a dark vaulted chamber, which contains an irregular group of four tombs, with apparently two others in the western wall, blocked up. The chamber is built partly of masonry, and the two largest tombs are sufficiently large to admit a human body. But for the names now given them there is no historical foundation. Having minutely described this chamber, by the help of a ground plan, Mr. Mills gave his opinion that the two larger ones had all the appearance of real ancient tombs, but that this fact would have no weight in the argument for the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, inasmuch as private and family tombs were not uncommon in the ancient city. The Holy Sepulchre was described as a small chapel, standing free by itself, and comprising two apartments—the ante-chamber, called the Chapel of the angel, and the sacred tomb itself. The great point of inquiry here was, whether it is an excavation in the ancient rock, or a mere building? On this point Mr. Mills found it impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion without injuring the building, because it has been most carefully encased with marble both within and without. The marble altar which stands over the sacred bed seemed to be an old sarcophagus fitted in. The only spot where the rock is exposed to sight is at the entrance, a long and narrow doorway from the Chapel of the angel. This seemed to be made of one block of stone, and the ante-room itself a raised building. Here the author briefly reviewed the history of the sepulchre from Eusebius, to the fire in 1808, and in comparing the plans of Arculf (695) and others with the present, could not but arrive at the conclusion that it has passed through several modifications, and that the several destructions of the church have demolished the rock-cave, the present tomb being a mere building.

In the chapel of Golgotha, at the north-eastern end of the church, are seen those signs of the crucifixion, which, if genuine, would at once establish the claim of the church to its title. These are the rent in the rock, and the three holes of the crosses. On close examination, the rent has none of the appearance of a fissure, but of a carefully chiselled cut (3 ft. 6 in. long) in the surface of a smooth rock or stone. The holes (5 in. in diameter) seem to be of a similar character; the two furthest being at a distance of 9 ft. 6 in. apart, with that of the Saviour's cross in the middle, but placed 2 ft. forward from the direct line. The workmanship, the size and the arrangement of these sacred spots preclude all idea of their having been the true site of the crucifixion; they were planned and executed for the occasion.

March 14. Mr. S. Sharpe, in the chair.—Mr. B. Harris Cowper read a Paper entitled "Philological Remarks upon certain Proper Names of Places in the Old Testament." The paper commenced with a rapid sketch of the history of attempts to explain Biblical proper names. Examples are supplied in the Scriptures, and in the literature as well Christian as Jewish, through all subsequent periods. Modern investigations are far more scientific and trustworthy than ancient ones, which too exclusively treated Old Testament names as necessarily Hebrew, or to be explained through that language. It is now known that these proper names belong to various families of languages, and that those called Shemetic represent several dialects. Dialectic peculiarities are exceedingly numerous in the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, as well as elsewhere. After illustrating the last remark by sundry examples, Mr. Cowper suggested that proper names of places might be arranged, not only in view of their form, but of their meaning, as derived from events, physical features, mythological circumstances, animals, plants, etc. He also pointed out some of the ways in which investigations of this nature may help our knowledge of the ancient condition, inhabitants, etc., of Palestine and other countries. The difficulties encountered in such studies arise from an artificial conformation to Hebrew analogies, derivation from defunct dialects and obsolete forms, corruptions of transcribers, and other sources.

Several gentlemen made observations upon the paper; and one of them, Dr. Benisch, among other valuable remarks, suggested that some of the Egyptian names, for example, had been translated by the sacred writers.

April 11. Mr. S. Sharpe, in the chair.—A paper was read by Mr. B. Harris Cowper, on the Syriac MSS. of Dr. Lee, of Hartwell, among which copies of the Gospels and of the Psalms were noticed as singular specimens of minute caligraphy, but attention was chiefly directed to an Evangelistary, which was exhibited at the meeting. This MS. may be described as in folio, on vellum, the text two columns to a page, and imperfect at the end. The late Professor Lee, of Cambridge, and Dr. Land, of Amsterdam, have supposed it to belong to the ninth century, but a careful examination of it, and a comparison of it with similar documents in the British Museum, lead to the conclusion that it cannot be older than the first half of the twelfth century. There is a curious and highly-ornamented list of contents extending over four pages at the beginning; every article being entered in a circular space, with refer-

ences to the part of the book where it occurs. The lessons are 157 in number, all from the Gospels, and appropriated to various seasons in the ecclesiastical year, and a few special occasions. As the seasons are all specified, the volume gives us a large part of the church calendar of the Jacobite Christians, for whose use it was intended. The page following the contents has an elegantly-designed cross in red and gold, surrounded by an ingeniously-contrived border in colours. This is followed by a page of inscriptions by various hands, written in the sixteenth century; after which come two pages of illuminations. These illuminations are four in number, representing the nativity of Christ, His baptism, His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the four Evangelists. The devices are quaint, but drawn and coloured with much precision, and therefore interesting examples of pictorial art in the oriental church. The text of the work is in large Estrangelo characters; all the titles are in red, except a few which are in gold letters; and there are numerous Greek and Syriac notes in the margin. The Greek notes simply show what was the actual word of the text from which the translation was made. They correspond, as also do the Syriac notes in general, with those exhibited in the margin of the Philoxenian version, as printed by White (Oxford, 1778). More recent notes occur, but they are mostly of no importance. Some of the words in the text have been furnished with vowel points. Towards the end the tops of the leaves have been destroyed, and restored in paper, upon which missing portions of the text have been written—probably a work of the close of the fifteenth century. The last leaves are quite gone. Mr. Cowper has found that the text employed for this book is the Philoxenian, or Harkleissian, which seldom occurs in volumes for ecclesiastical use. Dr. Tregelles has said that it is difficult to imagine that the translation in question was meant for such use, but it appears that besides this example there are some in the British Museum. The version was originally made in A.D. 508, probably under the direction of Xenaias or Philoxenus, of Mabug. It was revised and collated with the Greek text and other Syriac copies by Thomas of Heraclea, at Alexandria, in A.D. 616, at which time the scholia were added. A corresponding translation of the Old Testament, from the Hexaplar Greek of Origen, was also made at Alexandria in A.D. 617, by Paul of Tela. Both these versions are remarkably literal, and hence their chief value is to students of the Greek text. Parts of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New Testament, have been printed. Dr. Lee's volume was purchased by himself at Aleppo, on the dispersion of the books of a monastic library.

May 9. Dr. Lee, President, in the chair.—Mr. Sharpe read a paper "On the Date of the Book of Revelation." His aim was to show that it was written in the reign of Vespasian, immediately before the conquest of Jerusalem; that Vespasian was the Beast, Titus the second Beast, Apollonius of Tyana the False Prophet. Of the Seven Kings, Nero was the fifth that had fallen and was to come to life again as the eighth. Vespasian was the sixth or living king, because the writer omitted all notice of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, treating Vespasian, as the successor of Nero, which, in fact, he was in Judea, where the three short reigns of those emperors might easily be overlooked.

Statistical Society.—April 18. Mr. F. Hendriks read a paper, "On the Supposed Extinction of the Turks, and Increase of the Christians in Turkey," by Mr. Hyde Clarke, of Smyrna, Fellow of the German Oriental Society, of the Academy of Northern Antiquaries, &c. The writer commenced by observing that during his stay in Turkey, his attention had naturally been drawn to the alleged extinction of the Turks, and he had followed this subject up as his opportunities had allowed. The subject, if scant of figures, was pregnant with facts, and the paper and the subsequent discussion might be the means, by establishing facts and expelling errors, of putting it on a sounder basis, inviting the labours of other students, who might arrive at definite results. He had himself eagerly sought for statistics, but statistics could hardly be said to exist in Turkey, among either Turks or Europeans; and one great difficulty was that the spirit of association for scientific labour was there deadened by the bitter sectarian hostility of too many classes of the community. The subject was one of political and scientific interest. We are invited to the spectacle of the extinction of a mighty and numerous people, such as took place with the ancient Greeks and Romans; and if this be so, we may seek in the living subject the causes, such as history has not recorded in the past, nor have scientific investigators yet been able to establish. The question was purposely narrowed to the Turks—the inhabitant race in Asia Minor, and the ruling race in the empire throughout which they are scattered largely, in Constantinople and Adrianople, in Egypt, and even yet in Algiers, its former possession. The chief Mussulman constituents are—Turks, Arabs, Negroes, Bosnians, Albanians, Koords, and Gipseys. The other chief portions of the population are—Jews, Gipseys, Christians, Armenians (Gregorians and Catholics), Greeks, Albanians (Greek and Catholic), Bulgarians (Greek), Levantines (Catholics and Greeks), and Jacobites and Chaldeans.

Mr. Hyde Clarke, after taking an elaborate survey of the subject, citing the authority of a great number of writers in support of his own personal observations, enunciated the conclusions at which he had arrived with regard to the Turks, in the following words:—1. That the Turks form a race, and the men are well-formed and athletic. 2. That the children bear a fair proportion to adults, and many families include several sons or daughters. 3. That the race must have in it the elements of increase, for the present population of millions has increased in five centuries from hundreds of thousands, or perhaps only scores of thousands of original settlers. 4. That the Ottoman population has in the same period increased beyond the Albanian, Armenian, or Greek population, and that there is no evidence that other populations have increased during that period in a greater proportion than the Turkish. 5. That the evidence of European travellers, who have visited Turkey in the last three centuries, as collected by Kiepert, does not shew that the Turkish population was formerly greater, or has since declined. 6. That the settled Turkish population does not become nomad, but that the nomads recruit the Turkish population. 7. That there is no emigration of the Turks, in consequence of the country affording a fair field for industry, and that for the like reason, and as a testimony of the relative position of Turkey with regard to other countries, there is a large immigration.

Anthropological Society.—April 18. Mr. H. Burnard Owen, "On Missionary Successes and Negro Converts." Mr. Winwood Reade, endorsed by Captain Burton and Mr. Walker, had stated in effect that the negro missions were total failures, and had only resulted in transforming the males into thieves and liars, and the females into prostitutes. These gentlemen held that there was something in the negro nature repulsive to Christianity; but the lecturer would shew that those views were totally false, and that both the Church of England and Baptist missionaries had achieved gratifying success. It should be remembered that the history, traditions, and habits of the negro made that race a most unpromising soil for Christianity. Not only so, but the missionary was met in his evangelizing progress by the counter-efforts of practically infidel European traders, who opposed the rum bottle to the Bible. Missionary enterprize in Africa began sixty years ago in Sierra Leone, under the auspices of Sir Charles Macarthy, and it was on record that in a short time great and satisfactory progress had been made. Sir Charles in 1821 said that the civilization of the liberated negro was due to the enlightenment of the superintendents and missionaries. In twenty years the annual reports testified to the moral and intellectual progress attributable to the Christian missions; and as late as 1858 this testimony was repeated by Dr. Livingstone. He said that he himself had been witness of the beneficial results of Christianity among the negroes, many of whom, as sober, virtuous men, would shame numbers of white professing Christians. The negro pupil shewed extraordinary intellectual capacity, and so great had been the progress made in the missionary schools, that the pupils would not unfrequently check and correct bad Greek in the mouth of their teachers. Indeed, the evidence was that the African was fully equal in intellectual gifts to Europeans. But the immense importation of ardent spirits by the Christian merchants, and its distribution among the natives, proved that the difficulties of the missionaries were not all of African origin. In this respect, at any rate, the Mahometan doctrine was superior; but on the nature of Mahometanism in Africa it had been truly described as the source of all debasement of morals, arising out of the practice of polygamy. Polygamy was as unnatural in Africa as it would be in England, and so far from being a source of large population, it was the reverse. Jealousy, discords, and domestic quarrels were another result of polygamy, and it was the mission of Christianity to extinguish it, as being unnatural and demoralizing. In Yoruba, among the Christian natives, a remarkably high morality existed as compared with the unconverted negroes around them, and the superior mode of conversion adopted by the Protestant missions over that of the Romish missionaries was shewn in the decay of the number of converts of the latter and the increase of the converts made by the various Protestant missions. The annual expense of the Church Missionary Society on the West Coast of Africa was between 13,000*l.* and 14,000*l.*, that of the Wesleyan missions about half that amount. There were 110 missionary stations, partly European, partly American, and the pupils at school and adult communicants represented a total native population of Christians of between 60,000 and 70,000. Out of a total population in Sierra Leone of 41,624, only 3,357 remained

pagans, 1,734 were Mahometans, 15,780 were Methodist Christians, and 12,982 were Christians in communion with the Church of England; and the civilized and moral condition of these converts was very different from that of the thieves and liars and prostitutes of Mr. Reade. Mr. Owen had no doubt that African missions would, notwithstanding the derision of Mr. Reade, never want devoted sons, as until now the gain to Christianity had far exceeded the cost.

Palestine Explorations.—Rome leads one naturally to artistic statements and ancient history generally, so I will give you the following details. A French paper says: "Our readers are aware that last year the Duc de Luynes started on a scientific exploration of the Dead Sea and the adjacent country; and it was stated at the time that he had an iron-built vessel, the Segor, transported thither, piece by piece, on camels. We may state, by the way, that this boat, after doing excellent service, was entrusted to the care of a sheikh, in the hope that she might be serviceable to other tourists. During a stormy night, however, she broke from her anchorage and struck against a rock, which damaged her so much that the French sailors who had the management of her towed her far out to sea and sank her, that she might not be broken up and thus 'desecrated' by the Bedouins. The Duc de Luynes, who had reserved the archæological department for himself, had selected M. Lartet, a geologist attached to the Jardin des Plantes, Dr. Combe, and Lieut. Vignes, F.N., to aid him, each in their respective capacities. A few caverns situated near Beyruth were explored, in the hope of finding antediluvian remains in them, and indeed several flint implements were dug up as evidence of the 'age of stone' in those parts. The expedition visited Masada, the last stronghold of the Jews, of which Josephus relates that after the fall of Jerusalem 900 men retreated to this spot and held out against the Romans as long as there were any; but that, finding themselves unable to resist any longer, they appointed ten of their number to be the executioners of their comrades, and that these, after performing this horrible task, slew each other, so that two women and a few children alone remained to tell the tale. This stronghold is a rock accessible only by two narrow winding paths, leading over frightful precipices. There are still some ruins visible at Masada, besides the trenches of the Roman general Silva, who besieged the place. From the surveys taken by Lieutenant Vignes, it appears that the Dead Sea is of an ovoid form, with the narrower end towards the south. It is 45 miles long, and its greatest breadth does not exceed 12. The density of the waters of this inland sea varies between 1,160 and 1,230, that of pure water being 1,000. The larger figure represents the density at the bottom, which shews that the waters of the affluents do not descend to the lower strata. The bottom consists of a bluish mud, mixed with crystals of salt.—*Daily Telegraph*, April 22, 1865.

The exploration of Palestine seems likely soon to receive the attention it deserves. Two letters have recently appeared in *The Times* which are important enough to be reprinted. With regard to the question of the relative levels of the Dead Sea, Jerusalem, and the Mediterranean, that torment of Palestine explorers, referred to in the latter part of Sir Henry

James's letter, we may remind our readers that the dimensions usually accepted for the depth of the surface of the Dead Sea above that of the Mediterranean, viz., 1,316·7 feet, was obtained by Lieut. Lynch, head of the American expedition in 1848, by running a level in the ordinary way pursued by engineers from Ain Terabeh, through Jerusalem, to Jaffa. This is the only level ever taken between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean by this, the only certain, method. Our own countryman, Captain Symonds, R.E., in 1841, took two sets of levels, with the theodolite, by angles of depression. His two derivations came out 12 feet apart, and one of them (whether the greater or the less is not certain) is given as 1,312·2 feet. During the past year, a set of very useful barometrical observations was made by M. Lartet, *fils*, and Lieut. Vignes, for the Duc de Luynes, which resulted in giving the depression of the lake as 392 metres (1,286·15 feet) and the height of Jerusalem above the Mediterranean, 779 metres (2,555·9 feet). A level is said to have been since run through from Jaffa to Jerusalem, by a German, making the cill of the Bethlehem gate of the latter place, 2,538·72 feet. None of these observations are likely to be so accurate as those to be obtained by the sure method and the practised hands and eyes of Captain Wilson's sappers, and we shall await the result with anxiety.

On the wider field opened by Mr. Grove in his letter we may have a few words to say on a future occasion. The letters of Sir Henry James and Mr. Grove, one of the highest, if not the highest authority in Biblical geography, run as follows:—

"Sir,—An accurate survey of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood being considered a necessary basis for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the city, and for the proper discussion of numerous interesting questions connected with its topography, the Dean of Westminster, on the part of the Bishop of London and other philanthropic and scientific persons, applied to Lord de Grey for the survey to be made under my direction, stating that £500, the estimated cost of the survey, would be placed at my disposal to defray the cost of it.

"This application received the sanction of Lord de Grey, and with the concurrence of his Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief, I selected an officer (Captain Wilson) and a party of non-commissioned officers and sappers of the Royal Engineers from the Ordnance Survey, and they left England on the 12th September last, fully equipped with every requisite for the performance of their duty; and it is right to add that the Peninsular and Oriental Company, desirous to aid in this good work, have consented to allow the party to go out to and return from Alexandria in one of their steamers, at a very reduced rate for their passage.

"Captain Wilson also contributes his quota towards the cost of the survey, for he has gone out entirely at his own expense. I now venture to ask to be permitted to state through your columns, and more especially for the information of those who have contributed to the fund raised for the purpose of making the survey, that I receive a report of progress and expenditure every fortnight, that the party is making very satisfactory progress, and that the estimated cost will not be exceeded. Captain Wilson informs me that he has received the kindest assistance from the

Pasha and all the Turkish authorities, and that, although at first he met with a little coolness from the different Christian communities and their consuls, 'I am happy to say,' he writes, 'that now all, without exception, give me every assistance and try to forward the work in every way.'

"While the survey of the city is proceeding Captain Wilson has been exploring underground, and has made some important discoveries to elucidate its ancient topography, the most important of which is the discovery of 'one of the arches of the causeway which led from the city to the Temple in a very good state of preservation, the span of which is between 40 feet and 50 feet, and composed of large stones like those seen in the Jewish wailing-place.' He has also discovered another large cistern in the Haram or Temple area, and says the whole area is perfectly honeycombed with passages and cisterns; and he had himself lowered 82 feet down a well, which is in what was formerly the Valley of the Cheesemongers, and followed the stream for a considerable distance till he came to the spring, with some steps down into it, which were cut in the solid rock. These, and many other discoveries, which I need not particularize, will be represented on the plan of the city. There is one object which it is much to be desired should be accomplished before the party leaves the country, and that is the exact determination of the relative level of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea and the connection of the levels taken at Jerusalem with that of the Mediterranean. The cost of this would be about £200, and I am not without hope that it may be obtained from some source.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"HENRY JAMES, Colonel Royal Engineers.

"Ordnance Survey-office, Southampton, Dec. 30."

"Sir,—It is most gratifying to find from Sir Henry James's letter in *The Times* of Saturday that such good progress is being made with the survey of Jerusalem. Captain Wilson is fulfilling the expectations of those who knew him in this country, and appears to be doing his work in a thoroughly efficient manner. Every one who is familiar with the topography of Palestine must concur with Sir H. James in desiring that before Captain Wilson's party leaves the country they should settle the vexed question of the relative levels of the Mediterranean, Jerusalem, and the Dead Sea. There are other matters, also, which are crying out for accurate investigation, and which I earnestly hope means may be found to enable Captain Wilson to examine. I will name only four, though it would be easy to swell the list. 1. The excavation of the remains at the so-called Frank Mountain—the Herodium, or fortress built by Herod and described by Josephus. 2. The exploration of the tombs at Tibneh, a little west of the main north road at Jifneh, a few miles above Jerusalem. These are nearly, if not quite, as important as the well-known 'Tombs of the Kings' at Jerusalem, and one of them is probably the tomb of Joshua in his inheritance at Timnath-Serah. 3. A correct plan of the remains of the great Temple and of the Samaritan Holy Places on Mount Gerizim —the Mount Moriah of Abraham. 4. The exact latitude of the spots at which the Wady Zerka and other torrents on the east side of the Jordan enter that river. The want of this knowledge is a sad bar to any accurate

map-making in that locality.—There are doubtless many persons who would contribute towards the accomplishment of such objects as these by an efficient and responsible party like that of Captain Wilson if some proper channel were found for their liberality. The Assyrian Excavation Fund, formed in 1853, by Mr. Layard, M.P., and the late Mr. S. Philips, is still in existence, and I believe I am correct in saying that an unexpended balance is in the hands of the treasurer, Mr. John Murray. The original occupation of this fund is gone, but why should it not revive to the kindred work of Palestine exploration?—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"G. GROVE.

"Sydenham, Jan. 2."—*Reader.*

The Dead Sea.—M. Lartet has recently communicated to the French Academy of Sciences the results of a careful study he has made during the past year of the entire basin of the Dead Sea, in which work he has had the advantage of the direction of the Duke of Luynes. Viewed in connexion with the Palestine Exploration Fund, this paper is just now of considerable interest. We therefore give a summary of the results M. Lartet has obtained. The saltness of many Asiatic lakes, and of the Dead Sea among them, M. Lartet considers to be caused by the proximity of large quantities of rocksalt, or of earths containing rich saliferous deposits. Especially is this the case around the Dead Sea, where from time immemorial there has been known to exist the Mountain of Salt, in the Arabic of which it is believed that the name of Sodom may be recognized. M. Lartet has carefully examined the formation of the basin of the Dead Sea, and finds that it was formed at the end of the eocene epoch, as is shewn by the character of the superficial marine deposits in neighbouring countries. But before this period dislocations were produced in the submarine strata; a fracture opened in a north and south direction; which by consecutive convulsions prolonged itself northwards, determining, upon the shores of the Mediterranean, the formation of the mountainous ridges of Palestine, and also producing a narrow and lengthened depression which separates the high tablelands of Arabia. From this depression has sprung the commencement of the hydrographical system of this region. Thus, the Dead Sea, or Lake Asphaltites, was formed, from its origin, without any communication with the ocean. The level of this lake, as shewn by the great extent of horizontal layers of marl which have evidently been deposited at a former time, ought at a certain epoch to have been 100 metres above its present altitude. The consequent extension of the waters of the lake is clearly shewn by the sediments which cover vast surfaces to the north and south of its actual limits; a great change must, therefore, have since occurred in the hydrographical arrangement of the country. Owing to the absence of fossils in the sediments above mentioned, it is impossible to assign the exact age of the elevation of the waters of the lake. Nevertheless, by reckoning the probable duration of the phenomena which have preceded and followed this important phase in the history of the Dead Sea, the time of its occurrence can be fixed at about the end of the tertiary or the beginning of the quarternary period.

In the diminution of the extent of the lake M. Lartet imagines he

can discover an evidence of the disappearance of former glaciers. This he thinks well accords with those traces of ancient glacier moraines upon which Dr. Hooker believes the cedars of Lebanon now grow. During a later period, phenomena of a different nature have otherwise altered the physical aspect of this country. At the north-east of the Dead Sea volcanic eruptions have produced immense flows *(coulées)* of basaltic rock, portions of which had even overflowed into the valley of the Jordan. These eruptions made Eastern Syria at one time a volcanic district equal to that of Auvergne. Among other smaller basaltic streams, three were found bordering on the eastern edge of the Dead Sea, to the south of the little plain of Zarah. Thermal springs, minerals similar to those bituminous emanations which have accompanied or followed the volcanic eruptions, and earthquakes still felt in this country, were stated to be the last important phenomena of which the basin of the Dead Sea has been the theatre. The progressive lowering of the level of the waters of the lake might be the result either of a diminished supply from the atmosphere, or of evaporation becoming more rapid, but more probably it was owing to the combined effect of these two causes.

M. Lartet concludes his paper by saying: "That the most ancient sediments in the basin of the Dead Sea do not contain any traces of fossil marine organisms, and it is therefore evident that this depression has been, from its commencement, nothing more than a reservoir of atmospheric waters, whose saltness, obtained from surrounding circumstances, is continually increased under the influence of excessive evaporation." An idea was thrown out by M. Elie de Beaumont, which gives additional value to this statement of M. Lartet. M. Elie de Beaumont thinks that the large proportion of different salts found in the Dead Sea, Lake Van, and the Caspian Sea, appear to shew that none of these sheets of water had, at any rate, derived the whole of their saltness from the ocean. He believes their saline character to proceed from local emanations of subterranean origin, and that perhaps the ocean itself owes more or less of its own saltness to a mixture of products from similar emanations.—*Reader.*

Archæology and Numismatics.—Among the new discoveries which have lately been made, that of a list of royal Egyptian names on a large temple near the modern village of Arabat-el-Medjouneh is the most important. It is a new example of the list known under the title of the "Table of Abydos," which monument was acquired some time ago by the Trustees of the British Museum for the sum of 570*l.* Hence it is known as "The new Table of Abydos," in contradistinction to the other. This table has been published by M. Dümichen in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache und Alterthumgkunde*, a paper founded last year by the well-known Egyptologist, Dr. Brugsch, at Berlin. It differs very little from the old table, and confirms several important points for the chronology which M. Mariette published in the Table of Saqquarah, found at Memphis. An interesting memoir on the "new table" has been written in the *Revue Archéologique*, January, 1865, by M. Devéira, who gives comparative tables with other monuments. It is, however, but fair to state that M. de Rougé calls attention to the publication of this new table by M.

Dümichen in Germany, and is surprised to find that no mention is made of M. Mariette, the original author of this important discovery. M. de Rougé was present when M. Mariette traced out to the workmen the plan of the ruins of the temple of Abydos, and it is owing entirely to these indications that the workmen brought to light the new table. It is certainly too bad that a German should claim for himself the honour of a discovery which, without doubt, is due to a Frenchman, and it is not surprising to find that M. Mariette, in his recent letters, complains bitterly of this wholesale German piracy. It is also due to M. Devéira to add, that he did not know for certain if the excavations were those of M. Dümichen or of M. Mariette.

The *Musée des Louvre* has recently acquired a small collection of Egyptian antiquities, the most important of which is a statue of the goddess Pasht, which appears to have been dedicated by the King Râûser-mâ-t Pi-ânx'i to his wife Kennese-t, a name of a queen hitherto unknown. *(Rev. Arch.)*

A very interesting paper, on the "Archæology of Horticulture," has recently been written by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, in which he more especially devotes himself to the history of the vine in England. In all probability its introduction into Britain is due to the Romans, as Vopiscus, one of the Augustan historians, states that Probus granted to Gaul, Spain, and Britain, the right of planting vineyards and making wine. In any case, Beda, who flourished at the beginning of the eighth century, says that Britain, and even Ireland, produced vines, whilst King Edgar in A.D. 962, gives a vineyard with the vine-dressers to the monastery of Abingdon. The documentary evidence, with Sir H. Ellis's introduction to Doomsday, are given at the end of Mr. R. Smith's remarks, and the importance of the cultivation of the vine in the present age on the walls of the cottages of labourers is strongly advocated, as a means whereby thousands of artisans may be benefited, and in many cases the rent paid, by its careful and proper culture.

M. Aug. Mariette has made another important discovery. In the *Revue Archeologique* for March, 1864, he publishes a most remarkable *stela*, found about a year since among the ruins of the great Temple of Tanis, bearing the date of the year 400. This date apparently relates to an era of a King Noubti, and the monument itself is supposed to have been set up by Ramses II. (whose name occurs on the stone) in honour of Sutekh, the God of the Shepherds. This is the first Egyptian monument at present discovered dating from an era, all others usually dating in the year of the King's reign.—Some excavations have been made during the year 1864 in the Seine Inférieure, under the superintendence of M. l'Abbe Cochet. Gaulish, Roman, and Frankish antiquities have been discovered. A find of ancient vases has recently been made near Gibraltar. In a cave in a rock in the neighbourhood, the remains of animals such as rhinoceros, hyænas, panthers, oxen, wild boars, etc., were discovered, intermingled with flints, celts, and hooks of bronze; also many vases, nearly perfect. The Duc de Blacas has at present assigned no age to these vestiges of the ancient existence of man in Spain.—In the April number of the same periodical, there is an article by M. de Vogüé, "On the Ancient Alphabet

and the Aramæan Alphabet," accompanied by two plates, shewing at a glance the connection and various forms of the letters. This paper is a reply to one by M. de Saulcy respecting the date of the tomb at Jerusalem, known under the name of the *Tombeau de Saint Jacques*, and it at the same time differs in many points from the arguments brought forward by the latter archæologist. It has called forth another paper from M. de Saulcy (*Rev Arch.*, May, 1865), which leaves the points at issue exactly where they were. It seems, indeed, that the question whether this tomb belongs to B.C. 255, as says De Saulcy, or to the first century B.C., as De Vogüé, could be better decided by its architecture than by its palæography. These discussions, however, are of much value, especially when coming from two such well-known archæologists, and will doubtless give a stimulus to others to follow up the study of Jewish palæography.—An important rectification has been made (*Rev. Arch.*, May, 1865) respecting some statements which have appeared in English journals regarding a Roman calendar of the time of Augustus, found *recently* in the ruins of Pompeii. M. Vallet de Viriville, when at Naples last year, found that there was no monument there of this kind. The description, however, as given by the English papers, exactly corresponded to the Farnese calendar. This calendar is engraved on a cube of white marble, found *during the ninth century in the campagna of Rome*, and has been for *many years* in the Museum at Naples. It has also been often published.

In the *Revue Numismatique Française* for December, 1864, there is a curious paper, by M. A. de Longpérier, on the employment of the *anousvara* on Gaulish coins. This Sanscrit word, which is composed of *anou* (after) and *svara* (sound), is the name of the nasal which requires a consonant to follow it. If there is no consonant it has usually the value of M or N. Many examples of its use are given from MSS. of the tenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, from Indo-Greek coins, from inscriptions, from Roman, and from Gaulish coins. On the coins of Galba and Vespasian we find the legends Roma Renasces and Roma Resvrges, which latter words are evidently the participles present *Renascens* and *Resurgens*. —M. Streber, the keeper of the cabinet of medals at Munich, has published the name of a new engraver of the beautiful Syracusan medallions. Those already known are Phrygillus, Sosion, and Eumenes. M. Streber has now added that of Eumelus, but his suggestion has been ably proved to be unfounded by M. Salinas, as the coins in question are plated.— Some important observations have been written by M. de Saulcy on M. Madden's recent *History of Jewish Coinage*. It is unsatisfactory to find that he still holds to his own peculiar views respecting the attribution of the shekels to Jaddua, the high priest; whilst every other numismatist in Italy, Germany, and England, has almost demonstratively shewn that they must belong to Simon Maccabæus. One of the most valuable reasons why they must be so attributed, viz., *their weight*, has been totally ignored by M. de Saulcy. In his journey to Jerusalem, last year, he has made but few new acquisitions. *Apropos* of finds, a large brass coin of Maximinus I. has been found near Mytho, a town of about four thousand inhabitants in Cochin China. It is the first ancient piece which has ever yet been discovered so far from the west of Europe.—*The Reader*.

Egyptian Antiquities and English Tourists.—In an article by M. Renan in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on the antiquities of Egypt and the excavations now in progress, he makes the following statement:—"The worst enemies of Egyptian antiquities have been the English or American travellers, systematically protected in all their misdeeds by their consuls. The names of these idiots will go down to posterity, because they have taken pains to write them themselves on the most celebrated monuments, and over the most delicate designs. It is thus that the invaluable pictures of the grottos of Beni-Hassan have almost entirely disappeared: the most beautiful tombs of Biban-el-Molouk are odiously disfigured, and a precious portion of the sculptures of Deir-el-Bahari was stolen some days after M. Mariette had exposed it. The wise principle that the antiquities are the property of Government has been proclaimed: a watch is established over them; but what if a brutal stranger, despising all law, defies the guardian, burns the door of the monument, if there be one, breaks everything at his leisure, and if the guardian so much as touches him, complains to his consul, who causes the unhappy native to be beaten? The process of destruction, however, has of late years diminished. This is proved by the fact that the natives who profited by the stupid curiosity of travellers, have fallen back on the manufacture of false antiquities. We have seen some of these establishments, and we feel disposed to encourage them. The apocryphal objects produced suffice to supply the tourist, and cannot injure true science."

Mr. C. H. Wilson, of Glasgow, sends us an indignant and very proper protest against the partiality of M. Renan, which leads him to limit his condemnation to English and American travellers. Mr. Wilson says,—"When in Egypt, I saw on nearly every monument on the Nile, in letters of white chalk, six inches high, and scrawled over 'delicate designs,' the name of a French 'idiot,' who called herself the Countess de something, who had thus conveyed her name 'to posterity;' but I should hardly have thought, on account of this particular 'idiot,' of accusing the whole body of French travellers of being enemies of Egyptian antiquities. I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that M. Renan found nowhere, on these antiquities, an English name of the same social rank. On the Pylon of the temple at Philæ, there is a long French inscription of many lines, *cut into the stone*, by 'Castex, sculpteur,' commemorating the pursuit of the Memlooks to this part of Egypt by French troops; and as some insane loyalist has obliterated the name of Napoleon in part of the inscription, another Frenchman has printed in oil paint, 'A page of history ought to be respected.' Can M. Renan point to any 'English or American' inscription upon any Egyptian monument to compare with this? Has M. Renan no words of condemnation for the Romans, who formed part of a scientific commission to examine Egyptian antiquities some years ago, and who, with execrably bad taste, have disfigured the beautiful columns of the shrine of Isis at Philæ by inscriptions in black paint, the letters being at least six inches in height? Amongst the thousands

of English and Americans who have travelled in Egypt, including no doubt a legion of snobs, no one has approached the snobbery of this inscription, or has so seriously injured any Egyptian monument. The shock given by these inscriptions, which thus coarsely invade the antique sanctity of Philæ, can only be appreciated by those who have been surprised by them, on visiting the monuments there. But, on the other hand, M. Renan may quote the Anglo-Saxon names in enormous letters, and in black paint, which so hideously disfigure the column 'of Pompey' at Alexandria, evidently the work of daring and foolish sailors, whether English or American it is impossible to say; or he may point to the names on the summit of the Great Pyramid, or to those scrawled in white chalk on the top of the temple at Dendera. Do some travellers carry white chalk in their pockets? These are disgraceful enough, and amongst them predominate the names of two Glasgow 'idiots,' in letters a foot high; but they are written on the plain masonry, and nowhere that I can recollect upon works of art. Nor were the perpetrators people of rank, or even *savans*. At Bibán-el-Molook, 'The Gates of the Kings,' tombs of the kings at Thebes, I certainly saw many English names, but written in pencil on broken parts of the rocks, and in small characters. I cannot recall any on the works of art. Some were the names of very celebrated travellers, who never could have written them where they could do any harm, and which give a certain sanction to the practice, whilst its antiquity is illustrated in the most interesting manner on venerable monuments in the valley of the Nile, on which the names of old Greek and Roman travellers, the 'idiots' of their time, are found inscribed. It is perhaps impossible, if it is desirable, to prevent a practice common to all nations in all times, but the partial and one-sided criticism of M. Renan may do good if it leads all travellers to indulge the propensity in a harmless manner."

Syrian Exploration.—On Friday, May 12th, about thirty members of the Syrian Exploration Society met, by permission of the Dean of Westminster, in the Jerusalem Chamber, a very appropriate place. The Archbishop of York occupied the chair, and opened the meeting with prayer. A long and interesting comparison of opinions was then made. Antiquities, architecture, geology, and natural history, as well as Biblical criticism, were strongly represented at the board; and at the end of an hour's conversation, the Archbishop was able to declare that the meeting was unanimous as to three points:—(1) That there are a good many Biblical facts to collect; (2) that the present time is one favourable for their collection; and (3) that a judicious effort to this end would find sufficient public support. The gentlemen present thereupon formed themselves into a Society for the scientific and antiquarian exploration of Palestine. The committee is already strong, and will probably increase in strength. The Queen will be invited to place herself at the head of this Society, and it is hoped that the Prince of Wales will take an active part in the proceedings. Consi-

derable sums of money have been already offered to the committee. About the middle of June a public meeting will be held in London, at which the whole course of procedure will be explained, and general support invited to the scheme. In the course of this preliminary conversation, Professor Owen referred to the poverty of the British Museum in specimens of the Natural History of Palestine. Until a few months ago, the Biblical students were unable to find a single specimen of a Biblical beast, bird, or fish in our National Collection. This want is in part—in small part—already supplied; and the Professor stated, as in his Annual Report to the Government, that the following illustrations may now be found in his department of the Museum:—

"The '*arneveth* which cheweth the cud, and divideth not the hoof,' rendered 'hare' in our version of Deuteronomy xiv. 7, and Leviticus xi. 6, is represented in this collection by the *Lepus Syriacus*. The '*shāphān* which make their houses in the rocks,' rendered 'coney' in Proverbs xxx. 26, Psalm civ. 18, and elsewhere, is exemplified by the *Hyrax Syriacus*. The '*achbâr*,' rendered 'mouse' in Leviticus xi. 29, may refer to the species of *Arvicola*, or *Gerbillus*, or *Acomys*, as well as *Mus*, in Mr. Tristram's collection. The specimens of *Ibex* and *Gazella* are probably the species alluded to under the names '*tzaphir*,' Daniel viii. 21; '*yehel*,' Job xxxix. 1, and '*ez*,' Genesis xv. 9, and rendered '*chamois*' in Deuteronomy xiv. 5, and elsewhere. Of the '*hâtalleph*,' rendered 'bats' in Deuteronomy xiv. 18, and Isaiah ii. 20, the collection includes species of *Rhinopoma*, *Rhinolophus*, *Noctulinia*, *Vespertilio*, and *Plecotus*. It contains also a specimen of Syrian badger, although it is doubtful whether the '*tachash*' is rightly so rendered in Exodus and Numbers. The '*dugong*' (*Halichore Hemprichii*, of the Red Sea), which more probably supplied the covering of the Tabernacle, is still a desideratum. The species of *Genetta*, *Herpestes*, and other small Carnivores brought from Palestine by Mr. Tristram, are indicated by the term '*hholed*' or '*chôled*' in the Hebrew Scriptures, usually rendered 'weasel' in the Authorized Version, Leviticus xi. 29. The '*tanshemeth*' or 'mole' may have referred to the species of *Spalax* in the present collection, in which there is no true *Talpa*. The specimens of *Testudo Græca*, and of *Emys Caspica*, which Mr. Tristram has shewn to range to the Holy Land, exemplify the forms to which reference is made by the Hebrew '*tzav*,' or '*tsab*,' rendered 'tortoise after his kind,' in Leviticus xi. 29. The brief notices of the serpents in the Old Testament preclude a determination of their species; but the number of these, including three or more poisonous kinds, collected in Palestine by Mr. Tristram, accords with the references to such by diverse names, as *e.g.*, '*nahash*,' and '*shephîphon*,' as respectively rendered 'serpent' and 'adder,' in Genesis xlix. 17; the poison of the '*nâchâsh*' and '*pethen*,' rendered 'serpent' and 'adder,' in Psalm lviii. 4; the species 'which stingeth like an adder,' '*epheh*' and '*tzepha*,' Proverbs xxiii. 32; the serpent whose bite inflames, '*saraph*,' rendered 'fiery serpent' in Numbers xxi. 8."—*Athenæum*, May 20.

Smyrna has been the scene of a royal visit, Prince Arthur having arrived at that city on Good Friday. But, by some mismanagement, he saw very little of it, to his great disappointment, as he was compelled to a strict observance of Good Friday and a protracted service in the Consular Chapel, which was all he saw of Smyrna that day. The next day he had a glorious ride to the ancient Nymphæum; and, on his return, steamed away from Smyrna, leaving most of its sights unseen. The day before Good Friday he dropped into Ephesus, without any one having been apprised, and had only the aid, but an efficient one, of Falkener's *Ephesus*.—M. Ernest Renan, having returned from Athens, has gone into the interior, to visit the churches and apostolic sites, in preparation for his new work on the Apostles.—General Fox, the eminent numismatist, is in Smyrna, examining the cabinets for which the city is so famous in the numismatic world. On account of the extent of his own collection, and the numerous recent sales of Smyrna coins, he has obtained but few additions. Some inscriptions have lately been obtained from Ephesus, and from the neighbourhood of Aidin, the ancient Tralles; two statues, one a fine torso, acquired by Mr. James Whittall: the other, a mutilated Cupid or Genius, without wings, of inferior workmanship, and of the Roman-Greek period. There has been also discovered a tablet, with a figure in overlapping armour, and the inscription ιατρος πα, with a small α superscribed over the π. Excavations are being carried on by Mr. D. Colnaghi for the English at Budrum, and for the French by a Committee at Assos.—*Athenæum*.

Anglo-Biblical Institute.—February. The Rev. A. Löwy read a paper on the Hebrew synonyms in the first Psalm. It contained a clear and interesting etymological and theological exposition of the Hebrew terms רשעים, "the wicked;" חטאים, "sinners;" and לצים, "scorners." Tracing the word *rasha* (wicked man) to its starting point, it might naturally be expected that in its primary signification it describes an *un*theological idea, and relates to something purely material. Being connected, then, with the widely extending root רעש, the term *rasha* designated a *tumultuous, agitating individual*, who disturbs the peace of his fellow-men. The well-known description of wicked men, as given by Isaiah in chapter lvii. verse 20, was cited: "The wicked are like the troubled sea, for rest it never can, and its waters cast up mire and mud." Quoting various passages from the Psalms, it was shewn that the "wicked men" mentioned in that book, made themselves obnoxious by interfering with the religious discipline of the party to which the Psalmist belonged. They occasionally appear in the Psalms as *teachers and preachers* of doctrines, which combine the incompatible elements of morality and slander; see for example Psalm l. 16, "But to the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant into thy mouth, seeing that thou hatest instruction?" . . . Thou sittest and speakest "against thy brother," etc. From other parts of the Psalms it is obvious that *Gentile* oppressors of Israel's religion are the theme of censure, and these also are termed *reshaim;* thus shewing that the designation *rasha*, intimately connected with the original etymon,

describes *the social agitator*, or *the religious revolutionist*. The terms *chataim*, *sinners*, and *letzim*, *scorners*, were likewise treated in their historical and etymological bearing, and afforded an insight into the gradual transition of the words from a material to an abstract signification. The verb *chata*, to sin, means originally to *miss the aim* (compare the Greek ἁμαρτάνω); a sinner accordingly would appear to a Hebrew mind as a man *who misses the aim and object of life*. The *scorner*, *letz*, is described in the Hebrew scriptures as a sensualist, who wastes his life in idle frivolities, and indulges in defamatory language. Closely allied to the Hebrew word לוּץ, to scorn, appears the Chaldean word לוּט, to curse. The discussion elicited by this method of treatment proved the desirability of bringing before the Institute further elucidations of a similar character.

The *Athenæum* says a friend writes to us from Rome: "The Vatican Library has just been enriched by three chests full of books, being records of the 'History of England' and 'Calendars of State.' Amongst them is also a fac-simile of the Doomsday Book. The donation was made, I am informed, at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone, and is nothing more than one of those international courtesies by virtue of which exchanges of documents of public interest are made and national libraries enlarged. Perhaps it is to be regretted that the books now spoken of were not deposited in the Minerva Library, to which students have free access, rather than in the Vatican, where dust is too apt to accumulate. It is needless to say that the offering was most graciously received, and with many expressions of thanks; but it should be distinctly understood that it emanated, not from Her Majesty, to whom the political quidnuncs attribute it, but from the Government, according to an established practice. When the Prince of Wales was last in Rome, the Pope sent some valuable presents to the Queen, as mosaic tables, and a splendid mosaic picture representing St. George and the Dragon. This picture occupied several years in the construction of it, and is formed of the very finest mosaics. Though acknowledgments of it, of course, were made, I believe that there has been no reciprocity of presents. Lord Talbot, who leaves this week, carries off with him a very precious cameo for the Dublin Exhibition. It is the property of Cardinal Antonelli, is cut in pietra dura, and represents St. George piercing the Dragon. The work, which was executed by Signor Lanzi, is of the most exquisite character, and it has been remounted expressly for Dublin in very splendid style. Oval in form, the stone is somewhat larger than a half-crown piece. The outside cornice or border is of gold enamel of the colour of rubies, the second of emerald, and the inner cornice of gold enamelled with rubies."

The Rev. J. Quarry proposes to bring out a new work entitled *Genesis and its Authorship*. The following is an extract from the prospectus:— "Having been for some time engaged in preparing for the press a work on the book of Genesis, I beg leave to say that it is now ready for the printer. The work consists of two parts. In the first an endeavour is made to establish a principle of interpretation in regard to the commencing chapters, which withdraws them entirely from the sphere of physical explana-

tion, and obviates the necessity of the ever varying attempts that are made from time to time to reconcile their statement with the progressive results of scientific research. In the second part, the structure of the whole book, the variation it presents in the use of the names of God, and the other arguments on which the supposition of a diversity of authorship in its composition has been maintained, are discussed at length; and I feel convinced that a careful and critical analysis of the entire book has resulted in neutralizing those arguments, and in establishing many positive proofs of the general unity of its authorship. While I have not hesitated to pursue an independent line of thought, and to conduct the enquiry in a spirit of impartial criticism, I trust I have sufficiently kept in view the sacred character of the document, and have not failed in due reverence for its divine authority. And I humbly venture to think that the result will be found decidedly in the interest of orthodoxy."

END OF VOLUME VII. (NEW SERIES).

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